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Art. I.—THE MEANING OF LITERARY HISTORY.

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THE idea that literature, being an art, must disown the antipathies of nations and belong to the world is now strongly rooted, and can but grow in power to quicken and to liberate. We think of the peoples of Europe and America, to go no farther, as one day forming a league of intellectual republics, where each absorbs from the others whatever conceptions, whatever forms of art, it can take without loss of independence. Such a federal hope, having once come to mankind, can hardly prove a mere vision of the night; for there is nothing higher to supersede it, and yet it can never be exhausted by realisation. Like all formative ideas, it began to work in men's minds long before it was consciously apprehended;

for it has received a blind tribute whenever any literature, from the Roman onwards, has submitted to foreign influence. Its clear proclamation is one of the debts of modern Europe to the German mind, and is found, as might be expected, in a noble form in Goethe. In a note written in 1828 on 'The Edinburgh Review' and 'The Foreign Quarterly Review,' Goethe lays down the higher aim of all such journals.

'As they win, step by step, a larger public, they will contribute in a most effectual way to what we hope for—an universal world-literature. We only repeat, there can be no question of the nations thinking in accord. But they must simply become aware of and comprehend one another; and, if they cannot attain to mutual love, they must at least learn to bear with one another.'

Goethe owed something here to pioneers like Herder. The same voice is heard again in Matthew Arnold:

'The criticism which alone can much help us for the future is a criticism which regards Europe as being, for intellectual and spiritual purposes, one great confederation, bound to a joint action and working to a common result.'

In this direction Goethe worked more effectively than any other man. By his activity and fame, by his curious and remote reading, his translating, his dismissal of politics and of the illusions counter to his ideal that politics may generate, and by his transference to art of the universal spirit of science, he is the apostle of the federal conception of literature, to which he found Europe ready, while he made it readier, to listen. 'Great talents,' he says himself, 'are the finest peacemakers.' Our aim here, after noting some other origins of this federal conception, and some obstacles to its fulfilment, is to ask how its presence affects the methods of writing literary history. The variety of these methods is evident in the current histories of our own literature.

The hope of a free international exchange for thought and knowledge, and even for poetry and letters, is, we are now beginning to forget, an old one. There was once a suzerain general language, beside which all others had the air of pretenders. The rise of the modern states and tongues had broken up, at the beginning of the

Middle Age, the traditional primacy of Latin as the organ of verse and eloquence; and the Latin Renaissance, while it gave a fresh and artificial lease to the language, only ended in quickening the vernaculars through acquaintance with ancient art, thought, and life; whilst the Reformation gave some of them new rank as languages of ritual and religion. Still, down into the seventeenth century, Latin was often chosen by the strongest brains, from Grotius and Bacon to Spinoza and Newton, as the natural voice of science and philosophy, which have no frontiers, and was used by many theologians, Protestant as well as Catholic, and some poets. But soon afterwards the words of Hobbes may be transferred to Latin: it is 'the ghost of the deceased Roman Empire, sitting crowned upon the grave thereof.' The works of Leibnitz are in three languages. Latin is there, but French is paramount, and philosophical German is proving its muscles in its cradle. But French, far as it spread, could never take the lost place of Latin. Apart from any incapacities of its own, it was always being checked by English; and the growth of German was hardly needed to abolish for ever the notion of a master-language. With such aid the federal idea has had to dispense; and yet that idea has grown until, for the purposes of positive knowledge, and in a less measure for those of speculation, it is clear in every mind. But in applying it to art there is a natural hindrance; and this must be got over, or it may seem fatal, before we can safely think of Europe and America as one republic of letters.

Knowledge is international or it is nothing; its matter does not alter with the language in which it is conveyed. Science, or the body and method of knowledge, is impersonal and above race; it cares nothing for the personality or nature of its servants, except as possible sources of error. Thus science, being federal, unites and confounds, while art, being personal, sunders and identifies. The aim and power of art is to realise, in unique unchanging form, the spirit of the individual. Nothing but art saves his identity; for the children that he leaves, the polity that he forms, and all the other works of his hands, alter when he is gone, only what has received form retaining permanence. Also the aim of art, in contrast with science, is to give pleasure *through* beauty. And the beauty

realised by each artist, the beauty of each of his works must be unique, and the corresponding pleasure unique. Hence the significance of form; it is the last and only firm abiding-place of personality, and is the source of a series of pleasures, each of which is unique. And deep in the art whose medium is language there lies a barrier, obvious when brought to notice, against a perfect understanding between peoples. For the masters of each language play on many associations which lie below or above the reason common to all nations, and which are only for native hearers. The inner cell of the poet's mind is not hung with diagrams or charts of doctrine which are equally true or false in all climates; it is peopled with bodiless tunes that seek their phrase, and solitary phrases that seek their rhyme, until, from the discovery, the chance contact, thought, and not sound only, is born. For the actual matter of poetry and the finer prose is in part a creature of its sound, as can be seen if the sound be changed; so that the matter itself and not merely what we call the 'style,' is incommunicable and untranslatable. Rarely can a congenial artist of another land reproduce a parallel emotional effect by a translation, as Baudelaire did with the work of Poe, which he understood as Poe's countrymen could not. This inherent cause tends to isolate literatures and makes it hard for poetry and letters to become cosmopolitan. It is, however, only the more necessary that they should strive that way, and join the uniting forces, like trade and education and science, rather than the estranging forces like racial idiosyncrasy and political distrust.

History comes to our help and shows that art, in order to reach its utmost expressiveness, as well as knowledge for its fullest increase, is always making foreign raids and returning enriched. It is, in fact, a series of demonstrations of the actual interplay of art between the nations. The laws of this interplay have yet to be found; it cannot be predicted; thus far we can only judge by the event. The animal instinct to seek food from any part of the environment is operative in art; not necessarily from the nearest spot, for neighbourhood does not always create an understanding, or distance prevent one, in art any more than in love. The Rhine, for instance, has failed really to unite, or the Channel

to separate, the art of the countries naturally bordered by those waters. And the problem is made more intricate by the variety of causes which affect art but often lie outside it. Some are political and material—wars and treaties, and persecutions, and emigrations, and inventions, and trade. Others are philosophical and spiritual, and may come from antiquity, or from distant countries, or from both. But by merely external and material events literature has always shown a surprising power to profit. So, to take stray cases, France, after 1660, was able to teach England just what our whole history had taught us to ignore—the need of lucidity, composition, and a central diction for prose. The Holy Alliance provoked the better part of Byron. Through modern facilities of travel and printing, the mind and craft of Ibsen have left a strain of exoticism and alien depth in the works even of the Latin theatre.

In the same way the hunger to appropriate from Italy is found, and is different at every stage—the beginning, the strength, and the decline, of our English Renaissance. Material causes, such as the increase of travel, aided a spiritual influence that demanded expression in art. Wyatt found the battered forms of English verse inadequate for the new energies of poetry, and he therefore leaned upon the forms of Italy—the porcelain sonnet of the Petrarchans, the satiric *terza rima* of Alamanni. Drummond, in the void and chill of inspiration, went to the same school in an economical spirit, to practise foreign finish. Different is the careless borrowing of Shakespeare the prodigal, so many of whose tales derive sooner or later from Italy, but who so transformed them as to overwhelm his creditors, creating types like *Iago* and *Romeo*. So complex may be the sway of one literature over another during a single period. And the story is incomplete if the chapter of revulsions from foreign influence is ignored. These may spring, like the Puritan distrust of Italy, from motives not artistic; or, like the revolt of Lessing against the prescriptions of French tragedy, may mean that a young art is restive under a foreign superstition.

One side, then, of literary history is the examination of these international forces, just as in cartography maps are devoted to tracing the currents of wind and

ocean, apart from all irrelevant boundaries. Such forces in the main are reducible to four. Two of them rest on the impulse to expand, explore, and assimilate. A nation, in order to find fresh life-blood for its art, may turn first to foreign sources. This makes for internationalism and serves the federal ideal, and falls to the appropriate, 'comparative,' chapter of literary history. Or, secondly, inspiration may be sought from classical antiquity, either directly or through the modern literatures it has moulded. The historian, then, must write one more chapter on the influence of the revival of learning. But these two forces of expansion and inspiration are ever checked by two others, which rise up from the wells of national pride and power in a mood of alarm for the integrity of national art. We may suddenly turn for renewal to the writings of our own far past, which have some of the strangeness of those of a foreign land, but can never be wholly foreign while race and language persist. William Morris went back to Chaucer, and, indeed, to the stories, both heroic and romantic, that are common to the old Germanic world. A play like Mr Swinburne's 'Rosamund, Queen of the Lombards,' or the lofty tragedy of the late Miss Beatrice Barnby, 'Gísli Súrsson,' which is founded on the saga of Gísli, show how the Germanic past may yet speak to us. But, fourthly, sometimes even this instinct is neglected; a nation is moved to assert its identity and strength, and falls to creating a fresh art almost without passing beyond its own time and frontiers. This is rare. The old Norse literature, like the Greek, was largely self-sown; but it would be hard to name any period of modern literature since the twelfth century when any of these four forces—of contemporary foreign art, of the classic world, of the native tradition, and of pure initiative—has been quite in abeyance. Working together in changing proportion, they make up the pattern of a literature, though they are often quickened, or checked, or channelled, by conditions largely commercial and material.

At this moment various elements, apart from the temporary state of peace in Europe and the partial quiescence of race-hatred, favour internationalism in letters. The chief countries have some fraternal acquaintance with one another's art. Their tongues are learned

wherever the systems of public instruction are good. Translating is a large industry, as any English reviewer of the last ten years can testify, though in English it is often a coarse disguise of the originals; and such achievements as the English version of the '*Comédie Humaine*,' made some years ago by Miss Ellen Marriage and Mrs Clara Bell, under Professor Saintsbury's guidance, are rare. On the other hand, the famous German translation of Shakespeare was the gift of a few men to the whole of their race. All around there is probably more translating than there has ever been since the age of Locke. This is true of poetry and fiction, though it is always truer of science and philosophy, since the craving for knowledge and thought is commoner among men than the craving for style and beauty, and since translating, seen by Goethe to be necessary for the fulfilment of his dream, is too nice an art to be often practised well.

The whole manner of writing literary history must alter, the more clearly these impulses, national or federal, are perceived to be at work. The older critics, Dryden, Boileau, Johnson, were seldom historians at all, but judged half by canon and half by mother-wit, caring little how books grew. Even Lessing judged greatly by canons, though by fresher and deeper ones. Imagination and tact were the birthright of Lamb; gusto and acuteness that of Hazlitt; while Coleridge had the philosophic power to recall and re-word the creative process of the poet. They all have their scornful or reproachful message to the learned who merely hunt for tendencies and are blind to the work of art. But they themselves lived before the historic sense had reached criticism, and they did not try to write history at all. This task, in England, fell to men of learning rather than to men of genius; for neither Gray nor Pope carried out the wish to write a chronicle of English poetry; and Warton's was the first. It broke fresh ground, and showed the wealth of old romance; but its contribution, being mainly one of knowledge, has been absorbed; it was not philosophic; and its vindication of romance soon became unnecessary. The first history in English that covered both verse and prose, and was written spaciouly and with due knowledge, was Hallam's '*Introduction to the Literature of Europe during the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries*.' In Hallam's pre-

face are named the encyclopædic Germans who had tried such tasks before. Hallam divides his theme, not by nations, but by the branches of literature, or rather of knowledge, each chapter treating of the history of one branch between certain dates. We certainly get from this ordering the sense of Europe as a great and productive society of minds. But Hallam's real subject is not the monuments of the art of writing, but the culture recorded in books. He admits almost every printed thing that furthered knowledge; and a numismatist is as good a quarry to him as a poet. Thus the literature of knowledge and that of power are confounded, and the systematic study of the mutual debts of nations is but dimly recognised. Yet his book is not dead, being learned, clear, and honest; and his chilly ray of impartial daylight is worth more than any sham-patriotic idolatries.

Hallam shows that a critical method which had already come into flower had failed to reach him. Sainte-Beuve, the greatest of literary historians, never wrote a history of letters; for his 'Tableau' of French letters in the sixteenth century was done in youth; and the masterpiece, 'Port-Royal,' chronicles a spiritual movement and its apostles rather than literature. Yet the 'Causeries' revealed a new task for all future historians. Sainte-Beuve had erudition, science, method; but his sensitiveness, his judgment, kept pace with his science; he accepted all writers, but surrendered to none; and his insight into the lesser minds that people literature has never been excelled. He left criticism in a state of disquiet by showing that its work is not to judge by preformed canons of artistic, and still less of ethical, excellence; and that it must never be content with the mere study of outward conditions, sources, and influences, but must use these only to press on to the discovery of what each artist, inalienably, uniquely, brings—of that within him which determines *what* influences he shall accept. On this track Sainte-Beuve advanced in triumph; and he has shown us his motive power as a critic in his remarks on a book that, with all its blindnesses, yet remains the most quick and real one on the subject, Taine's 'History of English Literature.' Taine spoke as though he could deduce the artist and his work from a study of the 'milieu,' or personal, social, and racial environment. Sainte-Beuve vindicates what may

be called the artist's freewill, which remains when all the conditions of his growth have been analysed. He says :—

'However well the net is woven, something always remains outside and escapes it; it is what we call genius, personal talent. The learned critic lays his siege to attack it like an engineer. He trenches it about and hems it into a corner, under colour of surrounding it with all the outward conditions that are necessary to it. And these conditions really do serve personal originality; they incite it, they tempt it forth, they place it in a position to act and react, more or less; but they do not make it. This particle which Horace entitles divine (*divinæ particulam auræ*), and which, in the primitive, natural sense of the term, really is such, has never yet surrendered to science, and abides unexplained. That is no reason for science to throw down her weapons and renounce her daring enterprise. The siege of Troy lasted ten years; and there are problems which perhaps may last as long as human life itself.' ('Nouveaux Lundis,' May 30, 1864.)

It is true that Taine often escapes the weakness of his theory. In his last section he turns to portraiture and pierces with justice, even with sympathy, into the spirit of Dickens and Carlyle; the flashes of truth which animate his earlier volumes redouble here. Yet throughout he cast new light upon the English nature. He began with a notion, partly true, that our race is barbaric, and ebullient, and heedless of form, and alien to art; and, slurring the rest, he chose the writers who seemed to answer to this notion. His fault, serious in a man of science, was ignorance of our literature as a whole; indeed he wrote before the modern means of knowledge existed. But he tried his utmost to shake our superstitions about ourselves and our superstitions about Shakespeare and Milton. He wished to eradicate our private belief that our great authors are in some way types from which all others are aberrations. That service for us Taine would have accomplished, were it possible. Were he writing now, he would have a large new laboratory and store of facts, and might have deepened and cleared his theory of the 'milieu' by discarding the accidents of dress or custom of which literature is the record, not the product, and by introducing into it the forces of mind and spirit, often of distant origin, which have been enumerated.

The later nineteenth century will be remembered, not so much for any young creative power, as for the application of method and the allotment of labour to the study of all history. The roots of this movement lie far back in the record of classical scholarship, which long remained the type of minute and rigid inquiry, and passed its conceptions on to the historian. Probably Bayle's 'Dictionary' is the chief landmark here; biography and exegesis, whether secular or otherwise, could never be quite uncritical after that. But the transference of method to the treatment of the modern literatures is a much later step. It could only be taken when the conviction, long hindered by the Renaissance, was once assured, that the modern as much as the classic masters claim the rigour of the historian and scholar. After the work of Hallam, and still more of Sainte-Beuve, this was more clearly seen; the question was how to apply it in practice. No man's own talent or pains can suffice; there must be the co-operation of workers. And this can be produced only by schools of learning, which, though they can at most permit genius, and often only annoy it, can at least break-in talent. These schools are most naturally formed in universities, which can train an army of students in method during pupillage and save them from the painful and wasteful forms of self-education. The fabric of historical knowledge, whether literary or political, can only be the work of such an army. At this point we see the value of the system of monographs that rules in Germany and in some other countries, including America. The monograph submitted for graduation teaches a little method, and may build up knowledge, though it is often, at present, founded on a sorry general culture, is full of rubbish and repetition, and should in most cases not be printed, as in Germany it has to be. But the system is the foundation of national scholarship. For instance, Italian literary history has been revolutionised since the days of its *doyen*, Tiraboschi. It has of late been portioned out amongst a 'society of professors,' each of whom writes on a single epoch. Their work is a great and well-shapen monument, of which every stone is a monograph, edition, collation, biography, or study of sources. The '*Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature françaises*,' guided by M. Petit de Julleville, is another large and generous venture where the labour is

more divided, so that the variety of talent is greater and the total impression of unity is less.

In France and Italy, in Germany and the States, the international side of literature is studied to an extent that England does not realise or imitate. A recent bibliography, 'La Littérature comparée,' by M. Louis P. Betz, contains some three thousand titles of articles and monographs on the relationships between France and Germany, France and England, Germany and England, and so forth, in almost every combination. These dissertations turn out to be of three or four types. In one are examined the 'sources' of an artist's themes, or thoughts, or forms—an inquiry that may become bitterly mechanical and ignore the step by which borrowing becomes creation. Another traces the influence of a writer, or of a school of writers, at home and abroad; and this fills an enormous chapter. A third deals with the fortunes of a species of literature, the sonnet or picaresque novel or critical treatise—a process which implies a study of the general history of thought and culture. Fourthly, abutting on folklore, comes the study of a particular story, that of Hamlet or Pyramus, in its birth and growth, as it wanders over the world finding new vigour in every soil, until perhaps in the end it dies to live in a masterpiece. Lastly, the literary contact between two or more lands may be investigated and deduced from a multitude of observations in these four kinds. None of the younger school in France, whose names are too many for mention here, had more historic vision, or wrote what is of more concern to ourselves, than the late M. Joseph Texte. The 'comparative' study of letters—which is only a disciplined effort to carry out the ideal of Goethe—he pursued with somewhat exclusive zeal, but with delicacy of touch, and not at all in the external, indiscriminate style that is the danger of this kind of work. His chief book traces the origins of the international feeling itself. His 'Jean-Jacques Rousseau et les Origines du Cosmopolitisme littéraire' could not have been written fifty years ago.

Knowledge of this kind, and the study of literary history, are nowhere worse organised than in England. Good work is produced, as will presently be seen; but that is in spite of our having no organisation, and is largely due to the *classical basis* of our training. We have

no journal of the first rank, of more than the weekly scale, given up to the scientific study of our language and literature; Germany has long had 'Anglia' and 'Englische Studien'; and the 'Zeitschrift der vergleichenden Litteraturgeschichte,' after some vicissitudes, started anew last year with generous ambitions. We have nothing like that valuable annual, the 'Revue d'Histoire littéraire,' which draws on the best talent in France. We have no academic school like that of Columbia University, which issues a series of books—not little theses, but books—on various aspects of Tudor literature. In these works there may be some lack of tint, some oblivion of the truth that criticism is at last a fine art like friendship and requires colour and personality, some symptoms that the scientific training intimidates a little, and teaches self-suppression in the wrong as well as in the right way; but there is clear and strict method, fresh digging, sober statement, and real progress. We may name especially the volumes on Italian Platonism in our Elizabethan verse, by Mr J. Smith Harrison; on the literary critics of our Renaissance, by Mr Spingarn; and on the Elizabethan lyric, by Mr Erskine. A handful of smaller papers comes from the University of Pennsylvania, including a valuable study, by Mr Morris Croll, of Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke. What have we in England like this?

If we do not take heed, the great syndicate-history of English literature, which we have delayed to make, and which must be made, will be made in the States, and made, let us add as Britons, less well than we could make it if we tried. On the whole our scholars write better, and seem to keep closer to the work of art they study than the Americans, who are prone to relapse, in protest against the glare of their popular style, into a decent and whity-brown academicism of language. Englishmen usually write better, because, though they have not been taught method, they have been reared on the classics; and, after all, for the student of Milton and Berkeley, Virgil and Plato are a rational schooling, while the waste of youth upon a dissertation concerning the metre of Glapthorne or the debts of Lydgate to Boccaccio is an irrational schooling. We want a blended system if we are to train scholars and historians of modern letters; a foundation in knowledge of the classics, a training in

minute method, and the application of this knowledge, of this training, to the literary historian's task. Men of insuppressible bent have wrought well in spite of the chaos, but have often been coerced, as to the scale of their work, by the market rage for manuals. In books like Dr Herford's 'Age of Wordsworth' and Mr Seccombe's 'Age of Johnson,' there is the knowledge and tact that might shape an ample history.

Also there are larger undertakings of admitted merit, but none of them show the complete organisation of study that is wanted. One of the best is 'Chambers's Cyclopædia of English Literature,' a familiar work, wholly recast and written by the best British scholars. It is a treasury of extracts, with good biographies and brief bibliographies. Many of the criticisms, signed and unsigned, are excellent, though in the last volume there is some falling-off; and there is an effort to bind the larger periods together by summaries and prefaces. The 'Cyclopædia' is thus, as it professes to be, really half-way towards a history, and it is a pity that the whole step was not taken. Often a chapter consists of a somewhat disorderly list of names, each of them competently handled, but without grouping, perspective, or wide historic views, so that the work remains half shapen.

Another book, in four large volumes, called 'English Literature, an illustrated record,' is a pleasing gallery of title-pages, portraits, and facsimiles, of true educational worth. The iconography is accompanied by extracts, by biographies, and by an historical and critical record; this part of the task being divided between two proved scholars, Dr Garnett and Dr Gosse. Their pages would call for respectful review, but the work hardly comes into our argument. The history has been written independently of the pictures; but these and the lives and quotations have so curtailed the space that, especially in the post-Renaissance period, the authors have too little room for full expression and leisurely development. The large and more philosophic side of literary history, though present at first, becomes less and less visible; and there is no scholarly apparatus or bibliography, which is the backbone of scientific history. Therefore our present text is better served by two other books, Dr Courthope's 'History of English Poetry,' which has reached the death

of Dryden; and Professor Saintsbury's 'Short History of English Literature.'

Mr Courthope approaches our poetry in the temper special to the historian. He considers not so much what is the unique character of each poet, of each masterpiece, or the unique pleasure that either yields, as the large historic forces, often lying outside art altogether, by which poetic art has been shapen. The determining causes of poetry lie partly in politics and society, partly in metaphysical or ethical theory, and partly within art itself. These causes, all together, form the true environment of poetry, the 'milieu,' though the shallower usage of the term by the school of Taine is not in its favour. The 'milieu,' in this larger sense, operates over tracts of space and time; the sway of antique political ideas, of the thoughts of the Church, reaches far both backwards and forwards. We might add that this is also true of the artistic environment, and say truly that the 'milieu' of the 'Ode on a Grecian Urn' is not so much Hampstead as the workshop of the dead Greek designer, or that that of Spenser's 'Hymn to Beauty' is the cell of the old Alexandrian or the later Italian mystic. The original force of Mr Courthope lies in his effort to apply such ideas to the story of English poetry, and may be acknowledged all the more frankly that his execution can often be criticised. He wipes out, at all events, the reproach that no Englishman has essayed a full-length philosophical history of the subject.

In the preface to his first volume, Mr Courthope discriminates his method alike from that of Warton, who did not think about currents and forces, and from a later one, of which he seems to imply that Mr Pater was a practitioner, and which seeks 'to interpret the phenomena of the remote past by mere personal sympathy.' Here a protest is required. Mr Pater did not choose the form of a history, but he gave himself a hard historic schooling, and he is more at home in the deeper streams of old poetic sentiment, and in the actual recesses of the Renaissance intellect, than his critic. He rather read his own experience and problems in the light of history than read them into history. In the power to recapture and express the fugitive essence of a dead author Mr Courthope is somewhat wanting, while Mr Pater had more of

that power than any of our writers since Coleridge. It is a happier task to speak of the value and freshness of what Mr Courthope has achieved.

He begins very far back. We are not complaining that his picture of the Empire and the Papacy, and of mediæval polity, is a portico to a history rather of all literature, or of all culture, than of English poetry. By English poetry is meant 'metrical compositions written in our language from the period at which it becomes fairly intelligible to readers of the present day'; that is, from about the fourteenth century onwards. On this showing we regret that the somewhat inappreciative chapter on Old English poetry was inserted. It is true that the thread of artistic continuity between Old and Middle English verse becomes very slender, and that the true formative influences on the latter came from Latin, from the South, from romance and satire. Yet it would have been accurate to dwell more clearly on the iron link forged by the Latin, as the medium of thought and devotion and hymnody, and of some secular things as well, between Old and Middle English sentiment. And the alliterative romances of Chaucer's time might have been better recognised; for the 'Troy-Book' and the long 'Morte Arthure' both fall within the definition above given of English poetry; they contain stately matter, and they are of note in history, since their form links two ages of our verse together, while their matter links England with Europe. Mr Courthope, however, not professing an exhaustive chronicle, leaves himself free to choose whatever illuminates his thesis. So long as he does not leave out too much good literature, there can be no demur. Wider natural sympathy might have saved him from comparing Boccaccio, in whom there is a noble quality, with Milton's Belial, and from lecturing Chaucer, whose homelier tales are as fresh as ever, for 'illegitimate coarseness and materialism.'

When Mr Courthope quits his relative and historic standpoint, it is often not to appreciate but to moralise. But an admirable fruit of his method is found in his chapter on 'The Early Renaissance.' There he traces some of the sentiments that in the fourteenth century began to be transmitted from the ancient to the modern world, not only by Petrarch, whose work, as a torch-

bearer, is well understood, but, as is less often perceived, by Dante, whose conception of civic duty and nobility is by no means strictly mediæval, resting on 'the antique image of Roman citizenship.' The very useful essay on 'Chaucer and Petrarch,' in the 'Studi Petrarqueschi' of Signor Carlo Segrè, has come out much more recently than Mr Courthope's chapter. The account of the 'Romance of the Rose,' of its influence, and of the course of allegory at the close of the Middle Ages, shows Mr Courthope's hold on those remote causes and subtle uniformities without which our poetry is unintelligible. We must abridge his page on the subject.

'Allegory' (he tells us), 'as it was understood and used by Dante, the accepted method of interpreting nature and Scripture, derived from the Platonised theology of the fifth and sixth centuries, and methodised in the system of the schoolmen, first becomes a mechanical part of poetry, and then slowly falls into disuse, in proportion as the scholastic logic itself gives way before the new experimental tests applied to the interpretation of nature. Allegory, again, regarded as a literary form of expression, has its original source in the genius for abstraction peculiar to the Latin language, which encouraged the use of the figure of personification in poetry. In this sphere it enjoyed a longer life than in philosophy. . . . Lastly, the habit, common to the mediæval poets, of inventing allegories, in which all these abstract personages should be grouped round the central figure of Love, had, doubtless, its far-off origin in the metaphysical conception of Eros pervading the Platonic philosophy. . . . A stream of kindred sentiment . . . coloured the whole code of chivalrous manners; and, from the new impulse thus given to the ancient Teutonic reverence for women, the troubadours, by the aid of Ovid and of models borrowed from the Arabs, developed the elaborate system of Provençal love poetry. The lyrical fervour of the Provençals, in the cooling atmosphere of the times, gradually became in its turn conventional and didactic; and the long series of allegories following the "Romance of the Rose" is mainly interesting as marking the fall of temperature in the institutions of chivalry' (vol. i, pp. 391, 392).

Such a passage, with its wide sweep of learned vision, shows the author at his very best; we thus win an observatory for the whole range of fifteenth century poetry in Scotland, and for much in sixteenth century *England*. The true method of history is here app

fe-chronicle of a literary form; it has not been done
e, or not so well, in our language; and an example
plied from which Mr Courthope's successors have
excuse for relapsing. We pass over the chapter on
allads, which needs revising in the light of arguments
nced recently by Mr Gregory Smith, Mr Lang, and
s. The 'Retrospect,' at the end of the first volume,
h brings the whole story down to the verge of the
sh Renaissance, is all of fine quality, and contains
of the significant thoughts that help to sustain us
the apparent welter of late mediæval verse.

In each class, epic, lyric, and dramatic, we see a move-
away from the original didactic purpose of poetry,
towards the direct imitation of nature, or towards the
technical development of art' (p. 471). . . . 'But while
principal forms of modern poetry have their origin in the
iastical and feudal character of the Middle Ages, they
radually modified by the whole movement of society
ds a civil standard of life and thought' (p. 473).

his conception, of which we have not given Mr
thope's full elucidation, forms one of the texts of
ucceeding volumes. Poetry was coloured by the
ssive polities under which it flourished, and varied
ding as these were mainly ecclesiastical and mon-
cal, or civic and secular. It also varied with its
c, which is the most powerful and often the most
active part of the artist's contemporary environ-
. In particular, the form and soul of our drama
infinitely altered according as this public was pre-
nantly the people or the Court. In his sketch of
etting and drift of early Tudor poetry Mr Courthope
rs somewhat in proportion. He is debarred from
ing in English prose, save on sufferance, yet he gives
g and pointed account of the masterpieces of Machi-
i, Castiglione, and others, in order to picture types of
Renaissance mind. A valuable scrutiny of the tech-
e of Wyatt and Surrey is followed by a still longer
y, which, even from a historic point of view, need
ave been so full, of the dreary Turbervile and
chyard, who, despite some formal interest, clear
weeds very little for the genius of Spenser and
y. But ers of Mr Courthope can best be

judged as we approach the poetry of genius, in its two great species, as they pass before us from Spenser to Milton, and from Marlowe to Ford.

The weak side of a studious, ambitious essay seeking to *explain* poetry is that, while really doing much, it always has the air of seeming to do more than is possible. The book before us is less a history of poetry than a history of certain impersonal forces which from age to age tended to prescribe its form and aim, to beleaguer it about. They play upon each artist in diverse proportion, fitfully, and with no steady pressure. But there are other forces that lie beyond analysis, namely, those which move the artist; how he shall *choose* among these floating tendencies in the mind of his time, how he shall combine or alter them, what he shall make of them. Tendencies have no real existence—unless it be for the historian long afterwards—except in the shapes in which the individual mind chooses to submit to them. We only know them through the concrete manifestations from which we then generalise. The mind is not a cauldron in which certain ingredients simmer mechanically, so that a certain result can be expected: a charm is said over them which happily prevents any such thing. Thus an analyst of tendencies, when he comes to the actual master, the actual poem, can only make his diagnosis sound up to the last step but one, unless he also has a measure of the divining sympathy, which is a kind of feminine counterpart of the artist's own creative force.

Hence a writer like Mr Courthope, in dealing with significant secondary figures like Massinger or Drummond, is better than when dealing with larger men; for his analysis carries him up to the very verge of their comparatively narrow ring of personality, and they can be stated in terms of historic tendencies. But the great initiators—Marlowe, Shakespeare, Donne—though from one point of view they absorb and express larger elements of historic growth than the others, are not only harder to diagnose from such considerations, because the forces are more intricate, but actually refuse to be stated in such terms, ultimately, at all. Marlowe is seen in clearer light, certainly, as the embodiment of a ruling mood of the Renaissance, the worship of energy, *virtù*, or, as Mr Courthope calls it, 'will-worship'; but his real

characteristic lies in the form, the voice, he gives to that impulse. And this form and voice are found in the depths of his profoundly original style, his turn of phrase, his peculiar turn of passion. No amount of history can give an account of this; nothing, indeed, can ever express it fully; but the nearest approaches can be made by a fellow-poet, like Mr Swinburne, when writing new poetry, or criticism, which is poetry in all but metre, upon him.

Mr Courthope's scope and restrictions are well seen in the case of Donne, on whom he throws new and true light—the search-light of history, which has never been turned on Donne so clearly before. It is curious with how little sympathy it is done, and how instructive it is nevertheless; for Mr Courthope's analysis of the historic setting is not in the least brain-spun or capricious; it is solidly based, and is charged with learning. Donne is taken out of the region of mere anomaly and miracle in which he is too often left by the critics. In him we trace (the phrasing is our own, as the passages are too long for extract) the habit of the school-divine, logical and dividing, a habit applied equally to the sacred matters of faith and fear, and to the profaner matters of love and lust; the two worlds, sacred and profane, being joined and confounded at every turn by this pervading temper that is applied to them. The course of Donne's thought is traced, perhaps more positively than the vague dates of his poems warrant, through the successive phases of belief, of pyrrhonism or nihilism, and of faith again triumphant; the whole man, in these different phases, being bound together by the intellectual habit, carefully defined, of 'wit.' Thus Donne is a sensitive mirror of many impulses of his time. He remains a living exponent of what we may call—and Mr Courthope might perhaps accept the phrase—the temporary Counter-Renaissance, or re-emergence of mediæval habits of mind after the glow of the Renaissance was spent. All this is admirable; but there is something more, and a passage that we shall quote later from a very different critic, Mr Saintsbury, will supply what is wanting—the suggestion of the inner personality of Donne. Flaubert, in his words on Taine, put the point very clearly:—

*Il y a autre chose dans l'art que le milieu où il s'exerce et les antécédents physiologiques de l'ouvrier. Avec ce système-

là, on explique la série, le groupe, mais jamais l'individualité, le fait spécial qui fait qu'on est *celui-là*. Cette méthode amène forcément à ne faire aucun cas de talent. Le chef-d'œuvre n'a plus de signification que comme document historique. Voilà radicalement l'inverse de la vieille critique de La Harpe. Autrefois, on croyait que la littérature était une chose toute personnelle et que les œuvres tombaient du ciel comme des aérolithes. Maintenant on nie toute volonté, tout absolu. La vérité est, je crois, dans l'entre-deux.' (Correspondance, iii, 196.)

We would not saddle Mr Courthope, whose 'system' is much sounder than that which Flaubert criticises, with the whole of the rebuke which he often escapes when he permits himself to give a direct judgment. His words on Herrick make us ask for more of the same kind. He comments on 'The Funeral Rites of the Rose':—

'This exquisiteness of fancy, working on a great variety of subjects—flowers, precious stones, woman's dress, religious ritual, and the like—finds its happiest field in the region of folklore. Shakspeare had already shown the way to that delightful country in the "Tempest," in the "Midsummer Night's Dream," and "Romeo and Juliet." . . . But it may be safely said that none of these creations, not even Shakspeare's description of Queen Mab, surpasses in lightness of touch, or equals in the rich profusion of imagery, Herrick's Euphuistic treatment of the elves' (iii, 263).

The whole of Mr Courthope's survey of seventeenth century verse, of what we have called the Counter-Renaissance, and of the re-assertion of the Latin Renaissance in a fresh and more limited shape during Dryden's time, has the virtues and drawbacks that we have intimated. His classification of the labyrinthine schools of verse under various forms of 'wit,' and his characteristically true and deep analysis of wit itself, call for much gratitude. His summing-up of the influences that went to the making of Milton's 'Paradise Lost,' and of the equally complex style which could be its only fit expression, is a triumph of his method, of his skill in bringing many historic rays to converge upon one object. On the other hand, his apprehension of many lesser poets remains a little blank; his connoisseurship, or sense of varieties in accent and gesture, is faint. It is best to illustrate from his chapters on the drama, on which he

has spent great care, and which are almost as instructive for what they leave out as for what they say.

Mr Courthope's high sympathies deaden, it must be said, his understanding of the drama of remote or anomalous passion, however wonderful its style may be. He is capable of quoting the best passages of Cyril Tournear, with their sombre strangeness of jewelled phrase, at Tournear's expense. He can slight the fitful but lofty tragic talent of Middleton without even mentioning the central scenes of 'The Changeling,' which would have done honour to the author of 'Measure for Measure.' He administers an official rebuke to Charles Lamb, while commending him in general, for his 'ecstatic' praises of the minor dramatists, on the ground that it raises in the mind 'an idea of the colossal greatness of all the Elizabethan dramatists, which is by no means sustained when their works are examined organically.' Not only is this to visit the mistakes of foolish readers upon Lamb, whose praises are far more carefully defined and qualified than at first appears; it is also to forget how Lamb was moved to his eloquence by that inebriation with language, and with a passionate situation well presented, from which Mr Courthope may be a professed abstainer, but which none the less is the nearest way to reproduce the exalted moods of the playwrights themselves in their creative hour. It is not unfair, and even refreshing, for the historian to call Marston's 'Antonio and Mellida' a 'jumbled hash of bloody recollections'; but this does not invalidate the strict rightness of Lamb's praise of the prologue to the same play, with its 'passionate earnestness and tragic note of preparation.'

It is right to add that Mr Courthope's want of sympathy is partly due to a motive that is really and purely artistic, and not merely to a certain ethical rigidity. Trained in the classics, he has a real, a sound, and often an offended sense of dramatic structure. Our drama suffers under the application of this test; but suffer it must, and the test is applied with courage. Logic, outline, harmony, consequence—our plays, so often written to be seen and heard, and written under stress, usually fail in these qualities; Shakespeare himself at times fails in them. In English criticism the sense of form and beauty is too often limited to style and expression, and

too seldom extends to outline and harmony. Mr Courthope is always calling aloud for plastic mastery in our drama, and he calls in vain.

Some of Mr Courthope's conclusions upon matters of fact and authorship, especially in the case of Shakespeare, are sure to excite discussion. He has the right to his own plan, which is not to load his page with titles, learned apparatus, or discussion of the views of other scholars. But it is not always easy to see how far he has studied, and how far rejected, their views. He names Elze and Ulrici, whose simple-minded moralising of Shakespeare has long been exploded, but he seems to make no use of the contributions of Kreyssig, or Bulthaupt, or Brandes, all of whom would have given him aid. In exegesis he seems to work alone, and to infer easily. He holds that Shakespeare wrote 'The Troublesome Reign of King John,' and 'The Taming of a Shrew' (as well as 'The Taming of the Shrew'); that 'The Tempest,' at all events in its first conception, is a play of the period of the 'Dream,' and is identical with 'Love's Labour Won,' mentioned by Meres; and that he may dismiss 'Henry VIII' as too 'mechanical' to be considered in a history of Shakespeare's art, saying nothing about the deeply-considered view of many scholars, that part of it is by Fletcher. Reasons of style and diction, which have to be weighed in advancing a new claimant for admission to the Shakespearean canon, do not seem to have been considered in the case of the 'Troublesome Reign' and 'A Shrew'; and the other pleas advanced for them, though too elaborate to be discussed here, hardly carry so great a conclusion. The dislocation of 'The Tempest' from its accepted place not only misinterprets the evidence of language, versification, temper, and subject, but rests upon the frail support of the prologue to 'Every Man in his Humour' (1598), in which he refers to storms, stage thunder, and the popularity of 'monsters.' But this prologue, although some argue for its early composition, was first printed in the folio issued by Jonson in 1616. Even were it early, the allusion to monsters is not strong enough to warrant an application to Caliban; and a stage tempest was familiar already in Marlowe.

In judging the drama Mr Courthope steadily applies three principles, which are just and carry him far. He

is on the watch for structure and its absence; he constantly applies the touchstone of a high chivalrous feeling; and thirdly, in tracing the historic pattern, he finds its main theme in the spiritual or moral conceptions that animated the successive schools of playwrights. He has little sympathy with the Marlowesque drama, or seems to admire it unwillingly; but he is right in regarding it, with its concentration on *virtù* or personal energy desirous and defiant, as a kind of by-product, not really in the main line of dramatic development. And he shows, more clearly than other critics, and even with too much emphasis, how the motive of the old 'Morality,' namely, the abstract conflict between personifications of good and evil, strikes deep and far into the drama of Jonson, of Massinger, and to some extent of Shakespeare. Mr Courthope's incessant and wavering use of the word 'abstract,' which sometimes means 'remote from life and reality,' and elsewhere suggests moral personifications of virtue and vice, may not be approved. Nevertheless, in spite of the elements from Stoical ethics, which came in to strengthen and ennoble the bare forms of the 'Morality,' it is true that there is in the drama a real continuity of moral topic, appearing under many disguises; so that Massinger, of whom Mr Courthope gives a masterly account, derives by true pedigree, though perhaps not consciously, from the ruder but eminently theatrical forms of art represented in 'Everyman.' To unravel this one thread out of the motley strand of artistic influences that bewilder the student of the drama is a service. The remarks on the nature of melodrama (iv, 233); on the different notions of love in Shakespeare and in Fletcher (iv, 332); on the 'atmosphere of humanity and society' in Shakespeare's comedies (iv, 187); on Ford, whose 'lack of sympathy' in dealing with abnormal passion and 'abstract curiosity' are pointed out with much insight; and the account of Dryden's 'All for Love' as a Gallicised 'Antony and Cleopatra,' exemplify Mr Courthope's felicity on his own ground. After our many criticisms we prefer to end with another profound piece of analysis, in which the extinction of the chivalrous idea of love is discovered in the work of Dryden.

'Love in the poetry of the Middle Ages reveals itself in two aspects; it is either a platonised reflection of the old

Teutonic reverence for women, or it is a school of knightly manners, where the castled aristocracy may cultivate a peculiar system of sentiment and language, distinguishing their order from the plebeian world around them. Dante's Beatrice and Spenser's Una are the representatives of one class; Guillaume de Lorris' new version of the art of love, in "The Romance of the Rose," is the type of the other. The former conception breathes its spirituality into the beautiful characters of Shakspeare's women, making the unselfishness of Viola, the patience of Imogen, and the purity of Isabella, at once ideal and credible. The latter inspires the elaborate code framed by the female canonists and casuists of the "Cours d'Amour," which, embodied first of all in the treatise of André le Chapelain, "De Amore," and adapted to the manners of a later time by Castiglione in his "Cortigiano," formed the basis of social etiquette in every court of Europe, and was reflected with all the hectic colouring of decline in the comedy of Fletcher' (iv, 452).

Mr Courthope's 'History' is thus an experiment of high worth in the philosophical chronicle of literature, revealing as it does the play of many forces, partly ancestral, partly international, partly both, upon literary art.

Mr Saintsbury's 'Short History of English Literature' does not show these preoccupations at all strongly, though the author is learned in the writings of many lands. He loses something by this omission; he loses possibly more by a certain exclusion from his view of the intellectual stuff of literature. But he holds finely and firmly to the yet more important, or equally important, clue that writing is an art, and that structure and style are forms of beauty which it is, after all, the main affair of the critic to detect and love. Within the limits of the nation, or with only casual references to foreign influence, he has applied the same canon of design and proportion to his own History, laying out in a single volume, which has only been as yet half appreciated, the natural epochs, groups, and outlines, in just perspective. Some drawbacks, it is true, cannot be ignored. There is a touch or two of political or ecclesiastical predilection. We read that 'Hooker's work utterly ruined, from the logical and historical side, the position of the English Puritans'—a very doubtful statement, and one that might have been spared in a work where the artistic standpoint is almu

always maintained with dignity. Some caprice is shown in the recognition of philological inquiry and its results, which do not profess to do the work of the æsthetic critic, but are there to be used by him. It really does matter to criticism how we sort the poems of the Cynwulfian and Caedmonian schools, and only the linguists can give us the data ; but in the 'Short History' the subject is treated with some impatience. It is not unfair to point, lastly, to some degree of hasty or parenthetic writing, or lack of finish, which is less than just to the author's literary gift.

Yet Mr Saintsbury has written by far the most catholic record of our literature. He has a steady will to enjoy all that is good of whatever kind, and to find words for the reason why he does so—a simple creed, and 'pleasant when one considers it,' but rare among critics, who are for ever led off either by the British bane of blind whim or by the other mania of vaporous theorising. Such an open temper—which is the boon of nature nurtured by schooling—ready to perceive the goodness or badness of the handiwork, and the peculiar virtue of the form chosen by each artist, is uncommon. It is present in the 'Short History,' as is the power of orderly grouping, by which the vague bibliography, that often does duty in England for a history of letters, falls into an intelligible pattern. It is something to cover the country from Widsith to Tennyson, and from Alfred to Carlyle, in such a spirit. Lightness and cheeriness of step are wanted to carry the pilgrim all that way, and are not absent in Mr Saintsbury.

We do not care to compare him with the other scholar we have reviewed here, save to say that their gifts curiously supplement one another. Like all good travellers, however, Mr Saintsbury has two distinct moods of admiration. There is the general mood of readiness to grant admiration to whatever is fair, or even is strangely expressive, whether it be in Hobbes or Newman or Shelley or Drunken Barnabee ; so obeying the commandment of Plato to 'rejoice wherein we ought to rejoice.' But sometimes the pilgrim is quickened to a different mood altogether, and then his criticism is of the kind which tells us most about both parties to it, though it irritates pedants because it does not pretend to be like a judge's charge. That man is to be pitied who does not get more out of Lamb's sentence that Heywood is a 'kind of

prose Shakspeare,' than out of the meditation that it is decidedly partial. In any case we feel it quickly when, amid the more level and restrained survey proper to a long history, a critic with ample learning and clear canons lifts up his voice. There are authors we chance on, and find they were always ours; and we resent that an opinion should be ventured on them by others. Their voice calls up the echoes of our private whispering-gallery. They may not be the greatest of men. But the involuntary eloquence they communicate remains with our hearers longer than the tempered findings of the historic intellect. It is this kind of note the want of which banishes much of the commentary of our time into the useful field of science. Donne, we have seen, is a difficult poet to divine. Mr Saintsbury, observing that the word 'metaphysical' is strictly appropriate to him, adds:—

'For, behind every image, every ostensible thought of his, there are vistas and backgrounds of other thoughts dimly vanishing, with glimmers in them here and there into the depths of the final enigmas of life and soul. Passion and meditation, the two avenues into this region of doubt and dread, are tried by Donne in the two sections respectively, and of each he has the key. Nor, as he walks in them with eager or solemn tread, are light and music wanting, the light the most unearthly that ever played round a poet's head, the music not the least heavenly that he ever caught and transmitted to his readers.

Such enthusiasm is in place. Who would not wish to be able to speak of his elect authors thus well? Without some such interludes the mapping of international currents and the watching of impersonal forces become a vain thing. The 'Short History' is therefore to be recognised for its qualities of completeness within its own scale, clear historic grouping, avoidance of crowding, catholic connoisseurship, and the timely betrayal of preferences. Such books minister in their own way, really rather than ostensibly, to that federal ideal of literature which cannot be too often enunciated.

OLIVER ELTON.

Art. II.—GIOTTO AND EARLY ITALIAN ART.

A History of Painting in Italy. By J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle. New edition in six volumes. Edited by Langton Douglas, assisted by S. Arthur Strong. Vols i and ii. London: Murray, 1903.

It would be hard to devise better words of welcome for this great work as now reissued by Mr Murray than those with which Mr Douglas speeds it in an opening sentence of his preface.

'Notwithstanding,' he says, 'all that has been done in the last forty years by archivists on the one hand, and by connoisseurs on the other, with the object of elucidating the history of the central Italian schools, this book still remains the standard authority upon the subject. Of genuine additions to knowledge,' Mr Douglas proceeds, 'of scientifically verifiable facts, accepted as such by all serious and intelligent students, how little has been added to that particular fabric of human learning which owed so much to Crowe and Cavalcaselle! Much that passed for knowledge a decade ago has been proved to be unfounded theory; and, were it not unwise to prophesy, we would venture to predict that, in the coming decade, the field of art criticism will be strewn with the wreckage of many other pretentious but cheaply built structures.'

It is probable, indeed, that there is no domain in which greater difficulty attaches to the differentiation of theory from fact, in which the subjective and objective are harder to distinguish, even for those most desirous of distinguishing them, than that which presents itself to the critic of early art. But art criticism is valueless unless its methods are scientific; and the very difficulty of achieving such a result renders the attempt more obligatory. Mr Douglas does well to emphasise so important a truth; and if he seems a little eager to anticipate the havoc which better methods may produce, it will appear that he is specially entitled to make the prediction.

Naturally, in the review of a book with the bulk of which the public has been long familiar, it is the element of novelty which claims closest attention; and such novelty, without a doubt, appears most obviously in the

share of the editor. It will not be unreasonable, therefore, to give his work the first consideration.

It is easy to perceive that the work of editing a manuscript which has not received the final revision of its authors involves exceptional difficulties. Any reader who does not shrink from the labour of collating the second edition of Crowe and Cavalcaselle's great work with the first may soon convince himself of the severity of the problems with which its editor has had to contend. Thus at the bottom of the sixth page occurs the peculiar statement that 'the face of Christ,' in one of the rude paintings of the Catacomb of St Callixtus, 'expresses some* of the feeling which so nobly characterises effigies of this kind in the fourteenth century.' Can Sir Joseph Crowe have affirmed here the very parallel which, in the first edition, he went out of his way to deny? Such a conclusion will hardly be justified by an attentive perusal of the passage in which the statement occurs. The general verdict is so clearly the same as that given in the first edition that the editor would perhaps have been within his rights in correcting 'some' to 'none.'

An instance of still greater importance occurs on page 133 of the same volume. Sir Joseph Crowe suggests that Giovanni Pisano, 'before he went south, probably carved the celebrated group above the frieze of the eastern gate of the Campo Santo.' The editor points out that, like Morrona and Rosini before him, he has confused two entirely different works; that the Madonna and Saints of the Campo Santo is of a quite inferior order; and that the group by Giovanni is in reality 'above the frieze of the eastern portal of the Baptistery.' Here again a reference to the first edition (page 143) seems to show that the author's error amounted to nothing more than a slip of the pen. 'The old frieze of Bonamicus' he says 'on the eastern gate of the Baptistery was crowned by a standing figure of the Virgin and Child between two Saints,' and he proceeds to call attention in a note, first, to the inscription, which shows the work to be Giovanni's (quoted also in the second edition), and next, to the error of certain

* 'Not a trace,' in the first edition.

commentators (presumably Morrona and Rosini) who confused it with a different work on the Duomo.

Revelations of this kind are inevitably disconcerting, and create an unpleasant sense of insecurity with regard to the text as a whole. There can be little doubt that Sir Joseph Crowe intended the second edition of the *History* to supersede the first; but it is fair to question whether, in the first two volumes as at present published, that result has been attained.

Yet this is by no means the only question which the new issue will provoke. Sir Joseph Crowe, the editor informs us, was engaged until the year of his death in preparing the new edition of the *History*. It was only in 1896 that the author's death occurred. This is but a short time ago; and the interval seems of small account when compared with the forty years which have elapsed since the appearance of the first edition. Nevertheless, even in this short time, critic and archivist have been busy, and here and there, by dint of strenuous gleaning, have added a grain to the store of true knowledge. In this connexion again a task of the utmost delicacy presented itself to the editor. Except where documentary evidence of a decisive kind is brought to light, it must always be a nice question what degree of concurrence among living authorities is required for the transformation of a novel theory into accepted fact. Mr Douglas, in the passage already quoted from his preface, shows a complete recognition of this initial difficulty. The high reputation which Crowe and Cavalcaselle's *History*, in its original form, acquired, the added weight which must attach to their opinions as now reissued after long and mature reflection, give their work the strongest claim to consideration and respect. It would obviously be wanting in taste to allow theories which were mere theories to be appended to their text, or, in a work which will necessarily be of unique value to serious students of every nationality, to admit dissenting opinions which were unsusceptible of proof. The editor would naturally desire that his work should contain a summary of the latest results of research; he would of course feel it to be a misfortune if imperfect theories were disseminated under cover of the authors' reputation.

Opinions will no doubt differ as to the degree in which

the editor succeeds in keeping the suggested ideal in view. A typical instance of his method occurs in connexion with the important problem of the chronology of Giotto's early works. The subject is so interesting that it deserves to be treated in some detail; and we can hardly approach it better than by briefly reminding the reader of Crowe and Cavalcaselle's own account. The greatest care has been expended by Sir Joseph upon his revision of Giotto's life, but he has not found occasion to modify the main outline as he originally determined it. One change only is introduced, the date of Giotto's birth being now given as 1267 instead of 1276; his works follow the same order as before. The first are those of the Upper Church of Assisi, executed while Giotto was still young; later, in his manhood, he was called again to Assisi by Fra Giovanni di Muro, to paint the ceilings of the Lower Church. Without asserting it as a fact, the authors leave us no option but to believe that this call took place in 1296, as the artist, after painting the Allegories, and possibly also the scenes from the life of Christ, proceeded to Rome before the end of that year. He stayed at Rome six years—the inside of six years, clearly—executing the *navicella*, the *ciborium*, and other works that have perished; and he went to Florence not later than April 1302, where he painted the chapel of the Podestà. His next known work is the Arena Chapel, executed in 1306 at the age of thirty-nine. Considering the monumental character of the achievement, the authors feel that they put no impossible strain upon Benvenuto da Imola's testimony that Giotto, when he painted it, was 'still fairly young.' This chronology is acknowledged by the authors to be tentative, especially so far as the Assisi works are concerned; and it cannot be denied that they take refuge in a certain vagueness of statement.

Yet the complexity of the subject may be easily deduced from the fact that the editor has suggested a new chronology in his notes, involving so revolutionary a conception of the artist as to be totally subversive of all the authors' observations. The editor reserves judgment as to the date of Giotto's birth; but with regard to the order of the early works he is dogmatic and precise. The first were at Rome; they were followed by the *frescoes* of the Bargello and by the St Francis series.

in the Upper Church of Assisi (1302-1306). Next came the Padua period, and after it the Allegories and the Life of Christ of the Lower Church. The inversion is so startling as to be all but incomprehensible, till connected with the new theory proposed by the editor as to Giotto's early training, touching which he again feels himself compelled in his commentary to disregard the statements in the text.

The authors hold that Giotto was, by training as by birth, a Florentine. To them Cimabue—the great Florentine Homer, of whom the modern critic only knows, and is forgetting to respect, the name, but whose reputation was considered by Dante comparable to that of Giotto himself—is an artist with a style they can recognise and trace, foreshadowing already the superlative qualities of the nascent Tuscan school; they can even detect certain peculiarities of style in Giotto's early work, which they regard as the immediate result of his master's influence. The editor believes, on the contrary, that Giotto's training took place in Rome, and that Rome, not Florence, was the centre of the revival of painting in the thirteenth century. He regards Cimabue either as a myth, or else, 'like Giotto, artistically a scion of Rome.' Giotto, as is well known, visited Rome, but he did not (we are told) find assistants there, as has been hitherto supposed; he found a master. 'There is no proof' (says the editor, vol. ii, p. 99) 'that Cavallini ever assisted Giotto at Rome; the probability is that the younger master assisted and was influenced by the older.'

This theory provides us with a key to the new chronology. In the series of frescoes in the Upper Church of Assisi a certain parallelism is to be found with works still to be seen at Rome. It is an obvious explanation of this parallelism to say that the artist who painted at Assisi was a pupil of the Roman school. The problem, however, requires more careful handling. It is true, indeed, that no document can be adduced to prove that Cavallini helped Giotto; equally true, however, that Giotto cannot be proved to have helped Cavallini. Yet certain facts of an important kind are known in regard to the status which Giotto, when he was at Rome, enjoyed. It is known that he designed and executed a mosaic for St Peter's, for which he received the enormous sum of

2200 florins—a mosaic, moreover, which created so great a sensation in the Roman world that its echo survives even to-day, and to which a succession of popes testified their devotion by moving it, restoring it, and mutilating it, till at last it was distinguished by nothing but the great name of the original artist. In discussing the reliefs of the Florentine Campanile, the editor sets aside the tradition that connects them with Giotto as a ‘manifestation of Florentinism,’ and finds it difficult to believe that Giotto, considering his activity as a painter, could have found time to study sculpture; he seems to forget that the Campanile is Giotto’s only known work in architecture, and that the mosaic of the *navicella* is no less unique. Giotto’s one mosaic—in connexion with which, as the editor justly remarks, the name of Cavallini was never breathed even in Rome—acquired a reputation which is probably without parallel in the annals of early art.

But Giotto also executed a *ciborium* for use at the high altar of St Peter’s, and for this he received eight hundred florins of gold. At a later date Orcagna, the chief artist of his time, and the last to combine, like Giotto, excellence in every branch, agreed to give his services to the Orvietans, as architect, sculptor, painter, and mosaicist, for three hundred florins, for the year. Giotto’s work clearly commanded a price which no assistant could have hoped to receive; and the position which that work was to occupy reflected a certain distinction upon the painter. Moreover, the work itself has been preserved, and, though damaged, it has not been repainted. ‘This triptych,’ say our authors, ‘alone proves that Giotto was not only the reformer of the art of painting, but the founder of a school of colour, and that he was as great in altarpieces as in fresco.’ It was some time after the execution of this masterpiece, designed in the purest Gothic, that Giotto, according to the editor, strongly influenced by the Romans, particularly in his ideas of architecture, went to Assisi, and there commenced a series which, in composition, draughtsmanship, and technical method, was throughout experimental; in which the artist seemed ill at ease and continually changed his scale; and the general decorative impression of which remains unharmonious and bizarre.

That Giotto, while at Rome, was extensively engaged

upon fresco work for St Peter's is a point on which it is needless to insist. The developed powers of design which he displays in the *ciborium* are sufficient to prove that his experimental days were over. Moreover, the editor must have forgotten that, according to his own chronology, there is an interval between Giotto's work in Rome and in Assisi, and that in this interval the artist was occupied with the famous frescoes in the chapel of the Podestà. We have the right to expect a strong manifestation of Roman influence in this Bargello work, but nothing of the kind has as yet been detected there. Every reader will remember that the Bargello frescoes are a subject of keen controversy, and that many connoisseurs believe them to have been executed in 1337 by one of Giotto's pupils. This fact would seem in itself a conclusive evidence of their purely Florentine character; nor can this purity of origin be doubted for a moment by any one who has examined them or given but a cursory glance to the lovely relics of the great fresco of the Paradise. The simple rows of its standing figures, rank after rank, the natural severity of the falling lines of drapery—as near as nature to monotony, and as free from it—the intensity of calm devotion which pervades the whole, testify to an artist whose style is his own, who knows the effect he wishes to produce and the means by which he can produce it.

A further difficulty of a serious kind connects itself with the new date suggested by the editor for the famous allegorical series of the Lower Church at Assisi. It was recognised by the authors that, in the absence of external evidence, Giotto's works could only be classed reasonably by adhering to the general law of progress in style. It was this consideration—so, in the first edition, they openly state—which led them to place the Allegories immediately before the Roman altarpiece. The editor, it will be remembered, regards the Allegories as a later work than the Arena Chapel. Nevertheless, he considers that the allegorical series at Padua stand on a higher plane. Whereas, in the Allegories at Assisi, the symbolism is crudely, obviously, even vulgarly, expressed, the figure of Injustice at Padua is 'symbolically as well as artistically one of the most remarkable achievements of its kind that the world has seen.' 'As a master of alle-

gorical composition,' the editor explains, 'Giotto was very fitful' (ii, 115).

In finally estimating the editor's contribution to the history of the subject, we are compelled to admit that his taste is by no means faultless, and that he has failed to show a due sense of the dignity of his position. The inclusion of a theory in his notes is no guarantee that he has examined it critically; and he is not content merely to state what he believes. Far from feeling that divergence of opinion between himself and the authors is at best a misfortune which nothing but the claims of truth must lead him to disclose, he is careful to emphasise divergence wherever it occurs, and to question the value of the authors' observations where they lead to conclusions other than his own. If this method was dictated by the belief that his authority carries equal weight with that of Crowe and Cavalcaselle, it is our duty to state definitely that such a belief is groundless. Moreover, his writing is often lacking both in dignity and in reserve, and it is not always impartial. He thinks it necessary to remark that the authors 'never allowed their æsthetic judgment to be warped by personal or pecuniary considerations'; that 'neither of them belonged to that parasitic cosmopolitan class from which the writers of little art-books are frequently drawn'; that Cavalcaselle was 'neither a place-hunter nor a picture-dealer in masquerade.' Had the remotest suspicion existed that these things were true, it might be possible to understand the value of the editor's denials. Whether his own æsthetic judgment is in the same degree unwarped, it is only fair to question. Throughout these two first volumes we search in vain for mention of one of our most distinguished connoisseurs; we find an attribution, of which the merit is his, referred to another writer, who was careful to preface the series of articles in which he made use of it by the statement that the theories he promulgated were not necessarily original. The error must be as disconcerting to Mr Fry as it is discourteous to Mr Berenson.

At this point it will be well to leave the work of the editor and devote an undivided attention to that of Sir Joseph Crowe himself. Here, as already suggested, the reader needs to exercise a certain leniency, for

nothing is more obvious than that the author was prevented from giving it his final revision. This appears unmistakably from the number of ungrammatical sentences which are to be found in the text. Unimportant in itself, the presence of such sentences does much to disarm criticism. It is impossible to say what the author might not have changed if he had had a full opportunity of revising what he wrote. But, in spite of this disadvantage, there can be no question as to the great increase of value in the text as he has now presented it. To begin with the more superficial consideration, it will be noted that a certain exuberance of style—the quality of which was peculiar to the early Victorian period of our literature, and which was more than usually prominent in the first edition of the book—has been successfully curtailed in the second edition. 'On the whole, however, he [Gaddi] was inferior to Orcagna; and the unity of talent which characterised the son of Cione was not conspicuous in the last scion of the Gaddi.' So wrote Sir Joseph Crowe in 1864. In the new edition he has substituted: 'On the whole, however, Agnolo Gaddi must be allowed to rank as a painter below Orcagna, who shows more unity of power and more depth of intellect than any of his contemporaries.'

The change here introduced is typical. Nor is it only in the style that evidences of increased control and abler handling may be found. Already, in the first edition, the authors displayed, in the treatment of earlier authorities and of the various sources from which they drew, a reticence and discrimination which gave peculiar value to their work. A balanced judgment, rarely losing sight of the scope and purpose of the history, directed the choice of references and quotations. The authors conferred distinction upon every writer whose name appeared upon their pages. Yet passages occurred in their writing which showed that the subject at times overpowered them, and, particularly where their appreciation was highest, they were apt to allow criticism to disappear in rhetoric. Their account of Giotto, for instance, was disturbed by repeated comparisons of his achievement with those of Ghirlandaio and Raphael; while their numerous allusions to the antique and their appreciations of its *superior* excellence were hardly re-

quired of historians of the art of Italy. Nothing is more remarkable in the second edition than its increased directness and reserve. The work now possesses an accuracy of focus and a sustained concentration which can only be described as masterly.

It is of the greatest interest to trace from the authors' pages the methods of study which they seem to have pursued, and to deduce the quality of their genius and its limitations. Much light is thrown upon this question by the biographies which the editor has supplied; but nothing can be more suggestive than actually to follow the authors at their work. Their treatment of the great St Matthew, now in the Uffizi, provides us with a typical instance. The picture was formerly attributed to Lorenzo di Bicci, but was claimed without hesitation by Crowe and Cavalcaselle for the school of Orcagna; and, as Milanesi showed that Mariotto di Nardo di Cione—believed to be of the same family—had been commissioned to paint a San Matteo for the hospital in which this picture was thought originally to have hung, it was concluded that Mariotto was its author. Evidence, however, has since been brought to light showing that Orcagna, while painting a St Matthew for the Consuls of the Arte del Cambio, fell ill, and that the completion of the work was entrusted to his brother Jacopo. The authors remark that the work bears the device of the exchange—golden coins in a medallion—and justly claim that their original observations are fully endorsed.

The picture divides itself into three equal parts, of which the central is occupied by the life-size figure of St Matthew, while of the lateral portions each depicts two scenes from his life. To one of these the authors refer in terms of the highest praise; it 'is a grand composition of four figures of tall proportions, full of life and character, and in the pure Giottesque style'; praise is given to one of the figures in another panel; of the other two, the subjects only are given, and in one case incorrectly. The error deserves notice, for the importance of the picture, and of the problem connected with it, would naturally act as an incentive to the greatest vigilance and care; and to find St Matthew's martyrdom described as a decapitation, when, in fact, he is stabbed in the back while standing before the altar, shows con-

clusively that the scene made little or no impression upon the authors. They originally connected the work with Orcagna, because they discerned in certain passages a quality beyond the reach of a painter of the second rank. They passed over, with insufficient attention, the passages in which it was not attained. Yet the inequality at once of conception and of execution to which Crowe and Cavalcaselle thus negatively testify, not only becomes increasingly obvious when the picture is carefully reviewed, but is clearly evidence of the first order in favour of their own theory with regard to its authorship.

The inaccuracy here noted is surprising, chiefly because it is connected, as we have seen, with a picture to which problems of a peculiar interest attach. The mistake, however, is characteristic of the authors; several instances, indeed, might be quoted, in which they admire the presentation of one subject where the artist clearly intended to depict another. It was undoubtedly in technique and execution that their chief interest lay; and, though they rightly discerned that it belonged to them as historians to consider also the mind of the artist in its relation to the subjects he was required to present, and the changes and developments to which, as time went by, these subjects themselves became liable, they were unable to bring the same spontaneity of insight to bear upon this aspect of their work; and it will always be felt that they have treated it with a somewhat heavy hand. This again may best be judged from a quotation. In their description of the paintings at Assisi they write:—

'But the frescoes of the Upper Church do not merely tell the story of art, they were intended to declare the abstinence, the piety, and the miracles of St Francis. And a sketch of these from the legend may be welcome to the reader.'

A condensed life of St Francis here follows, by no means always correct in its relation to the frescoes it is meant to illustrate. The quotation of its opening sentence will suffice:—

'Son of Pier Bernardone, a rich citizen of Assisi, St Francis was born to affluence, but preferred, even in those years in which the passions prompt youth to the pursuit of pleasure, the exercise of charity.'

Possibly the authors shrank from the task of recreating

St Francis as he appeared to the mind of Giotto; yet the want of sympathy in their attitude is hardly less than culpable, and constitutes a serious flaw in their account of the revival. 'If it were claimed for the Franciscan movement,' writes Mr Roger Fry in the 'Monthly Review,' 'that it brought about the great outburst of Italian art, the position would be difficult to refute'; and the truth of his contention is increasingly recognised.

That the authors were blind to the significance of the revival on what we shall call its spiritual side may be inferred from their account of its earliest great exponent, Nicolò Pisano. They showed in their first edition that both the models employed by Nicolò and his methods of execution connected him with a contemporary school of sculpture in southern Italy. They were able to point to a document which showed that he was an Apulian by birth. Their theory was a shock to the advocates of Tuscan supremacy; and ingenious arguments have been brought to bear upon it. Perhaps the question is not settled so completely as may now appear. But the view of the authors has been corroborated by the further discovery of sculptures in Apulia, which give fresh testimony to the importance of the school and to its close relation with classic Roman sculpture, on the study of which Nicolò was mainly dependent for his technical method. But if the two busts, provided by the editor as illustrations of the south Italian work, are to be accepted as in any degree representative, they show conclusively that, however near to the Apulians in technique, Nicolò belonged in spirit to another land. If he was, as the authors tell us, by birth an Apulian, it is easy to understand what causes may have induced him to leave his early home. Yet it is strange to notice that the authors fail completely to observe the new spirit which, in spite of ill-adapted forms, already asserts itself in the pulpit of the Pisan Baptistery.

'Nicola,' they say, 'appears at Pisa in the middle of the thirteenth century, and ignores the religious feeling which marked his predecessors and contemporaries there to revive the imitation of the classic Roman period, and remain a mere spectator of the struggle for the new Christian types of the early school of Florence.'

Six years later Nicolò produced a second pulpit, and in the short interval which separates the two works he revolutionised his art. That the change was not effected without external aid may readily be allowed; but the necessary and vital factor in the change can only have operated from within. The spiritual agency which produced it was already Nicolò's when he carved the pulpit at Pisa, and if its full emancipation was yet to be achieved, it nevertheless gave unmistakable evidence of its presence and its power.

'None of the compositions,' writes Sir Joseph Crowe, 'more strikingly illustrate* the system of classic imitation peculiar to Nicola than that of the birth of the Saviour. In the middle of the space the Virgin, recumbent on a couch, would be a fit representation of the queenly Dido; and the figure behind, pointing to her with a gesture and apparently conversing with an angel, is more like an empress than the humble follower of a carpenter's wife in Bethlehem.'†

It is easy to understand that the composition made little appeal to one who had failed to find its key. The figure behind, who 'points to the Virgin' and 'converses with an angel,' is the Virgin herself; the angel is the angel of the Annunciation. The nobility of the composition and its whole emotional power depend upon the grand emphasis with which Nicolò is enabled to treat the Virgin by thus setting his two representations of her to support and confirm one another in the centre. The essence of his work is, indeed, its passionate feeling; and no appreciation of it is possible without recognition that its forms are definitely antagonistic to the sculptor's deepest aim. That, in spite of this antagonism, he is able to do them justice even in the eyes of those who look to him only for imitation of the antique, is culminating evidence of his perhaps unparalleled greatness.

The concentration of the authors upon the technical side of their subject, of which their treatment of Nicolò's pulpit provides an illustration, puts them at a serious disadvantage in the review of all works where the spirit

* Such misprints occur frequently throughout the book. It is not so written in the first edition.

† A photograph of this composition is given in the new edition.

expressed itself in spite of technique rather than by means of it. A close examination of their account of Giotto, who is rightly the hero of their opening volumes, leads inevitably to the conclusion that they formed no consistent conception of his individuality. They recognise of course the sublime artist, the great innovator, but, perhaps, primarily, a painter of unparalleled skill, to whom, as such, all contemporary work must be assigned which, without violating his maxims, passes a given standard of ability. Such a test is essentially inadequate, and the application of it presents peculiar difficulties in the case of a school whose members were in closest association, and whose works have, in very few cases, preserved their original qualities of touch. It seems probable that a material so complex and so uncertain can only be satisfactorily dealt with by simultaneous consideration of it from all possible points of view. It cannot therefore be altogether surprising that, in criticising the St Francis series in the Upper Church of Assisi, the authors singled out, as most distinctive of Giotto, the very works which later critics have agreed to withdraw from him;* or that in the Lower Church they assigned to him unhesitatingly an entire series, of which it may now appear that tradition had the truer word to say. Clearly their opinions with regard to this master must not be accepted without corroboration; and one problem, at least, may fairly be considered here, as, by the reissue of their History, it cannot fail to be revived.

'The dying echoes of a debate which once aroused keen interest still linger round the problem of Dante's portrait,' wrote Mr Roger Fry† in reference to the frescoes of the Bargello. 'That the chapel was burnt and completely restored in 1332 would seem alone sufficient evidence of their belonging to a subsequent date.' Sir Joseph, however, has not hesitated to reassert the previous verdict with a sense of absolute conviction; in spite of more than usual maltreatment, the remains (he says) 'are of incalculable value to the student of Giotto's manner.' The authors' chief opponent is the distinguished

* Mr Berenson first noted that the later numbers, particularly the last three, had separate characteristics. His opinion was endorsed by Mr Roger Fry, and receives new sanction from Mr Douglas.

† *'Monthly Review,'* Feb. 1901.

Milanesi, but he does not attempt to meet them on their own ground; dealing only with the external evidence, he shows conclusively that at best it is inconclusive. To his more important arguments no adequate reply is given either by the authors or by the editor, who here corroborates their view.

Our interest, then, centres necessarily upon the frescoes themselves. Can sufficient evidence be drawn from them to justify the traditional attribution to Giotto? Technical qualities must needs be at a discount in works which among their enemies number both fire and whitewash. Only from one or two groups in the Paradise can any idea be formed of the original quality of the work. The principal sources of evidence must be sought in the general design of the chapel, and the composition of the various subjects. Now it is precisely here that the student who is familiar with Giotto's manner will be most unmistakably reminded of it. He will gather from the frescoes on the south wall that the artist's primary intention has been to tell his story clearly, completely, and concisely. Not the smallest concession is made to the spectator's desire for interest or amusement; that intense, discerning realism which pierces to the essential and presents it as the obvious, displays here again its magic of directness and simplicity. The gift of abstraction and concentration which this feat implies was an inheritance from the artists of Byzantium. Giotto showed the profoundest respect for their traditions in his work at Padua; and a striking parallelism between the Bargello subjects and those on either side of a Byzantine Magdalen, now in the Accademia, suggests that the Bargello painter stood to them in a relation similar to his. Moreover, where an interior is represented—as in the feast at the Pharisee's house—we see it, as usual in Giotto, slightly from the side, but in a perspective accommodated imperfectly to the chosen point of view.

So far the evidence is consistent, however slight, and suggests, not only Giotto's authorship, but that very period of his activity with which the work has always been associated. But as soon as the figures—such as still survive—are separately examined, difficulties multiply. Christ, in the raising of Lazarus, has all the power to be expected in a composition of Giotto, but of the remaining

figures there are few which positively recall him, and some, at least, seem definitely uncharacteristic. The 'longing glance' of the Magdalen in the 'Noli me tangere' made a peculiar impression upon our authors; and they even remark of her counterpart at Padua that she 'has not the beauteous look of supreme longing which is so attractive in the same subject at the chapel of the Podestà.' They are the last critics in the world to speak of such a quality as attractiveness except where it exists; Giotto is the last painter of whose work it would ever be natural to predicate it. The secret of his power is in his concentration upon the complete revelation of his theme; and, conceiving the Magdalen at her moment of intensest life, he is not likely to admit any appeal to what is comparatively a superficial and external interest, much less to give it a primary place.

Reference has already been made to the beautiful remains of the Paradise fresco. A careful examination of such faces as are still discernible seems to strengthen the impression which a study of the Magdalen creates. They are characterised by a softness and meditative beauty of which the Paduan work, as we now know it, shows no trace; and in form no less than in expression they are governed by a type distinct from that of Giotto. The faces are oval and the features rather subdued than incisive in their effect. That the artist had a gift for portraiture is generally known; but even in his portraits the typical treatment by no means disappears. Cardinal d'Acquasparta resembles Charles of Valois as much as he differs from him. It must be added that no judgment is possible of the repainted fragment which once represented Dante.

These remarks would be of small importance if no other work existed in which similar characteristics could be traced. They can hardly fail to be interesting in view of the striking parallel afforded by a fresco in the north transept of the Lower Church at Assisi. Those who believe the 'Life of Christ' to be Giotto's naturally assign to the same artist the lovely 'Resuscitation of the child killed by falling from a tower'; and for this may claim the authority of Vasari. But this scene, worthy of high praise as it undoubtedly is, differs from the Allegories or the Paduan work only less than from the adjacent stories

of the Virgin and of Christ. Its resemblance to the Paradise fresco can hardly be over-emphasised. Among its kneeling figures the two that are most prominent might be transferred almost in their entirety to the chapel of the Podestà. The dramatic tensivity of the situation excludes the dreamy calm so notable in the Paradise; but again, instead of the complex action to which, in other hands, such a scene would probably have lent itself, we have a company whose forms and faces are inspired by a single sentiment, whose joined hands, moreover, recall irresistibly the gesture which, with different purpose, is employed with equal mastery at the Bargello. But it is in the three figures that stand behind Cardinal d'Acquasparta there, and are among the best preserved in the chapel, that the resemblance appears most emphatically; and, where the colour remains, it has the special clearness and coolness of tone for which the Assisi work is famous.

That the latter is not by Giotto is probable, not only from the peculiar character of the figures, but from a certain lack of natural clearness which marks the composition, and seems sometimes to extend to failure of dramatic imagination. A single example will suffice. The interest of the picture lies, not in the death, but in the resuscitation of the child; he stands amid a group of kneeling figures, his eyes raised to heaven. But, to explain the miracle, a tower is inserted at one side, with the child falling head first from it to the ground. For lack of space the artist has been obliged to set one of the kneeling group beneath him, and he allows this very figure partly to turn, and, looking up, to see him falling upon her. Here is an error of which Giotto could hardly have been capable; but in this one composition are other passages almost as difficult to explain. The architecture deserves special attention. The boy's tower is ornate, but clumsy; at the opposite side of the picture is an elaborate design for the façade of a church. Here, not only are the parts ill-related, but wholly inconsistent in idea. A triangular pediment, pierced by a trefoil, surmounts the whole; and in the wall below there is a section of an elaborate rose-window; but a section only, for the roof of a projecting part of the front is built across the middle of it, and a porch, projecting further

below this projection, completes the sense of disorder. Such a design can hardly have been the work of a trained architect; but it satisfied its designer, for a replica of it is still to be seen in the chapel of the Podestà.*

Internal evidences seem thus no less conflicting than those to be derived from external sources. A theory of reconciliation is clearly required, and easily suggests itself. May not the chapel have been originally decorated by Giotto, and have sustained, in the fire of 1332, injuries which left nothing but the main lines of its compositions intact? May not the date 1337, inscribed on the left wall below the figure of St Venanzius, refer to a restoration undertaken, according to the original design, by the nameless pupil who also painted the miracle of the fallen child? Such an explanation receives support from the fact that, on the south wall of the chapel, the framing is not adapted to the frescoes, and is therefore hardly likely to be of the same date.

But the question whether Giotto was or was not the author of the now mutilated frescoes of the Bargello, has an interest which, great though it is, is mainly derivative. The same interest attaches inevitably to all controversy concerning his work, not merely because truth and accuracy are everywhere of value, but because the critic and the historian have here to deal with a unique material, which it is of the utmost importance to understand. Whoever writes of Giotto betrays, consciously or unconsciously, by keenness of sympathy or violence of antagonism, that he is dealing with a man of altogether peculiar power. Modern criticism reveals an increasing desire to account for this power, and to point out—what is probable—that it is not quite what we have thought it. In recent years an Italian writer, who can claim Venturi for his teacher, has attempted to prove Giotto inferior to one of his least-known pupils, compares unfavourably a Crucifixion, probably not his, with that by Duccio of Siena, and concludes that he is a mean artist with a gift for getting on.† Again, a well-known English

* On the north wall, in the right-hand top corner. The subject of the fresco is gone; but of the building, its triangular pediment and mutilated rose-window may still be traced, with signs of a porch below.

† This work would have escaped our notice had not the editor of *History* directed serious attention to it.

critic* has lately raised a certain Sienese 'Sassetta' to a place of superior eminence, and asserts that, as an exponent of Franciscan tradition, of what he calls 'seraphic spirituality,' Giotto is outmatched. The greatness of Giotto, according to this critic, lay in his perception that the human body, like other objects, not being flat, a painting could not be effective that represented it so. It was the same author who affirmed that a painting could not be said to exist artistically unless it implied a recognition of this fact; who seemed to suggest that the value of a painting might be tested according to the degree of vividness with which it represented depth, and was led to find a more tangible reality in Giotto's pictures than in the common world. It is tempting to say that Giotto might accommodate himself to any theory if to this; and the statement would conceal a truth.

It will be remembered that Ruskin, in his earlier evangelical period, found many a happy text in the Arena Chapel. And so the lovers of 'composition' find composition in Giotto; while sentimentalists of every kind succeed in drawing their proper comfort from this single source. Giotto is a stronghold for the subjective idealist, presenting the mirror to every intelligence, dismissing each admirer with a new vision of himself. Only the occasional upstart, as perverse as he is superficial, reads him blank; and the dissentient voice is futile against that popular acclaim which, with unerring instinct, has raised Giotto to a place among the greatest. Probably, therefore, his work is of that balanced order which defies a hasty interpretation. The sovereign intellect was at work in him, many-sided, all-inclusive; to the common mortal he stands for some mysterious force of nature, which, in all its manifestations, is felt more keenly because he cannot comprehend it. Consider Giotto in his relation to his time, and again the same conflict of superficial evidence similarly testifies to the presence of an agency for which none can account. The various streams meet and mingle, and their separate identity is lost. There is truth in the hasty contention, only too characteristic of modern criticism, that this man's master is a myth. If to one critic Giotto seems

* Mr Berenson, in 'The Burlington Magazine,' No. 7, vol. 3, Sept. 1903.

related most obviously to the Roman, to another to the French; if tradition represents him as the translation of a Greek into a native style; if he presents himself to our authors as a Florentine of the Florentines—in each of these various aspects an element of truth appears. To what, in their combination, do they point, if not to an absorbing personality, a sifting intelligence which, with living magnetism, drew life from every source, and reconciled what seemed irreconcilable?

Such a power is recognisably manifested in his relation to the great religious movement of his day. Violent antagonisms were characteristic of the time; the various impulses that govern human action personified themselves in individual men; and the result was that kind of excess which is familiar in philosophical abstractions. The Franciscan order, which had sprung from an idealism too pure to be governed by existing circumstance, was, in Giotto's time, conspicuous already for its degradation. Giotto distinguishes the purity of the original purpose from its error; he devotes his genius to Saint Francis, but directs attention in the plainest terms to the fallacy of his cardinal doctrine. Christ's poverty, says Giotto in his *canzone* on the subject, becomes a pitfall to men who profess and cannot realise it. His words have double meaning, like those of every great teacher. Our action must be governed by that meaning which bears helpfully upon it. The value of poverty in Him lay in the protest against avarice in us. Thus Giotto summarises and seems to dismiss what, in appearance, was the main motive of religious thought in his day, and was, in fact, the life profession of that order from whose teaching the artists of Italy drew their inspiration. Those who will may doubt the sincerity of his religious life; none familiar with his work can do so.

Giotto gathered up all that was vital from the inheritance bequeathed him by the past, he looked with a discerning eye upon the present, cleaving to reality and setting its counterfeit aside; yet it is not until he is confronted with his better known successors that his greatness is rightly understood. It is customary to regard him as the first term in a developing series, to imagine the art of Florence magnificently expand at the end of an array of noble names, Raphael and

Angelo unite to form its crown. The conception is too simple to be true; nor could it possibly have held its ground had not a genuine progress in the technique of the art obscured the profounder issue and increased the difficulty of an impartial judgment. No serious musician would suppose that Bach is inferior to Brahms as a composer because of the more numerous devices of which the latter could avail himself. A sound comparison must be based on the emotional quality of their work, its expressiveness as conceived in relation to the means of expression that each possessed. Yet the critic of painting seems sometimes to forget that the development of the technical medium does not of necessity carry with it an increase of artistic seriousness and depth of purpose. It is the last-named qualities, spiritual in their scope, that determine finally the value of the work; and it is only when their due prominence is given them that Giotto's true stature can appear.

The art of Italy owed its origin to a religious awakening, and it remained in the service of religion till the end. Some artists accepted, some refused the faith for which they worked; they are not, as artists, to be differently judged on that account. It is the artist's privilege to identify himself with whatever in human life is passionate and pure, untrammelled by the dictates of the abstract intelligence. In Giotto, undoubtedly, it might be difficult to distinguish his strength from his faith. Yet the value of his achievement is independent of his belief, and goes beyond it. His Nativity, his Crucifixion, his Resurrection—to choose subjects which include the most direct relation to the religion he professed—make an absolutely universal appeal. Whether these representations are historic or not is an almost irrelevant question. They are more than historic; they adequately symbolise the aspiration, the renunciation, the sense of kinship with the divine, which govern and inspire the life of every human spirit.

Art. III.—RECENT LIGHTS ON ANCIENT EGYPT.

1. *A History of Egypt from the End of the Neolithic Period to the Death of Cleopatra VII.* By E. A. Wallis Budge. Eight vols. London: Kegan Paul, 1902.
2. *A History of Egypt.* Six vols. Vol. I (fifth edition): *From the Earliest Kings to the 16th Dynasty.* Vol. II (second edition): *The 17th and 18th Dynasties.* By W. M. Flinders Petrie. London: Methuen, 1897-1903.
3. *The Dawn of Civilisation: Egypt and Chaldæa.* By G. Maspero. Edited by A. H. Sayce; translated by M. L. McClure. Fourth edition. London: S. P. C. K., 1901.
4. *Manual of Egyptian Archaeology.* By G. Maspero. Translated by Amelia B. Edwards. Fifth edition. London: Grevel, 1902.
5. *Methods and Aims in Archaeology.* By W. M. Flinders Petrie. London: Macmillan, 1904.
6. *The Gods of the Egyptians.* By E. A. Wallis Budge. Two vols. London: Methuen, 1904.
7. *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia.* (Gifford Lectures.) By A. H. Sayce. Edinburgh: Clark, 1902.

AMONG all the branches of knowledge pursued in spite of the absence of any utilitarian advantages to recommend them, there are few that prove more generally attractive than Egyptology. The prestige of Old Egypt, the extraordinary range of its history into the remote past, the perfect preservation of many early and most perishable relics, the massiveness of its greatest monuments, the part played by the land and people in biblical history and in the development of civilisation, appeal to every educated man. In spite of protestations that Egypt would be a very pleasant country if it were not for the antiquities, it is certain that the multitude of visitors drawn to the banks of the Nile in the search for health or amusement, or driven thither by the imperious command of Fashion, furnishes a stream of recruits to the ranks of Egyptologists, both professional and amateur.

Apart from private archæological undertakings, which in some cases are on a large scale, the Egypt Exploration Fund—an archæological society with two flourishi

branches—is entirely supported by subscriptions raised in England and America. Nor is the Anglo-Saxon by any means alone in feeling the charms of Egyptology. To the French, Egypt has, for more than a century, had a peculiar attraction, scientific, political, and sentimental; the German *gelehrter* has made this branch of learning, like every other, his own; and the Governments of France and Germany spend large sums in the encouragement of Egyptian research. Champollion's triumphs in the first interpretation of hieroglyphs were won between 1820 and 1831; and since that time there has been no cessation of labour on the philological side in defining the values of the hieroglyphic signs, the meaning of the words, and the general sense of the inscriptions. Every successful attempt at decipherment brought with it some new contribution to knowledge, establishing the existence or the succession of kings, their monumental or warlike activity, the age of tombs and temples, or throwing light on the beliefs and practices illustrated by the texts. Archæological exploration and discovery, begun a century ago, are now proceeding more rapidly than ever; and decipherment has progressed so fast that ordinary texts are read with fluency if not with complete accuracy, and even those that are difficult may generally, in the hands of the best scholars, be compelled to yield up their secrets.

Many and various have been the histories of ancient Egypt written since Champollion's time. At first, like the brief account of Sharpe and the bulky work of Bunsen, they were founded on the statements of classical authors, with scraps of half-understood monumental evidence worked in. In 1859 the great Egyptologist, Heinrich Brugsch, wrote in French a history of Egypt down to the conquest by Alexander, based upon the inscriptions. In 1876 he was able to boast on the title-page of a recast edition in German that it was 'derived entirely from the monuments,' though it must be admitted that the later portion is extremely meagre as a result of excluding the literary authorities. Brugsch's History dispensed with footnotes or other citations of the sources, and was therefore of little value as a work of reference. These were abundantly supplied in 1884 by Wiedemann, whose *Ägyptische Geschichte* is mainly an elaborate and

critical catalogue of material relating to the successive kings, both published and unpublished.

The authority of classical writers has received a rude shock from the comparison of their statements with the facts recorded in monumental inscriptions. That their lights were misleading is a saying that might be expected to apply in regard to their knowledge and perception of past history. One must say it with regret that it is hardly less true of their observations of contemporary affairs. One historical writer in Greek has stood the test well, and that is Manetho the Sebennyte, an Egyptian priest of Heliopolis employed by either Ptolemy Soter or Philadelphus to compile an account of the king's predecessors on the throne of Egypt. His lists of kings' names, and the divisions into dynasties, are, in the main, corroborated by the monuments; the figures recording the lengths of the reigns are not trustworthy; but perhaps this is owing to the corruptions of copyists. Beyond these lists very little of Manetho's great work has survived. If one may judge by the long passages which Josephus professes to have excerpted from Manetho, and the short notices of the kings preserved by Africanus, some of which must have actually been taken from the work of the Egyptian priest, the historical narratives in Manetho were of a semi-mythical character, and were probably founded on such tales as were told by the storytellers in the bazaars.

While clay tablets of annals in cuneiform script from Babylonia and Assyria have long been known, it has generally been an accepted belief that the Egyptians kept no systematic chronicles. One of the latest discoveries, however, has shown that this idea is by no means correct. At Palermo there is preserved a fragment of a slab, finely carved on back and front with hieroglyphic writing, which, when it was complete, gave a view of the kings' reigns down to the time of its erection in the fifth dynasty, some twenty or thirty centuries B.C. As interpreted by its German editors,* the first line gave simply a long list of names of the kings of Upper Egypt and of Lower Egypt who ruled in the dark pre-

* Joh. Heinrich Schäfer, 'Ein Bruchstück altägyptischer Annalen,' mit beiträgen von Ludwig Borchardt und Kurt Sethe. Berlin, 1902.

historic period before the two kingdoms were united under Menes. These names are all new to science; and it is to be feared that Egyptologists will never have the good fortune to find them inscribed on contemporary monuments. The subsequent lines contained regular annals of the successive dynasties, from the 'first' dynasty onwards, recording under each year the height of the Nile, festivals celebrated, victories won, buildings founded and endowments given. If these chronicles were compiled under the fifth dynasty there seems no reason why they should not have been kept up, in one form or another, till the age of the Ptolemies.

A famous papyrus at Turin, of about the age of Rameses II in the nineteenth dynasty (c. 1300 B.C.), must, when complete, have given a list of all the dynastic kings who had reigned down to that time, together with the lengths of their reigns, and apparently summarised the prehistoric kings as a dynasty of Spirits (the *vénueſ* of Manetho), as if they had been demigods reigning between the true deities and the human dynasty of Menes. The Turin list we can now recognise with probability to have been derived from full and authentic annals; and it seems not beyond hope that those annals themselves may one day be forthcoming. But the almost complete absence of authentic historical information from the fragments of Manetho's history justifies the apprehension that the old annals had long been lost sight of in his day, and the later ones very inadequately kept. Persistency in such an unessential matter is hardly to be looked for; the handiwork of the Egyptian scribe shows that to devise and carry out a system was abhorrent to the character of the people. A good custom initiated by an intelligent and enterprising ruler might soon fall into desuetude after his personal influence ceased, perhaps to be revived again irregularly from time to time.

The number of inscriptions and papyri now available for the Egyptologist is immense, and increases substantially year by year. From this mass proceeds a gradual broadening and consolidation of the narrative obtained by a more or less painful accumulation and comparison of facts. But now and again there rises from the soil of the Nile valley, as if by magic, an entire chapter of unsuspected *history*—it may be that it lies in

the evidence of a single find or in simultaneous discoveries over a wider area. In 1886 was found the diplomatic correspondence of kings of Babylonia, Assyria, Mitanni in Mesopotamia, and Alashiya (Cyprus?), together with reports of the governors of Syria and Palestine, addressed to Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV, Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty. The find consisted of some three hundred tablets in cuneiform writing, but many of them were abominably broken or rubbed down by the unhandy fellahin finders in their attempts to secure and sell them. Flinders Petrie examined the spot at El Amarna in 1892 and found a few more tablets. The site proved to be a group of chambers close to the palace of the heretic king, Amenhotep IV (who called himself Akhenaten), evidently set aside specially for the decipherment, writing, and storage of despatches in foreign languages and cuneiform script, fragments of glossaries being found along with the letters. The letters of El Amarna have thrown a flood of light on the relations of Egypt with Syria and the great Asiatic powers beyond—a subject previously obscure to the last degree—and have provided a most important synchronism in Babylonian and Egyptian history.*

Again, until 1894, the year in which Heinrich Brugsch died, the history of Egypt for practical purposes began with the last king of the third dynasty. It seemed well-nigh hopeless to look for any earlier antiquities. Now archaeologists find their most fruitful field in the prehistoric remains, and decipherers some of their most attractive problems in the archaic writings of the first three dynasties. The cultivation of systematic archaeology and of scientific excavation, under the leadership of Professor Flinders Petrie, is responsible for the great success achieved in this department. Curiously enough, Lower and Middle Egypt have as yet contributed little; and it was not until Petrie, working southward in successive years from the Delta through the Faiyum and El Amarna, at length reached Koptos that scientific workers struck the earliest strata. Immediately afterwards, in 1896, the simultaneous discoveries of De Morgan and Petrie in

* This synchronism, about 1400 B.C., gives a fixed point in the chronology of the Cretan and 'Mycenaean' civilisations, archaeology having clearly proved the letters contemporaneous with the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty.

Upper Egypt demonstrated the existence of numerous cemeteries of the prehistoric period, some of which had already been ruthlessly plundered by the Arabs, the magnificent flint implements and stone vases which they contained being highly prized by collectors, though they knew not what they were. The efforts of scientific workers have now saved much valuable information; but dealers' plundering of the shallow graves has gone on at such a prodigious rate that deposits of importance have rarely been found intact, and the supply of antiquities from the cemeteries seems now to be nearing exhaustion.

Contemporary with these revelations of prehistoric culture in Egypt, the excavations of Amélineau at Abydos and of De Morgan at Negadeh proved the existence of the tombs of the kings of Manetho's first dynasty, with inscriptions in a hieroglyphic writing already highly developed. Unfortunately, the diggings in these tombs, though they yielded some great prizes, were of the most summary and unscientific description, and were ruinous to the scanty remains that still existed under the sand after much plundering in ancient times. They were resumed by Petrie in a far more scientific manner, and resulted in the extraction, from the abandoned excavations of his predecessor, of a vast mass of important material—carved ivories and ebony panels, some fragments being of the most exquisite workmanship, archaic *stelæ*, both royal and private, and much information about the construction of the tombs.* The panels appear to have represented the annals of the deceased kings in primitive writing and picturing, but for the most part they are so obscure and fragmentary as to offer little prospect of interpretation.

These discoveries, which restore to us something of the individuality of each king of the first dynasty, have been followed by others in the same neighbourhood among the sepulchres of the second and third dynasties.† Unfortunately, the deposits with the bodies of these later kings were much less rich; probably the bulk of the offerings to the tomb were laid outside the chamber of the tomb itself; at any rate, what has survived the long

* Published in the annual memoirs of the Egypt Exploration Fund.

† See Garstang's 'Mahasna and Bet Khallaf' for the tombs of two kings of the third dynasty.

ages of plunder and decay is singularly uninformative. But the great tombs themselves remain; and now the development of the '*mastaba*' tomb of the Old Kingdom and of the pyramid can be traced through rapid stages. First, there is the great chambered brick sepulchre of Menes himself, standing entirely above ground, the body having been laid scarcely, if at all, below the surface level of the plain; next, the body is sunk in a large subterranean chamber; then in the third dynasty the building is solidified above ground into a uniform mass of brick-work—a *mastaba*—with 'battered' sides, and the sepulchral chamber is reached by a staircase. This last is practically the type of the Old Kingdom tomb for nobles of the fourth to the sixth dynasty, except that, instead of a staircase, they were content with a vertical pit ending in the small burial chamber. The later kings of the third dynasty devised a lofty pile, placing one *mastaba* on the top of another, so as to form 'stepped pyramids' with three or four stages. Senefru, the last king of the dynasty, filled in the steps to form an even slope, and so produced a true pyramid. The outer form was now fixed; only the workmanship and mode of construction remained to be simplified and perfected in the Great Pyramid by his successor, Cheops, of the fourth dynasty.

Thus the art and archaeology of these earliest dynasties have been added to our knowledge in the space of a few years; while, at the same time, the prehistoric civilisation of Egypt has been revealed to us in an extraordinary wealth of detail and abundance of material. One may, indeed, complain that the products of one excavation among the prehistoric cemeteries are monotonously like those of another, and that the main types are soon exhausted. But instructive variations in detail are discovered, and a small percentage of really striking novelties is unearthed each year; and, quite apart from this, there are great advantages in the infinite accumulation of material, for it enables the investigator to generalise with safety. He can establish series, he can find true averages, when he has hundreds or even thousands of examples in each category on which to base the deductions. Flinders Petrie has thus instituted what he calls a 'sequence dating' for the prehistoric period in Egypt. In no other country has any prehistoric age left such a

wealth of relics in intelligible order, even as they were deposited group by group for a definite purpose and on definite occasions. The plains in some parts of North America are strewn with implements, like the deserts of Somaliland and Egypt; but these preserve little or no evidence of relative dating one with another; remains of widely differing ages may be jostling each other indistinguishably. It is otherwise with the contents of a grave. Here all the objects that exist together undisturbed were deposited at one and the same time, on the day when the corpse was interred and the grave filled in. The anthropologist can study crania and skeletons from the Egyptian graves by the hundred; and large numbers of dried bodies (buried in a crouched position) have been found in wonderful preservation, and are now being subjected by medical men to minute examination. The archæologist easily perceives that he has reached a period when the potter's wheel is as yet unknown; copper is already employed, though rare, while the infinitely superior alloy of bronze is not found till late in the historic period.

Such is the scientific value of these marvellous finds of relics of a remote age, far earlier than the practice of mummification, and unmarked by any of those characters that we have learnt to recognise as essentially Egyptian, while the objects themselves are often beautiful and interesting. Even the pottery is frequently of fine form and decorated with tasteful or remarkable ornaments and figures; and the stone vases are elegant and varied in shape and material. The flint knives and spearheads display the perfection of workmanship; even the choicest specimens from Denmark can scarcely rival them for fineness and accuracy in the chipping, especially as the Egyptian flint is singularly uniform in texture, so that the ancient artificer was able to calculate the effect of his blows or pressure to a nicety with little fear of disappointment. Chronology is a difficulty everywhere when once we have passed beyond the synchronism between Babylonia and Egypt in the fifteenth century B.C., which fixes the beginning of the eighteenth dynasty in the seventeenth century B.C. with close accuracy. An astronomical datum appears to place the twelfth dynasty from the twenty-first to the nineteenth centuries B.C., but many consider the dynasty

to be far older. The early dynasties are put at least about 3000 B.C. but may be nearer to 5000 B.C. The prehistoric age is, of course, not to be calculated at all chronologically.

Perhaps the most remarkable discoveries of late years are those we have thus summarily described; but side by side with them flows a continual stream of smaller finds, in language, literature, history, and archaeology, of periods previously known with some fulness. The histories written before 1880, nay, before 1900, for popular purposes are quite out of date, though Wiedemann's will long retain its value as a storehouse of references. There is, however, an abundance of recent works, more especially for English readers. The most notable is Professor Maspero's '*Histoire de l'Orient Classique*' in three large and finely illustrated volumes, bearing the titles respectively, '*Les Origines*,' '*Les Premières Mêlées des Peuples*,' and '*Les Empires*,'* issued between 1894 and 1899. In his first volume Professor Maspero perforce gives Egypt and Babylonia separate treatment. Later, their history becomes more interwoven; then Israel rises into prominence, until ultimately the Persian Empire blends all together. Professor Maspero, in his bibliographical footnotes, shows an extraordinary acquaintance with the literature of his vast subject. When one remembers his activity as administrator of the Department of Antiquities in Egypt, as an explorer, and as a brilliant editor of Egyptian texts, it is astonishing that he can find time besides for researches in so wide a field. There seems no department of Egyptology which is not touched upon with a sure hand in his pages; and the history of Babylonia, Assyria, and the other countries is handled with proportionate fulness. The history seems somewhat unwieldy and unmethodical to the reader in spite of the consummate ease with which Maspero can apply his

* Good English versions of this work have been published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, under the titles of '*The Dawn of Civilisation*,' '*The Struggle of the Nations*,' and '*The Passing of the Empires*,' and the first of these volumes has already reached a fourth edition. In this great work is displayed the whole early history of the nearer East, the civilisations of the Nile valley and of Mesopotamia naturally taking the first place.

immense learning; but it is a veritable mine of information, and of ideas where information fails.

A different treatment is to be found in the series of volumes edited by that indefatigable explorer and archaeologist, Flinders Petrie, the pioneer of scientific excavation in Egypt. Petrie himself has contributed two volumes reaching to the end of the eighteenth dynasty; a third from his pen is to bring the history down to the occupation by Alexander. Professor Petrie's plan makes his books a catalogue or work of reference rather than a consecutive history. All the information that can be collected about each ruler, whether notable or obscure, is thus given separately, comprising a list of his monuments and references to the publications. The illustrations are well selected, but not well reproduced; the utility and value of the work, however, are beyond dispute.

A more attractive-looking work for the general reader or amateur Egyptologist is that issued by Dr E. A. Wallis Budge of the British Museum. The eight volumes, simultaneously published, range from the prehistoric period down to the end of the Ptolemaic rule. The style is more popular and less pregnant than that of the closely packed volumes of Petrie. The one is a work for students by a very original investigator, who is sometimes led astray by the very abundance of his ideas, and by the lack of trustworthy translations; the other is intended for popular use, though written by an expert in many Oriental tongues, who can therefore pronounce with authority on points which Egyptologists, as a rule, have to leave alone as outside their sphere of knowledge. Unfortunately, it contains blunders of the most obvious description. Many of the full-page illustrations of royal portraits involve astounding confusions between persons belonging to widely different ages, that were current in old works, and are again adopted without question. The work is not the result of painstaking original thought and research, like those of Maspero and Petrie; but Dr Budge's wide reading and a certain dogmatising common-sense have enabled him to give an account of Egyptian history which is not without instruction for the specialist, and should suit the general

or very well, especially if the author will take the
vise it carefully for future editions.

It will be recognised that, however grateful we must be to all these able pioneers and guides, we are far from having an ideal history of Egypt. The active Egyptologists are so fully occupied—some with administrative work in the formation and care of the national collections, others with excavations, others again with special researches—that they cannot undertake the arduous preparation needed when a sound general history of ancient Egypt is to be written. The archæologist may err radically for want of adequate knowledge of the language; the philologist through having no grasp of the archæology, and all alike, however brilliant or sound they may be, through lack of general preparation. To write a good history of Egypt, a thorough knowledge of the country and of the monuments is absolutely necessary, as well as ample philological training and patience in the collection and verification of the written material, a recognition of style in antiquities, and insight into the meaning of inscriptions. Probably no one at the present time combines all these qualifications, and as yet they cannot be replaced by authoritative information at second hand. But never was there so much activity in Egyptology, nor so many workers aiming at a high degree of accuracy in copies and translations of inscriptions and in archæological observation; never were there so many paths of investigation opened up. When the specialists have had their say, and the main points are agreed upon, it will be easier for the historian to cover the field. A few years will probably see a great solidification of knowledge on these lines.

Egyptian archæology has been treated by Maspero in a separate work, which was translated into English by the late Amelia B. Edwards in 1887. The English version, again, has been revised and re-edited, the fifth edition being issued in 1902. It forms a handy volume, well illustrated. Archæology is a wide term, but even if it be restricted to the arts and crafts, as is the case in this volume, the material for its study in Egypt is abundant enough. For four thousand years at least pagan Egypt produced works of art in a variety of materials. The art of glazing was discovered in the prehistoric age, v
likely as an accompaniment of metal-smelting
the examples dating from the early periods

but there is little delicacy of execution before the rise of the New Kingdom. El Amarna—the magnificent but short-lived capital of the heretic king Akhenaten, who attempted to abolish the Egyptian gods, and for a time substituted the sole worship of the sun-god—has yielded the most exquisite specimens of glazed ware. Flinders Petrie, in his excavations near the ruins of the palace, found the site of a factory where moulds abounded for little pendant beads and buttons of the most varied and exquisite forms; and in many cases the objects moulded could be fitted to the matrices in which they were made.

Glass-making is not yet traced beyond the eighteenth dynasty. A scene that is very commonly sculptured or painted in early tombs has long misled archæologists. A group of men is figured as seated round a furnace and blowing through canes, on the ends of which are bottle-shaped objects; this subject has very naturally been taken to represent glass-blowing. But archæological exploration has shown that glass-blowing is an art that came in first about the time of the early Roman emperors; previously to that, glass vessels were first moulded, and then, if the rough portions that had been in contact with the mould were intended to be seen, they were ground to a fine bright surface. A closer examination of the ancient scenes in question proves that the men are really only blowing up the fire through hollow canes, the ends of which are protected from being burnt away by a thick mass of clay. Bellows were apparently, like glass, an invention of the New Kingdom. The primitive smith of India or Central Africa is, in this respect, ahead of the Egyptian in the Old and Middle Kingdoms. But in the tomb pictures of the eighteenth dynasty we see powerful bellows, worked by hand or foot; and the human lungs are spared the task of blowing the furnace, though the goldsmith softens his tiny wires and beads and scraps of metal with the help of a blowpipe.

To return to glass-making—Petrie found the whole apparatus of the eighteenth dynasty workman at Tell el Amarna—crucibles, frits, glass rods of different colours, amber, blue, white, yellow, red, and green—ready to be
or wound together in the most varied combinations,
undance of fine fragments of saucers, bowls,
nt shapes, pomegranates and the like,

finger-rings, scarabs, and heart-shaped pendants. Whether this delightful art of glass-making was invented in Egypt or introduced from Syria or elsewhere, is one of many problems which await solution. Where glazing was so much employed one might expect glass also to have been invented.

A chapter on the prehistoric antiquities of Egypt has been added to Maspero's work by the editor of the fifth English edition. It has already been pointed out how recent is our knowledge of that period. But a few months back a brilliant French exponent of architecture, M. Auguste Choisy, published an essay on the art of building in ancient Egypt* which provides the material for another chapter as important as any in Petrie's 'Archæology.' To solve the problem how the Egyptians, apparently destitute of all but the most elementary mechanical contrivances, built the pyramids, conveyed obelisks and colossi weighing hundreds of tons, and set them upright on their bases, set up columns and laid huge architraves upon their capitals sixty feet above the ground, is to answer the question perhaps most frequent in the minds of intelligent travellers of all classes in Egypt. The solution provides a key to the engineering mysteries of Nineveh, of early Greece, of Stonehenge, or Carnac in Brittany, as well as of the great monuments of Central America; and even now it may be of service to the European engineer in situations where labour is cheap and machinery unattainable.

Many attempts have been made to explain how the Egyptian builders worked. Flinders Petrie has set down many excellent observations on individual cases that have come under his notice, and, doubtless, could tell us much more if he chose. Commander Barber, of the U.S. Navy, recently discussed the subject of the movement of colossi, and illustrated it to some extent from mediæval and eastern sources, in a little book, 'The Mechanical Triumphs of the Ancient Egyptians,' which, though far from accurate, deserves attention from those who wish to get some insight into the problems involved. But the great clearances of rubbish which encumbered the sites of important Egyptian temples have produced a

* 'L'Art de bâtir chez les Égyptiens.' Paris, 1904.

quantity of new evidence; and the repairs and restorations carried out recently, more particularly those at Karnak, have fixed the attention of M. Légrain and others on these problems.

M. Choisy's work is a *tour de force*. He appears to have no special knowledge of the literature of Egyptian archæology, and very little of the land of Egypt. But he must have had the opportunity of examining certain great brick walls and important monuments at Thebes and elsewhere, and he has made the best possible use of his opportunity. Indeed, no man could be better fitted to attack the subject in this way than M. Choisy, the learned and highly original author of the '*Histoire de l'Architecture*,' and of important monographs on classical and Byzantine architecture. His writing is a marvel of lucidity and compactness. In 137 pages of short terse sentences M. Choisy contrives to take the reader through the whole subject, with scarcely a single demand on any technical acquirements, and leaves him with the impression that he is qualified to apply, without further preparation, for the post of architect to Cheops or Queen Hatshepsut. But this confidence is hardly justifiable, especially when we realise that M. Choisy sometimes travels outside the range of his own observations, and then may adopt a view which is contradicted by the facts. The theory of the growth of the pyramids by successive envelopes added as long as the king reigned, can only apply, if at all, in a very few cases. The book is but a nucleus, to be supplemented and occasionally corrected; but, whatever may be its faults, M. Choisy has grasped the truth convincingly time after time, and has illuminated the subject to an extraordinary degree, so that his book is certainly one of the most important contributions to the technical side of Egyptian archæology that has been made of late years.

In a tomb of the Middle Kingdom at El Bersheh is depicted the transport of a statue of alabaster, thirteen cubits high, upon a sledge; and at Deir el Bahari we see an obelisk conveyed from the granite quarries of Elephantine to Thebes on a huge barge towed by a fleet of vessels. These scenes afford a glimpse of Egyptian engineers at work. It is a characteristic instance of Choisy's extreme compression and neglect of details that

his diagram of the former shows the monument being dragged as a merely outlined block (in accordance with his theory) instead of as a finished statue, which is the condition actually represented in the picture. Quite possibly the artist departed from the realities in order to make his subject more perspicuous; but M. Choisy might have warned the reader of the liberty taken with the picture. He is content to refer to it as 'une peinture d'El Bersé' (*sic*), giving no clue as to where a reproduction of it can be found; nor does he mention either the height or the material of the colossus, both of which are given in the inscription,* and are of importance in the discussion. Such defects are distinctly unfortunate.

Stupendous as are their achievements, there is no sign that the Egyptians possessed any but the simplest mechanical contrivances, such as the lever, sledge, and roller. The chariot was introduced little, if at all, before the New Kingdom; and such progress in invention as the chariot wheel implies was not at the disposal of the builder of the Great Pyramid. Pulleys were first introduced into Egyptian building probably in the Roman period. M. Legrain has lately discovered the use of a peculiar wooden cradle or rocker, models of which were laid in the foundation deposits of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el Bahari. By first tilting and then returning it on to a sleeper, the rocker could be made to rise step by step, carrying with it a block of stone, up to several tons weight, laid on the top; a firm platform was, of course, built up for the rocker by additional sleepers after each rise. The leverage required for this operation was quite small. Each rise from sleeper to sleeper would be of a few inches only; but at about five feet, if not before, the workmen would require a fresh footing for themselves. The platform of sleepers also would then reach a height that might risk collapse; the rocker was therefore dragged forward on to a step. The remains of a rubble or brick ascent, which was in use when the unfinished western pylon of Karnak was abandoned by the builders, still show steps about five feet high. Evidently the rockers may be identified with Herodotus' *μηχανὰ ξύλων βραχέων πεποιήμεναι*

* The entire scene is reproduced in 'The Tomb of Tehutihotep at El Bersheh,' by P. E. Newberry and G. W. Fraser, published by the Egypt Exploration Fund.

by which the stones of the Great Pyramid were raised from stage to stage. The great architraves and monuments of colossal size required different handling; they were raised by multitudes of levers simultaneously applied, then packed and levered again continually until the required height was reached. Inclined planes and stairways were constructed on an immense scale for dragging, levering, and rocking. The interior of the great temples seldom gave space for separate stairways or ramps by which the stones could be raised to the tops of walls and columns; the necessary height was therefore reached from outside, while the interior space was filled as a solid platform of rubbish, rising with the stages of the building and burying it; until finally the temporary structure and the rubbish were cleared away from the stones, and the completed work stood out in monumental grandeur.

Choisy shows how an enormous obelisk could be levered horizontally until it rested over its intended base on a high bank of rubbish, and then supported while the rubbish beneath was cleared away, giving room for it to be swung on its centre to the vertical and adjusted with nicety, and without risk of injury, to its base. For the final adjustment of all great blocks and monuments a most ingenious and yet most simple use of sandbags of two sizes is postulated, and actual evidence of their employment adduced. We have not space to detail Choisy's brilliant theory, most creditable to the Egyptian intelligence, explaining the undulating courses and other puzzling features of the vast brick enclosure walls of fortresses, cities, and temples, or the effects of the parsimony in scaffolding owing to the scarcity of wood, or his exposition of the brick arches and vaultings; but if these few paragraphs induce our readers to go to Choisy's work we think that they will be grateful to us.

It is obvious that Egyptian archæology is to be studied not only in the actual surviving examples, whether buildings, monuments, or small antiquities of all kinds, but also in the depictions of the scenes, and—scarcely important—in the hieroglyphic or pictorial writing. Here we have thousands of tiny pictures of human figures in various attitudes or holding various instruments, of animals and birds of the country, of buildings, vessels, symbolic staves, musical instruments, and what

not. Many of these, when their form and meaning are properly ascertained, are very instructive; but, even in elaborately executed inscriptions, they are generally conventionalised, for the sake of neatness, simplicity, and symmetry, to a degree that makes them of less value than the corresponding figures more freely drawn in scenes. To trace the connexion between a hieroglyph-picture and the idea or word or sound which it conveys is often interesting and suggestive; but the matter requires much further investigation in the more difficult and more interesting cases in order to decide between alternative explanations. While the excavator works with his spade and notebook, the copyist has before him a task no less important in putting on record, in true facsimile, the sculptures and paintings that are liable to perish from exposure to the atmosphere or to the greed of native and foreigner in search of tit-bits for collections. Several memoirs are published annually, chiefly by English workers, containing nothing but the records of systematic excavation and copying. From such memoirs archæology must be built up, even more than from the collections in museums and the monuments in place.

The piety of the Egyptians was the characteristic that struck the Greeks and Romans most forcibly; the grotesque forms which it took gave rise to much scoffing amongst the wits, and the religious fervour of the pagans found a worthy sequel in the austerities of the Christian anchorites. Yet devotion to the gods was, perhaps, not a permanent feature of the Egyptian character; or, if it became so, it took a long time to develope. During the Old Kingdom we find the care of the tombs occupying much time and attention; but the figures of the gods seem to be confined to the temple sculptures. The scenes in the tombs are of a worldly character, depicting the daily life of the deceased as superintending or contemplating the tasks of the peasants in agriculture, boat-making, weaving, carpentering, and the like. It is suspected, however, that the figuring of these scenes was intended to enable the dead man to re-enact them again and again, so that his life after death would be the perpetual recurrence of situations in which he took a leading place with pleasure during his life on earth. This explanation appears

able; but, whether it be correct or not, the scenes represented are altogether earthly. Texts inscribed on the coffins and in certain chambers give a rather more spiritual view, but are mostly spells to preserve body and soul from attacks, and to make the latter perfect in the train of the sun-god in the sky or of Osiris in the under-world; thus the whole range of the universe was to be laid open for the enjoyment of the dead.

Under the New Kingdom we find large sections of the tomb decorations devoted to scenes of a purely religious character, and to funerary ritual. By the time of the twenty-sixth dynasty such alone are admitted in the tombs, with only very rare exceptions. The body is at the same time covered with amulets in gold, hard stone, or other materials, consisting of figures of deities, scarabs, and sacred emblems of many varieties. We can hardly expect, perhaps, to ascertain whether there was really much superstition and belief in their efficacy, or only a feeling that what was customary, or had been promulgated under the sanction of the priests, was still worth trying. Certain it is that, at all periods, the magic texts are very carelessly copied, so that passages are constantly met with which are quite unintelligible until all the variant readings are compared—and this, too, when the accompaniments are of the most gorgeous and costly description. Such carelessness in matters of religion does not imply much confidence in the efficacy of its practices.

The older documents of Egypt, so far as we know them, represent the gods as beings to be worked upon by magic, but seldom treat the subject with much fervour. Adorations and hymns are scarcely to be found before the New Kingdom. The gods seem to be regarded as beings apart from humanity, who, however, can greatly influence the fortunes of human beings, especially after death. There was magic also for disease, and for procuring love, and for other affairs of life; and sacrifices to the gods for safety and victory are recorded in a few rare instances. But the most remarkable hymn of praise and thanksgiving known from the Middle Kingdom is addressed, not to a divinity, but to the king, who, indeed, was looked upon as divine in his office, and as a kind of
ing mediator between God and man. Hymns to the divinities at that period are rare and brief, and belong

probably to quite the end of the Middle Kingdom. With the New Kingdom we find evidence of a more fervent religious feeling; hymns to Osiris, the god of the dead, to Re, the sun-god, to Hapi of the Nile, and other great gods and goddesses are common enough.

It appears that the beneficent and wonderful power of the sun especially drew the adoration of the Egyptians. No other object of worship was so obvious and so potent. The sun reigned everywhere; even when the Egyptian passed far from the Nile into Syria, or upon the sea, where his other gods would seem powerless and out of place, the sun still reigned in the heavens; and the fact that the sun's reign was somewhat less brilliant elsewhere than in Egypt would only confirm his belief that his own country enjoyed the special favour and protection of the god. In other lands, to be sure, though often obscured by cloud and storm, he still ruled high above them all, and was unchanged when they passed away. Thus the sun came to be looked upon as the embodiment of the mightiest gods of Egypt.

But the conquering Pharaohs were not prepared to devote themselves entirely and directly to the sun-god, Re of Heliopolis, in the north. They had gained power in their own southern land under the favour and protection of their city-god, Amon of Thebes; and the wealthy priesthood of the capital found a convenient way of making Amon a world-god by identifying him with Re, the sun. Thus the king acknowledged Amon as accompanying and watching over him in his most distant journeys under the form of Amon-Re. This assimilation took place first in the Middle Kingdom; and 'Amon-Re, king of the gods,' was the favourite and mightiest form of the national god throughout the long period during which Thebes was the capital of Egypt, with only one break of about twenty years. Amenhotep IV, descendant of the line of conquerors of the eighteenth dynasty, was devoted to the arts of peace. His mother may have influenced his opinions; at any rate she was highly honoured by her husband, Amenhotep III, and her son. The latter, inheriting an empire in Syria, was something of a cosmopolitan and a philosopher. He must have seen the endless confusions and contradictions of Egyptian beliefs, and *probably* recognised the tendency to tack local creeds on

to the worship of the sun. Early in his reign he seems to have intended to exalt to the first place the Egyptian sun-god, Re, under one of his titles, 'Horus in the horizon.' He began a temple at Thebes to this selected *avatar* of the deity, but seems to have allowed other cults to continue for a while in full vigour. In his sixth year he dropped all the conventions of the old religion; he now called the sun-god Aten, this having been a solar name of no religious import previously, and he abolished utterly the worship of Amon at Thebes, erasing the very name of that god from the monuments.

He did not proceed quite so violently against other deities, but very probably suppressed their worship. For his own name, Amenhotep, meaning 'Amon is satisfied,' he substituted the very descriptive term Akhenaten, 'devoted to Aten,' and abandoning Thebes, which was polluted by so many years of Amon-worship, founded a new capital on a virgin site at the modern El Amarna, in a broad sandy plain fronted by the river and backed by cliffs. Here quickly rose a splendid palace, one or more temples of Aten, and the villas of wealthy courtiers, with offices of the administration and dwellings for artificers of every kind; while gardens were laid out, kiosks built, trees planted, and ornamental ponds dug for lotuses and fish. The rock-cut tombs of the courtiers at El Amarna are full of representations of the Aten disk, its rays ending in hands which accept the offerings and bless the royal family. The king appears as the prophet and leader in the worship of the Aten, accompanied by the queen and his daughters. Hymns to the sun are inscribed in the tombs; but to the king, the son of the Sun, is given a position of only less importance than that of the god himself.

So long as King Akhenaten lived, and for a few years afterwards, this monotheism held sway, upheld by the royal power as established in its brand-new capital, but repugnant to the ideas and interests of the population, at least in every traditional centre of religion. Then, enlightened and genuine as it was, it fell; it had persecuted Amon, and now in its turn it was utterly voted out, the king's figures and cartouches being deeded on the monuments, as well as the figures and names of the Aten; and Amon was substituted for Aten

in the name of the king's surviving daughter, now a queen. The magnificent city known as Akhetaten, 'horizon of the sun,' was abandoned entirely; Thebes recovered its former brilliancy; and the old religion resumed its wonted sway. Whether the heresy left any permanent mark upon Egyptian religion is not certain, for though solar hymns henceforth are much more prominent than they ever were before the heresy began, the tendency must have been present before Amenhotep IV broke out into his magnificent monotheism. The priesthood abominated any such radical change; the common people were not ready for it; and its brief supremacy may have left the development of their religion almost if not quite untouched. In a moment the realism of Akhenaten's worship of the sun disappeared, and a fantastic and dreary mythology again held sway.

The cult of animals is a notable feature of the Egyptian religion. It was not altogether foreign to Greece and Rome, yet its practice in Egypt struck Herodotus and the Hellenistic writers as something quite exceptional. The bull, Apis, was a god at whose advent the whole land rejoiced; and at his death it was plunged into mourning. It is represented that every individual of the different sacred species of animals was sacred. At its death it was ceremoniously buried; if intentionally slain, the penalty was death; if unintentionally, the punishment was to be fixed by the priests. There is every appearance of the reverence for animals having increased vastly in very late times. But many species apparently received no worship at any time. Of these, the camel was of very late introduction, probably not earlier than the seventh century B.C.; the horse seems to have been first employed in Egypt about 1600 B.C.; the ass, however, was employed in thousands from the most remote time as the one beast of burden, and yet was never worshipped. It may be said that an animal that was habitually urged on by blows could hardly become an object of reverence. But in early times probably only one individual of a species was received as an embodiment of the deity representative of the powers of that species; and a fine spirited ass had as *good a right* to be adored as a jackal or a shrewmouse.

The absence of this notable and useful beast from the list of sacred animals is therefore a fact of great interest. How far the cat and dog were sacred in early times is quite obscure. Multitudes of their mummies have been found, dating back a few centuries B.C. In earlier days it is probable that the wild jackal or the fox and the lioness or leopard were the sole types of Anubis and Bubastis. But the 'patient ox' and the ram, at any rate, were worshipped.

Prayers are frequent on the monuments from the New Kingdom onwards; in earlier times magic takes their place. Close and personal devotion to a particular deity seems to be a comparatively moderate development. It often led to such extravagance of language as to give the worshipper, for the time at any rate, the attitude of a monotheist, seeing in his god the originator and upholder of all things. Some writers have held that the Egyptian religion grew out of an original monotheism, and that, for the inner circle, monotheism was the recognised basis of religion. The origins of Egyptian religion still need much investigation, but it is not likely that research will lead to the discovery of primitive monotheism. On the other hand, a monotheistic feeling is visible outside the formal religion. The didactic papyri of proverbs and morality, such as the 'Instructions of Ptahhotep,' practically never cite a deity by name, but refer instead to *Nuter* ('god'). This might be in order that the observations should have universal application whatever deity was worshipped by the reader of the work; but, however we try to interpret the term, whether as 'God' or as 'a god,' it is invariably in the singular, and implies at least an underlying feeling that, contrary to the temple doctrines, the essential attributes of divinity were alike for all gods.

Of the myths of the Egyptian gods we know very little. There is an abundance of mythological references in the religious texts; and Plutarch's account of Isis and Osiris has given the clue to very many of them, although it is clear that his myth is but one of several widely differing varieties that existed alongside each other as the growth of ages. About other gods we gather myths slowly; nor must we expect to reconstruct consistent series about one god after another, for myths quickly

change, are half abandoned or newly threaded together; but some features once acquired are apt to be permanent, and an intelligible collection of these would be a boon.

The ritual of the temples has lately been the subject of a special memoir by a French Egyptologist, on the strength of texts from Thebes, Abydos, and other centres of religion. There is much sameness about them all; they consist of dreary formalities, and words to be spoken at the different acts of the priest when he daily opens the temple, approaches the shrine, offers incense to the deity and again withdraws. He coaxes or adjures the door of the shrine, the bolt, the lamp, the wick, and the flame, with almost as much formality as the deity himself. Some short hymns are interspersed, adding a touch of life and reason, but most of the language used is highly mystic. The mode of sacrifice in the temples is described with minuteness by Herodotus, who, among other things, says that the head of the victim was cut off, and all evil that might be about to fall on the sacrificer was laid upon it; the head was then cast into the river, unless it could be sold to some profane Greek; and Herodotus adds that no Egyptian would eat the head of any animal. This may be true of Herodotus's day, but there is every sign, in the sculptures of tombs and temples, that the head was a tit-bit for gods, ancestors, and men alike in earlier times. The victims, according to Herodotus, were burnt, and there are clear signs in the late texts of the prevalence of burnt offerings, while we have no evidence whatever of them from the Old and Middle Kingdoms beyond the offering of incense.

Several books have been devoted to the subject of the Egyptian religion. Professor Maspero has published some admirable though rapid studies of special groups of texts in reviews of publications. The material is immense, especially in the way of the traditional texts, which date from a remote age and have come down to us chiefly in very bad copies. The earliest known are contained in the pyramids. Discoveries of sarcophagi of the end of the Old Kingdom and of the Middle Kingdom are daily adding to the bulk; the Book of the Dead is derived in part from this series, largely supplemented in the eighteenth dynasty and later. Much is still quite untranslatable, *and little has as yet been really interpreted.* There is a

vast field here for investigation. Meanwhile there is plenty of detail known in certain directions as to the names and forms of the deities, and many texts have been published in such a way as to afford grounds for general views upon them. Hence we have works like Wiedemann's 'Religion of the Ancient Egyptians,' which has been translated into English; Professor Sayce's Gifford lectures; and Dr Budge's two large volumes about the Egyptian gods. Such an abundance of books of a popular kind is a sign of the interest which the public takes in Egyptology.

To Professor Sayce we look for views and suggestions rather than for collections of facts. Of his Gifford lectures, delivered in 1902, one half was devoted to the religion of Ancient Egypt, the other half to the religion of the Babylonians. They now form a most readable and interesting volume. The importance of these studies as illustrating the growth of religion and religious feeling, and the connexion of religion with morality, is well brought out. Professor Sayce warns us of the extreme difficulty of getting at the real beliefs which underlie the words and formulas of ritual, or exist in the minds of a people in spite of them; but he perhaps hardly realises the difficulties which present themselves to Egyptologists in translating the religious texts. These texts are full of obscurities and corruptions; and, even when they are straightforward and easy in the light of the latest grammatical discoveries or of special research, they are often entirely misrepresented in the current translations. Probably the same is the case in regard to Babylonian religious texts, which the author admits to have been little studied as yet. The consequence, however, is that, though a specialist may approve of the spirit of the book, and enjoy the picturesque presentment of the subject offered by Professor Sayce, there are few statements to which he can give his unqualified assent, and there are multitudes from which he would dissent entirely. The hymn to the Nile, of which a supposed rendering is given on p. 141, is practically untranslatable. Its subject is easily recognised, and the class of laudatory sentences of which it is composed is clear enough; but few of them yield definite meaning owing to the corruption of the text.

The careless treatment of Egyptian words and names

by those who profess Egyptology has led the author into pitfalls. The goddess of the ancient capital of the south country was Nekhebt; in the book she is called Nekheb; but this is really the name of her city, now El Kab, on the east bank, from which the goddess's name, meaning 'she of Nekheb,' is derived. In his general discussion of the gods Professor Sayce fails to note instances in which their ancient names are taken from localities, although they must have an important bearing on their land of origin and primitive character. Besides the vulture-goddess of Nekheb, we know well enough the 'god of Behed' (Edfu), the sun with vulture wings so often seen on the porticoes of temples; Thoth or Thôout means simply 'him of Thut,' the district round Hermopolis in the Delta. He is sometimes an ibis, less frequently, and perhaps later, an ape. The relationship of the two forms of Thoth still remains to be investigated, but double forms are constantly met with in Egyptian mythology. A less celebrated name, but even more important mythologically as belonging to a deity of human form, is the 'god of Anzet,' Anzet being the marshy district of Busiris in the Delta. He was figured as a king holding the emblems of earthly sovereignty and wearing a peculiar head-dress, which perhaps denotes fecundity; and he is almost certainly Osiris.

In discussing the Egyptian word and symbolism for 'god,' Professor Sayce mentions only one hieroglyph, the well-known sign which in outline resembles an axe, but in detail is a roll of cloth. Professor Sayce takes the view that it is an axe-fetish, sometimes (why sometimes?) wrapped in linen. It is easy to interpret the picture differently; and as yet we have no other indication of an axe being sacred in Egypt. Although this sign spelled the words 'divine,' 'god,' etc. (root *NTR*), from the remotest times, there is evidence that, whatever it represented pictorially, it obtained its power of symbolising divinity (apart from spelling the *NTR* group of words) only at a comparatively late date. Two signs which symbolise divinity, in the strict sense of the word, in the early part of the Old Kingdom are, (1) a hawk upon its perch, i.e. the tame sacred hawk of the temple, and (2) a man wrapped in a robe and with a peculiar pointed beard, possibly figuring an ancestor of the prehistoric times.

Neither of these remarkable signs is mentioned in the book. In these lectures we have the theories of the foreign derivation of many of the earliest known deities strongly reiterated. To identify Hathor, a goddess of beauty and love, with Istar is enticing, but it is by no means certain at present. Yet it seems the most probable identification yet brought forward.

In a chapter on the sacred books of Egypt, Professor Sayce supplies an analysis of the 'Book of the Dead,' in which he endeavours to give some indication of its composite character as containing elements from different schools, the predominating element being Osiris-worship combined with doctrines from Heliopolitan sun-worship, and others derived from the Hermopolite and Memphite schools. The 'popular religion' he illustrates chiefly from much-garbled myths, which would seem to have been made for the people rather than to have arisen from the people.

Each year brings fresh evidence on which new views and theories can be built. These are often interesting and may possess some elements of stability; but they remain only views and theories, held by some few bold spirits, venturous enough to theorise or to hold definite opinions. But to make any substantial advance requires painstaking special research and division of labour. If the copious texts of the Pyramids were retranslated and thoroughly discussed by one competent scholar—for instance, by Professor Sethe of Göttingen—and if another were to undertake those upon the coffins of the Middle Kingdom, which contain many chapters of the 'Book of the Dead,' it would then be possible to do serious work on the celebrated 'Book of the Dead' itself, with its Psychostasia, its Negative Confession, and other notable conceptions, tracing some of its origins in the earlier texts, its irregular growth in the New Kingdom, and the final selection and arrangement of the chapters in fixed order at or about the time of the twenty-sixth dynasty; finally, such parts of the book as are intelligible in the copies might be definitely translated. But years of hard work by good scholars are required for all this. The work hitherto done on the 'Book of the Dead,' from Champollion's day onward, though fruitful, has been only of the nature of preliminary skirmish-

ing, Professor Naville's collection of the texts of the New Kingdom being by far the most substantial contribution to its study.

Dr Budge has recently published two large volumes on the Egyptian gods with the sub-title 'Studies in Egyptian Mythology.' The latter seems to promise an attempt to advance the subject for specialists. To Dr Budge, as keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities in the British Museum, we should be justified in looking for original studies of great value, based on the great national collections placed in his charge. But his enormous range of acquirements, it must be confessed, seems to leave him satisfied with a very moderate though wide acquaintance with Egyptian; and, while works from his pen succeed each other with astonishing rapidity, they show little sign of the patience and reserve that are required to make them permanently useful. They may be very serviceable for the moment to the general public, and useful to scholars as rough indexes of material; but they will be cast aside the moment the same subject is dealt with in a more serious vein. We fear that 'the Gods of the Egyptians' is no exception.

These volumes are large and handsome, but the contents are very disappointing, considering the high position of the author. They are, doubtless, far beyond the powers of an ordinary compiler. A vast mass of information is accumulated round the subject of Egyptian religious conceptions and the names of the individual deities; but a glance at the translations, which Dr Budge has the courage to set alongside the original hieroglyphics, is enough to show how little confidence can be placed in the present work in detail. The publisher's circular drew attention to the coloured illustrations—'about one hundred plates, each of which is printed in eleven colours.' Here was an opportunity for valuable contributions to science; and the high price of the book might well have been justified. But the illustrations are evidently only for the use of those who had no previous knowledge of typical forms of Egyptian deities. Some few are good, and are easily recognised as taken from the splendid papyrus of Any, the only fault to find with them being that they are somewhat hackneyed; others are from rough outlines in *Lanzone's* dictionary, here decked to taste in a really

painful gaudiness of 'eleven colours'; others, we are informed in the preface, are copied from papyri and coffins in the British Museum. But in no individual case is the source or age of the picture stated; many are ugly in pose and un-Egyptian or strangely base in feature.

Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, English readers, probably even English scholars, will be glad to have this detailed account of the Egyptian deities, profusely illustrated as it is. There has not yet been published, even abroad, so full an account of the facts recorded in the pictures and the texts. Lanzone's '*Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*' was compiled before the religious writings of the Old Kingdom had been at all put under contribution; and the amount of material subsequently collected is prodigious. Dr Budge shows himself able to cope with a large part of the new texts in a summary way; and the critic can only wish that such remarkable talents and industry had produced work of greater precision. The full index will greatly facilitate reference to the book; but it is difficult to see what purpose is served by printing in the body of the text enormous lists of obscure divinities, named in the 'Book of the Dead' and similar sources, especially when no references are given to the passages where they occur in the original.

On considering the vast and rapidly growing bulk of material of every kind to be dealt with and digested, the main requirement of Egyptology, whether archaeological or literary, seems now more than ever to be accuracy of observation and of interpretation, which also means distinguishing clearly between fact and conjecture. If leading scholars would bear this steadily in mind, we believe that their books would be either fewer or smaller, and that each contribution would mark a definite and positive step in the advance of knowledge. In this way—we submit the suggestion with all respect—science and the world at large would reap a double blessing.

Art. IV.—EUROPEAN THOUGHT IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

A History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century.
By John Theodore Merz. Vols i and ii. Edinburgh and
London: Blackwood, 1896, 1903.

How often has that serene and lofty boast of the youthful Francis Bacon been quoted, that he 'had taken all knowledge to be his province'; and how often has the reflection been added, that no man in the present day could make such a boast, by reason of the continual enlargement of the contents of knowledge, the multiplication of its branches, and the growing intricacy of its principles. That there is some truth in such a reflection it is impossible to deny; for it will confer distinction on a man if he extends the bounds of even a single science by original fruitful insight. A few men of genius, of whom Thomas Young is in England the most remarkable example, have made important discoveries in two quite distinct sciences; but to enlarge all the many branches of knowledge is a sheer impossibility for an individual mind.

But there is a sense in which it is not now, and never will be, an impossibility for a man to take all knowledge for his province. The separate sciences, astronomy, botany, chemistry, and the like, are not wholly separate, even when they appear to be very remote from one another. Astronomy, linked with physics, announces to us the doctrine of the cooling of the earth after ages of incandescence, and thereby gives a historical starting-point for geology; geology informs us of ancient animals and plants whose remains are embedded in the earth's strata, and thereby gives a historical starting-point for zoology and botany; zoology and botany conduct us, on the one hand, to the consideration of those wonderful historical changes in the forms of living beings, to which the name of evolution is generally applied, and, on the other hand, to the science of microscopic physiology, which tells us that the essence of corporeal life lies in the simple form of the living cell. Physiology in its turn is deeply implicated with organic chemistry, which tells us of the need of oxygen for the blood, and phosphorus

the bones, and iron to make the blades of grass and the leaves of trees green; and organic chemistry leads us to inorganic chemistry, with its far-reaching inferences as to atoms and molecules as the first elements of all material things. The atoms of matter are in incessant vibration; and this fact leads us immediately to those subtle vibrations of the illimitable ether, extending through all space, wherein lies the secret cause of the light which gladdens our eyes; the theory of light is closely connected with the more mysterious subjects of electricity and magnetism, and with the all-pervading influence of heat. Sound, again, is an instance of another kind of vibration, less subtle, physically speaking, scarcely less important for human happiness.

But geology again leads us, not only to the primæval animals, but to primæval man; and herein lies the beginning of a new kind of knowledge entirely; for primæval man is connected by distinct steps with those ancient civilisations which are the first type of the civilised life which we know; and thus there come before us, in regular gradation, governments and civilisations, arts and sciences, philosophies and ideals; whence it is that the whole world of matter and mind is revealed as a complex many-coloured texture, fading away into the mysteries of an unimaginable past, and into the glories of a far-off future. In all this great order there is no single part which does not stand related to all the other parts.

Now by reason of this cognate character of the various branches of human knowledge and thought it is possible for a single mind to obtain command of certain leading principles which run through the whole; and thus one man may legislate for universal knowledge, determine what is best in it, make clear the leading currents of it, and derive the subsidiary streams from the point where they flow forth for the satisfaction of some special human need. Philosophy is the name of the task so delineated; and philosophy can never die. But between the philosophy of one age and the philosophy of another age there will be natural differences, resulting not from the truth or error that there is in either, but from the
 3 of mankind in either age. Socrates judged rightly
 'hat the conscience of man was the element

which of all others most needed bringing into clearness and sanity; but to say this is not to condemn Bacon, who, two thousand years later, poured out the wealth of his imagination in commending the common earth, our home and nursing-ground, as the most fruitful theme to which the human intellect could devote itself. Not only is philosophy subject to this blameless variation, but great discoverers in some single realm of science have occasionally a power akin to that of the philosopher; and Copernicus, Newton, and Darwin, in each case by a single theorem, effected great revolutions in the general tenor of men's thoughts.

But the progress of human knowledge has brought into existence another kind of inquirer, who, equally with the philosopher, takes all knowledge for his province, and who yet does not seek to guide thought as the philosopher does. This is the historian of thought, whose office it is to confirm the possession of mankind in the provinces which have been already won. The historian of thought is like the organiser of means of communication, the road-maker by whose efforts the transit from one branch of knowledge to another is rendered easier; the lessons learned in one province are transferred to another, the differences of soil and climate (if we may use such metaphors) are known, whereby true analogies may be noted and false analogies avoided.

Such an administrator and organiser of communications, such a roadmaker and assigner of landmarks in the provinces of thought is Dr Theodore Merz, whose two volumes on the 'History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century' are named at the head of this article; and he appears to us to be in one respect of rare excellence, in the thoroughness, namely, with which he goes to the roots of each successive branch of science, and (without any theorising on his own account) explains the ultimate point which has in each case been attained by the ablest inquirers; so that he presents his readers, not merely with the individual results of science, but with the keys to those results. He is much more than a recorder of successive scientific discoveries; he brings into the foreground that unity of conception which all great scientific discoverers have aimed at and partly attained; he exhibits the different sciences as having

a natural order and succession. Moreover, though the two volumes which Dr Merz has so far published relate to science alone, and indeed complete the history of scientific thought, he promises to continue his history in those regions of thought which have not the exactness of physical science. From many indications in these volumes we are sure that he has the spiritual side of human nature at heart; yet he never in any one case, we believe, fails of perfect impartiality in representing the conclusions of those thinkers who have generally the reputation of being materialists.

We propose in the present article to take Dr Merz's work as our basis, but to go somewhat beyond it, so that we may briefly consider this great question: Are the methods of physical science so universal in their application as to exclude that spiritual way of viewing things which religion has always put in the forefront—the view, namely, that a purpose larger than human purpose animates and directs this whole order of things in which we live; that there is such a thing as spiritual strength, not to be discerned by any external contemplation of physical things, yet governing and guiding physical forces to ends in which our spiritual nature may take delight, ends of increased happiness and energy? Those who have studied the recent progress of physical science will be aware of the extraordinary ability with which the greatest possible problems have been attacked; the problem, for instance, of the formation of the sun and stars; or again, the problem of the structure of matter, living or non-living, in its minutest portions, and of the ways in which this structure has been built up; but such students will also be aware that the tendency of physical philosophers and of men of science has been to discard from their speculations all idea of mind directing matter on any large scale, or with any penetrative influence, in the formation of this splendid and wonderful universe. Yet are we not all, and men of science quite as much as the rest of us, every day trying, by means of our minds, to govern the material world? Is not every seed of corn that is sown, every railway bridge that is built, every pound of gunpowder that is exploded in mining operations, an instance of the directing power of mind, render-

ing matter subservient to uses of life, growth, and energy? Where are we to put the limit to this directing power of the human mind? And if the human mind in this small terrestrial sphere is so powerful, is it not possible that mental power, in ways quite inconceivable by us now, may have operated in the formation of the whole structure of this visible universe?

But of course it is to be admitted that our knowledge of the operations of mind lags far behind our knowledge of the operations of matter at the present day. We attribute this backwardness of the mental philosopher, as compared with the physical philosopher, to the intrinsically greater difficulty of his subject; above all, to the obstacles which hinder the comparing of mental or spiritual experiences. It is much easier for us to be certain of what it is that our neighbour sees than of what it is that he feels; when we point the telescope to a starry cluster, or the microscope to the wing of a fly, we all see much the same thing; but if we wish to know the principles which actuate our neighbour in the different parts of his conduct, that is a very much harder thing to be sure of. This greater difficulty, however, in spiritual philosophy is no reason for supposing it to be of less fundamental importance than physical philosophy; rather, perhaps, the reason goes in the reverse direction. Only, the explanations of ultimate causes with which physical philosophy, or, in other words, the science of the present day, supplies us, must be candidly estimated; if there are gaps in such explanations, the gaps must be noted; then, if it appears that such gaps may possibly be filled in from the spiritual side of thought, there will be reason for asking mankind to have a little patience, and not to think the backward state of spiritual philosophy a reason for discarding it altogether.

It is necessary to note impartially both the present great successes of physical science and also the gaps, the incomplete or obscure passages, which still exist in many parts of it. Of the successes, Dr Merz's volumes are full; and very striking is the ordered series which he displays. Let us briefly recount it.

The greatest of all scientific discoveries, even down to the present day, is the discovery by Newton of the law of *universal gravitation*—the law according to which

every material particle in the universe exercises an attraction over every other particle, diminishing as the distance between the particles increases, and in the inverse ratio of the square of this distance. No other law has been proved true over so immense an area with such absolute certainty.

'For a time,' says Dr Merz (vol i, p. 841), 'the exact formula of gravitation seemed liable to some correction, but gradually the apparent anomalies disappeared. . . . It still stands there as the only universally accepted mathematical expression which corresponds to a general physical property of natural objects.'

Again:—

'In the whole wide range of physical and chemical, not to speak of other natural phenomena, there is probably no instance of a simple mathematical relation having been applied to so large a field of facts, found so trustworthy a guide, and been so unfailingly verified.'

A discovery of such surpassing magnitude implies corresponding greatness in the mind which conceived it and convinced the world of its reality. The patient reserve of Newton, and his love of truth, were as rare as his intellectual power. He published the theory of gravitation in 1687; and, from that date until the era of Laplace (who occupies the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth), scientific reasoners were mainly engaged in developing and proving this theory. To Laplace and his contemporaries it appeared likely that gravitation would be shown to be the true root-force from which all other natural forces have been derived. Such an expectation was not absent from the minds even of nineteenth century thinkers; but the tendency of recent thought has been against it, and the present opinion rather is that gravitation is the result of deeper causes than itself. Yet, even taking this to be the case, what a wonderful field of knowledge this discovery has opened out to us! Dr Merz calls that view of nature which centres itself in the law of gravitation the astronomical view, and with reason, for it finds its principal exemplification in the *motions*, and partly also in the

form, of the heavenly bodies. From the time of Hipparchus, the 'father of astronomy,' down to Laplace (a period of nearly two thousand years), all the reasonings of astronomers may be said either to have been a preparation for this theory, or a derivation of the consequences of it. For the discovery and elaboration of so great a principle as the law of gravitation, two thousand years were not too long a time.

But already, in the lifetime of Laplace, a new theory was coming to birth, a theory not inconsistent with the law of gravitation, but independent of it, running side by side with it, without intermingling, and having, equally with the law of gravitation, a certain fundamental aspect. This was the atomic theory of the constitution of matter, a theory which had been in an imperfect manner conceived in ancient times by Epicurus, and advocated by Lucretius in his great poem, but which, in the field of experience, has its main basis in the science of chemistry. The atomic view of nature is a view concerning the forms and combinations of the smallest particles of matter, a view which must be considered in itself and for itself; but it is impossible to forget that it has profound connexions with the kinetic view of nature, which is concerned with the motions of the smallest particles of matter, as the atomic view is concerned with their forms; and equally impossible is it not to suppose that both views have alliances with the physical view of nature, which treats of the ultimate cause of motion, and therefore, probably, of the ultimate cause of form, a cause described in one word as energy. All these three views deal with the infinitesimally small rather than with the infinitely great, and therefore in some measure stand in contrast with the astronomical view of nature, which has the infinite abysses of space in its contemplation; but the contrast is not absolute, for the infinitely great and the infinitesimally small are in some respects very nearly related to one another. Still it is not altogether an untrue opinion that the eighteenth century had the infinite regions of space under its contemplation, the nineteenth century rather those infinitesimal differences which exist through all space, but which are most observable in the things closely adjoining to us on the earth's surface.

Let us briefly explain each of these fundamental aspects of nature; and first, the atomic view.

Not long after the tragical death of the great Lavoisier (the founder, as he may be called, of modern chemistry), slain in the madness of the French Revolution, it began to be known in Germany that chemical substances would only combine, each with each, in certain definite proportions of their respective weights. For instance, 63 parts by weight of copper will combine with 32 parts by weight of sulphur, and make a single mass in all respects as homogeneous as the copper and sulphur themselves; but nothing will induce a sixty-fourth part of copper to join this chemical combination. The sixty-three have obtained perfect satisfaction, and their sixty-fourth brother seeks not to disturb that satisfaction; if he did seek to do so they would resolutely reject him. Moreover, all chemical substances behave in the same way; a certain number of parts by weight characterises every substance when it enters into combination with other substances; 63 is the number favoured by copper, 32 by sulphur, 16 by oxygen, 39 by potassium, and so on. Richter was the main discoverer of the principle so far; the knowledge of it was carried across the Channel to England, where it fell under the notice of John Dalton, a chemist of Manchester. Dalton corrected, enlarged, and interpreted the principle. He corrected it by the discovery that if you have found what is the number favoured by any substance (the atomic weight, as it is called), a multiple or submultiple of that number will in certain cases act as well as the number itself. Thus, to give an example, you may mix 14 parts of nitrogen either with 8 parts of oxygen, or with 16 parts of oxygen, or with 24 parts of oxygen, each compound, when made, being a definite and separate chemical substance; and it is clear that the numbers 8, 16, 24, and so on, stand to each other in relations of a very simple proportion.* Further, Dalton enlarged the principle by showing that the number which characterises every chemical substance (its atomic weight) is a permanent number, into whatever relation the substance may enter; for it might antecedently have

* See that remarkably lucid work, Liebig's 'Familiar Letters on Chemistry,' Letter vi.

been thought that though copper combines with sulphur in the proportions of 63 to 32, yet when copper combined with some other substance it would enter into the proportion, say, of 61 parts to 30. Dalton showed that this was not the case; that, on the contrary, the number which fixes the atomic weight of any substance is unalterable, with whatever other substance it may combine. Take an ounce as the unit: you will never get any combining power in 61 ounces of copper when mingled with oxygen, hydrogen, carbon, or anything else you please; the combining power lies only in 63, or some multiple of it. Similarly, in potassium the combining power lies only in 39 parts of it (or more strictly 39.2 parts); all these numbers being fixed by comparison with hydrogen, the lightest of all known substances, whose atomic weight is therefore called 1.

Dalton having thus corrected and enlarged the doctrine of definite proportions, proceeded further to interpret it, and his interpretation was the celebrated atomic theory or atomic view of nature; for he asked this question: What is there in the constitution of matter which causes these numerical relations to be obeyed with such persistency? And he answered: It can only be because every substance is composed of atoms, each atom having a certain definite weight, and an atom of one substance may conceivably unite with an atom of another substance, or two atoms of one substance with three atoms of another substance, and so on; but the intrinsic weight of the particular atom must always be a factor in such combination; the atom cannot be broken up.

The naturalness of the theory is obvious; but, of course, it was distinctly theory, and not observation, and the absolute correctness of it has never been as fully recognised as the correctness of the law of universal gravitation. Indeed, if the affirmation that an atom cannot be broken up be taken absolutely, it must be said that we have quite recently obtained reason to affirm the contrary; for has not experience shown that the simple substance radium can be decomposed into helium? and this can only be because the atoms of radium are capable of being decomposed. And has not Sir Oliver Lodge recently told us that an electron roams about in an atom *like a mouse in a cathedral*? a saying which is not easy

of interpretation if an atom be a finally undecomposable unit. Fifty million average atoms laid end to end will about measure an inch, so it is believed; whereby the magnitude of an electron, to which an atom is as a cathedral to a mouse, may be dimly conjectured.

Notwithstanding all these doubts, however, it may yet well be that the material of our planet, whether solid, liquid, or gaseous, is, in a true sense, composed of atoms of specific character, diverse in weight; and very carefully does Dr Merz go through the evidence which has convinced chemists that the fact is so. We cannot follow him into these details; but one of the elements of the proof is sufficiently curious to be quoted, and it will be not less interesting from the fact that Pasteur was the discoverer of it.

'That pure geometrical relations . . . are of importance in the chemical composition of substances was very evident, for instance, in some of the optical properties of crystallised organic substances. The discoveries of Pasteur, published in 1850, mark in this respect an epoch in science. He showed that there exist chemical substances which are different, but only as a right-hand glove differs from a left-hand one, a right-handed screw from a left-handed, the image in a mirror from the original. Was it possible to suppress any longer the conviction that the smallest particles of matter, in forming chemical compounds, do so not only in definite proportions of weight, but also in definite geometrical distances and positions?' (Merz, vol. i, pp. 431-2.)

Let us then be content to say that the atomic theory is true, with the reserve that it is not necessarily ultimate truth. It is, as we have said, a theory respecting form, not a theory respecting motion; and yet motion is involved in the first conception of it. When the atoms of oxygen unite with the atoms of hydrogen to form water, they rush into each other's embraces as if they were animated beings—as indeed Professor Haeckel says they are. But what makes them do so? It was at first a not unnatural supposition that they were obeying the law of universal gravitation; and certainly they show more signs of obeying that law than those brilliant stars, Sirius and Vega, do, for all the self-glowing orbs of heaven (save only the *binary stars*) are seemingly quite

impassive to each other's attractions, so far as any observation of ours goes. Yet, on the whole, it is probable that the ardent unions, and equally ardent revulsions, of the atoms obey some more subtle, more primary, law than the law of gravitation; at any rate the study of the elemental motions of ether or of matter has not taken the form of a study of the sequences of gravitation, but quite another line. That line is what Dr Merz calls the kinetic view of nature.

Chemistry is the science which deals with elemental form. How are the sciences named which deal with elemental motion? Chiefly the sciences of light and heat, electricity and magnetism, sciences full of the suggestion of mysterious power, full, too, of a variety which might almost be called picturesqueness, though they do not submit themselves to any pencilling of the artist. In what does the essence of these sciences consist? In what—to put the same question in other words—does the kinetic view of nature consist? In this, that all things are represented by it as subject to a perpetual thrill; a strain is on the whole frame of things; and from this thrill, from this strain, from this quivering and shaking of all things that are, comes the light of our eyes, the hearing of our ears, the scent of the lily, the flavour of the grape; from this strain and quivering also, when it is gathered into single currents or single channels, comes our power of wielding the great motive forces which create what is called civilisation, the complex material framework under the protection of which men live. Nothing that we know of is free from this quivering and this thrill and this strain; that which we carelessly call the empty void of space, the incalculable distance between star and star, is full of it, and bears to us by means of this thrill the light and the heat which are so precious to us, and perhaps other influences besides light and heat less sensible but not less real. The hard masses of rock deep buried beneath the surface of the earth are subject to this thrill, as we know from the messages which earthquake shocks send to the sensitive instruments of the observer by whom they are registered; and even in the profoundest rest of material things it is believed that their atoms whirl round and round *continually*.

Great are the names of those men of science who have dealt with this subject, and have more or less reduced it to rule and measure. Perhaps, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Young and Fresnel, who jointly established the wave theory of light, must be regarded as pre-eminent; in the middle of the century Faraday, whose achievements lay in the region of electricity and magnetism; more towards the close of the century comes the versatile and powerful genius of Helmholtz, side by side with whom must be named Lord Kelvin, who happily is with us still. But in naming these how many explorers of the very first order are we leaving unnamed? It is unavoidable. But it is refreshing to find that the profoundest of these thinkers have felt in each other's expositions something of that same difficulty and perplexity which ordinary men feel, and have arisen out of it by the slow exercise of patience, and by mutual help, as is apparent from the following words of Helmholtz respecting Faraday, which Dr Merz quotes both in his first and in his second volume (they are from the 'Vorträge und Reden,' vol. ii, p. 277):—

'Since the mathematical interpretation of Faraday's theorems by Clerk Maxwell has been given, we see indeed how sharply defined the conceptions are and how consistent the reasoning which lay concealed in Faraday's words, which, to his contemporaries, appeared so indefinite and obscure; and it is in the highest degree remarkable to see how a large number of comprehensive theorems, the proof of which taxes the highest powers of mathematical analysis, were found by him without the use of a single mathematical formula, by a kind of intuition with instinctive certainty. I would not depreciate Faraday's contemporaries because they did not see this. I know myself too well how often I sat hopeless, gazing at one of his descriptions of lines of force with their numbers and tension, or looking for the meaning of statements where the galvanic current is regarded as an axis of force. . . . A single remarkable discovery can indeed be brought about by a happy chance . . . but it would be against all rules of probability that a numerous series of the most important discoveries, such as Faraday produced, could have had their origin in conceptions which did not really contain a correct, though perhaps deeply hidden, ground of truth.'

Helmholtz could afford to make such an avowal.

The sciences of electricity, magnetism, light, and heat have been abundantly utilised by men. By their aid we have trained the sunbeams to be our artists, the lightning to be our messenger and carrier; we have found out what the stars are made of. If those vibrations and strains which constitute the forces of electricity, magnetism, light, and heat were taken away from our world we should for all practical purposes be annihilated. What is it which supports these forces? Are we secure against the possibility of their annihilation? With these questions we pass from the kinetic view of nature to the physical view of nature.

The answer which physicists give to the above questions is peculiar. On the one hand they say all the forces known or conceivable by us—gravitation, chemical forces, electricity, magnetism, light, and heat—are forms in which a single energy displays itself. They can be changed into one another; for instance, heat may be expended and lost and mechanical motion produced in its place, though in practice a certain amount of heat inevitably escapes; or again, by a certain amount of mechanical motion we may produce heat, the energy which produced the mechanical motion being thereby lost to us. The energy which disappears in one form reappears in another form; and a measurement of the two shows that the energy lost on the one side is always equal to the energy gained on the other side. The quantity of energy in the universe never alters; the conservation of energy is the underlying principle of all the forms, of all the changes, in the universe.

Taking this view of things, the question naturally arises: What determines the special changes in the forms of energy? And the physicist answers: Without seeking to answer this question in every case, it may be answered in one case, and that the greatest known to us. The brilliancy and heat of the sun and stars have been caused by the change of gravitation into heat and light, the gravitation having had play in the contraction of the nebula, which was the first form of the solar system, and of every stellar system, and the heat and light having been caused by the stoppage of the gravitational force through the mutual collisions of the ingathered masses of the nebula. This is the final form of the nebular hypo-

thesis, first thought of by Kant, developed by Laplace, and reduced to precise form by Helmholtz. Dr Merz, we observe (vol. ii, p. 360), hesitates to accept theories of this kind as certain; but there is a large general acceptance of the nebular hypothesis at the present day.

So far it may seem that the doctrine of the conservation of energy is a doctrine concerning creation; energy has been shown to us as the cause of the greatest splendours of the material world. But we have yet to look upon the other face of the doctrine. Energy, Lord Kelvin tells us, has a perpetual tendency to be dissipated, degraded, locked up, rendered unavailable for practical purposes. For instance, when the ingathering of the mass of matter which constitutes the solar orb has been completed, when the contraction of that orb has reached its final point, and the particles of it no longer collide with one another, no longer produce heat and light by their collision, then the fires of the sun will cool down, and all the life that is on the earth will die as an immediate consequence; energy, no doubt, will remain the same in amount as before, but partly it will have been converted into heat, and dissipated in a low form over vast tracts of the surrounding space, partly it will have been locked in the dead sun and planets, hidden and inextricable.

Such is the final conclusion of the physical view of nature. The processes of argument which lead to this conclusion are carefully given by Dr Merz (though the full conclusion is rather hinted than described); and no one can doubt that the argument is a strong one. The physicist seems at first to describe creation; he ends by describing a state of universal death. Is he right in saying that this will be the end of all things? We believe that, in spite of the real cogency of the argument as descriptive of physical forces, the case is precisely one where the intervention of spiritual energy and design does make a difference. We will endeavour, before the close of this article, to show how this is; but the point is not strictly a part of physical science, and it does not enter into Dr Merz's volumes, and so we pass on to his other chapters.

From the sciences which deal with inorganic matter : with what we generally call inorganic matter) Dr

Merz passes to the sciences which take, in one way or another, living organisms for their subject. The connecting link between the two lies (as we observed at starting) in geology; and Dr Merz is aware of this, for he indicates the intimate connexion of geology with morphology. The passage is worth quoting for the sake of the lucid explanation which it gives of what morphology is. The 'natural philosopher' referred to in it is Domenico Gulielmini, who lived in the early part of the eighteenth century.

"Nature does not employ all figures, but only certain ones of those which are possible; and of these the determination is not to be fetched from the brain, or proved *a priori*, but obtained by experiments and observations." These words, set down nearly two centuries ago by a now forgotten natural philosopher, express clearly the object of a study which, towards the end of the eighteenth century, had received definite expression in various branches of natural science, and which can be best characterised by the term morphology. The word was first applied only to plants, then also to animals, and later still to crystals and minerals. The words quoted above refer to the forms of inanimate nature, to crystals. In all these cases we have to do with definite individual objects, which can be removed from their surroundings and examined in the laboratory. There is, however, no reason why a study of the actual forms of nature on a large scale, such as the physiognomy of landscape, the configuration of mountains and valleys, the shapes of glaciers, the actual distribution of land and water on our globe, the stratification of rocks, the formation of clouds, and many other things, should not all be comprised under the term, the morphological view of nature.

Excellently put. But why is Dr Merz, after pointing out so clearly the position of geology among the sciences, so chary in the information which he afterwards gives us about it? We perceive the reason, but we cannot think it adequate. Geology is not a science which deals with the deepest causative elements in the universe; and the object of Dr Merz is to trace the main lines of thought, and therefore the deepest causes in nature. Even if this be admitted, geology is so central among the sciences, and touches upon so many causes outside its *own field*, that it surely deserves full consideration on

its own account. Why, for instance, does Dr Merz assume that, in the controversy between the physicists and the geologists as to the age of the earth, the physicists have all the right on their side, the geologists none? It is a controversy on which we should be slow to express a final opinion; but the question involved is important, and the geological case ought to be considered. The only inquirer in this field to whom Dr Merz renders full justice is Alexander von Humboldt; and Humboldt was only partly a geologist. To Sir Charles Lyell he certainly does full justice in his relations to the theory of evolution, but not in his relations to geology. He mentions Elie de Beaumont and Leopold von Buch once each, and very casually; Murchison and the Geikies not at all.

We complain of an omission, which we trust Dr Merz may some day remedy. Otherwise we find no fault with the chapters which deal with the morphological view of nature, the genetic view of nature, and the vitalistic view of nature. A great progress of thought is brought before our eyes, a progress in which a new way of looking at the universe was attained—the universe of life, be it well understood. All through the first half of the nineteenth century (and, indeed, from the days of Linnæus and Buffon in the eighteenth century) the classification of living organisms, vegetable or animal, was more and more assiduously carried out, differences and similarities (often strangely interwoven) were more and more noted; the names of Cuvier and Richard Owen as regards animals, of De Candolle as regards the vegetable world, are perhaps the greatest in this special work. Meanwhile, minute and often microscopic researches into the structure of all living substance, animal or vegetable, had been instituted by Bichat in France, and continued by Schleiden and Schwann in Germany. An identity of type was more and more felt to prevail in the substance of all living organisms, and this identity of type could not but have some influence in commending the idea of a common origin from which all life had descended. Indeed, at the very beginning of the century, Lamarck had propounded the view of a common origin for all living things, crudely, it is true, and without bringing conviction to the world; and, though neither Geoffroy Hilaire nor Von Baer explicitly adopted this view,

yet both these authors were deeply impressed with the thought of the unity of all terrestrial life; and, shortly after the middle of the nineteenth century, Herbert Spencer propounded the doctrine of evolution as the key to all changes in phenomena, though without explicitly naming the descent of living organisms from a common stock as an instance of it.

That step, which gave us the key to the whole doctrine of evolution, was taken by Charles Darwin, who, in the whole of this great progress of thought, holds the central position. Darwin's famous work, 'The Origin of Species,' was published towards the close of 1859; it will be worth while to quote here the full title of it: 'On the Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life.' That title contains the two cardinal words, 'natural selection,' which constitute the great distinction between Darwin and his predecessor Lamarck, and the great instrument by which Darwin convinced mankind of his main doctrine, the derivation of different species by descent from a common stock. That natural selection plays a very great part in this descent, and in the gradual modification of the form and structure of animals, has not been doubted by thoughtful and unbiassed students since Darwin wrote; but how far other elements have conjoined with it, either as principal or as subordinate causes, is to this day a moot point among naturalists. The question is one which does not concern naturalists alone; it is, indeed, of supreme interest to all of us to know how far spiritual emotions and energies have combined with material causes in producing the world of life as we see it. To this subject we proceed; but first let us say that no one treating of evolution ought to omit, in connexion with it, the names of Alfred Russel Wallace, who discovered the importance of natural selection, as explaining the origin of species, simultaneously with Darwin, or, if somewhat later in time, at all events independently of Darwin, and before Darwin's views had been published; of Huxley, who did so much to popularise the new conception; of Haeckel, who contributed to fill up the details of Darwin's view; and of Weismann, who has endeavoured (not with entire success, but with force) *to introduce an important modification into that view.*

But we hasten to that question which, as we have said, is of supreme interest, the question whether spiritual causes have co-operated with material causes in the production of the living world as we know it. First, we draw attention to the following sentence, quoted by Dr Merz (vol ii, p. 318), from Lyell's 'Principles of Geology':—

'The intermixture of distinct species is guarded against by the aversion of the individuals composing them to sexual union.'

That sentence, as originally written by Lyell, was intended as an argument against the theory afterwards named Darwinian (the transformation of species), which Lyell only knew in the form in which Lamarck had presented it. When the 'Origin of Species' appeared, Lyell became a convert to the theory; and we are now using his sentence, not as an argument against Darwin, but as an assistance towards explaining a difficulty not always noticed in Darwin's theory. It must be remembered that Darwin, for the full establishment of his theory, has to explain, not merely the method by which one part of a species separates from the rest, namely, the acquisition of some advantageous point of structure in the organism, but also why, after this separation has arisen, it is not merged again by the natural intercourse of the two parts of the species with each other. That is to say, it has to be explained why, if an improvement is effected in one part of a species, the whole species does not presently share in it, the weaker portion either dying out, or else, by intercourse with the stronger portion, transmitting the improvement to their common descendants. Clearly, if one species has split up into two species, there has been a portion of the original species which neither accepted the improved structure or faculty nor yet died out for the want of it; and this result can hardly have taken place if all the members of the original species retained their habit of mutual intercourse with each other. What, then, can have occasioned the interruption of this intercourse? The reply which Darwin gives to this question in the 'Origin of Species' is based in the main on the supposition of a separation of locality between the improved and the unimproved parts of the

species; he does not, however, wholly exclude other causes, as will be seen from the following sentence ('Origin of Species,' first ed. p. 103):—

'I can bring a considerable catalogue of facts showing that, within the same area, varieties of the same animal can long remain distinct, from haunting different stations, from breeding at slightly different seasons, or from varieties of the same kind preferring to pair together.'

These last words, 'from varieties of the same kind preferring to pair together,' are an assignment of the same reason for varieties remaining separate as Lyell had given for species remaining separate. Only, whereas Lyell overstated the case in regarding the separation of species as absolute, Darwin understated (as we think) the force of this particular cause in keeping varieties separate. Consider what happens at the present day. In the United States of America white men and negroes are parts of the same community; they are not different species, but they are different varieties of man; some intermingling of white and negro blood exists, but it does not go very far; the races are on the whole separate. What keeps them so? It is not separation in space; and of all the causes indicated by Darwin only one applies, namely, that 'varieties of the same kind prefer to pair together.' But is this an adequate statement of the fact? is there not an actual aversion to these unions, at least on one side? Undoubtedly there is.

Now if this is so at the present day, what reason have we for thinking that this cause of separation did not exist in all periods during which animated beings have existed on the earth and propagated their species sexually? There is nothing abstruse in the cause indicated; dislike of the alien is one of the commonest of feelings. If this be so, we have a genuine instance of emotion, a psychical cause, intervening from very ancient times in the world of life and modifying the forms of it throughout.

Is this not a significant fact? But it will be well to answer a question which will naturally be asked, whether the theory just advanced has been put forward by any naturalist before now, apart from that brief hint of it contained in the phrase we quoted from Darwin? To some extent it has; for instance, it occurs

in a passage in that interesting and powerful writer, G. J. Romanes ('Darwin and after Darwin,' vol. iii, p. 124). He calls it 'psychological selection,' and he attributes to it importance in the evolution of the higher animals, but there only; in particular, he will not allow that it has any operation at all in the evolution of plants. Now to us this limitation, which to Romanes seemed so necessary, appears to arise from the simple fact that we know something about the operations of mind in animals (especially the higher animals), but hardly anything about the feeling which exists in plants. Is it inconceivable that plants should feel? Surely not; and therefore we hold that the limitation which Romanes thought to exist is a limitation in appearance and not in fact. The great cause which Romanes alleges for the separation of species is what he calls physiological selection, that is, the occurrence of a certain barren strain separating the two divided parts of a species, which divisions are nevertheless separately fertile. His arguments on this head appear to us conclusive; but it may well be that physiological selection on so large a scale, if we knew all, does really in effect imply psychological selection also as its spiritual counterpart.

We come to a wider question. The whole of the tenth chapter of Dr Merz's treatise, entitled the 'Vitalistic View of Nature,' is devoted to the consideration of the varying views of biologists on the question whether there be such a thing as a vital force in the living organism? Our own opinion is what we understand to be that of Lotze, and we state it as follows: that, so long as the physical organism alone is under observation, no such specific entity as a vital force is discoverable, though the processes are not calculable by any combination of physical laws; but that when the emotional element inherent more or less in all life is taken into account, we are in possession of a new kind of cause which illuminates us many of the leading processes and changes in the physical organism, though there may be a great deal in spiritual causation which we do not know, and much which we are incapable of understanding. That is, for a full analysis of what happens in the region, we must take into account sympathy as well as

observation. But biologists, taking the purely physical sciences as their model, have desired to rest upon physical observation alone; there has been a tendency among them to eliminate all idea of 'purpose' from the subject of their inquiry; and it so happened that Darwin's theory appeared to give them great assistance in doing so. How this came to be is thus explained by Dr Merz:—

'We are now prepared,' he says, 'to understand the novel position which the Darwinian conception of natural processes introduced so far as the teleology of nature is concerned—how it dealt with final causes, with the apparent existence of a purpose, an end, in the processes of nature, notably of the living organism. . . .

'The possibility of explaining the marks of design as merely apparent depends on the conception of the genetic process acting on a large, a gigantic, scale; individual things put forth ever new developments by which they eventually overtop their neighbours, ultimately advancing to such a degree of excellence and individual perfection that to an outside beholder the few surviving specimens give the impression of having been originally designed. In fact, they only exist because those numberless individuals which could not grow in a sufficient degree perished in the struggle. Only those individual specimens survived in whom, in one or a few directions, something specially excellent was produced at the expense of development in other directions. In the mass, the crowd are sacrificed, i.e. automatically crushed, in favour of the few; in the individual, one special growth is automatically pursued at the expense of a general but less enduring, i.e. self-assertive, development. The end—the seeming purpose—is produced in the process of production, it being merely something more enduring, i.e. something better. It conveys the impression to an outside beholder of having been consciously set at the term of the process of development; in reality, it was produced simultaneously. The mountain peak which towers above its neighbours, and gives a distinctive rounding off and finish to a landscape, may be conceived as having been built up by the selective action of the natural artist who brought together the best materials and placed them in their most enduring positions; in reality, it owes its existence only to one out of the numberless throes of nature which happened to take place with stronger materials and in more stable forms of arrangement and grouping, or it is due to the denudation of the strata surrounding it. The end and *pose* of any natural development is that which it

automatically produce and endow with most distinctive and enduring characters, for this only survives at the expense of weaker productions; there is a natural result in development, but there need not be a purpose. The contemplation of the result may permit us to trace backward the process by which it was brought about; but we are not warranted in assuming that it existed independently, like the plan of a building or the purpose of an instrument. In the place of a growth according to a prearranged plan, Darwin put the conception of an automatic adjustment called "natural selection"; in the place of a conscious end or purpose he put the conception of a mere result, a product, the "surviving fittest."

That is an exceedingly clear statement of the effect which the doctrine of natural selection produced in the minds of many biologists; and the sense of relief and of triumph engendered by the supposed abolition of any 'purpose' underlying the universe was vividly expressed by Du Bois-Reymond (quoted by Dr Merz, vol ii, p. 435).

'Here is the knot, here the great difficulty that tortures the intellect which would understand the world. Whoever does not place all activity wholesale under the sway of Epicurean chance, whoever gives only his little finger to teleology, will inevitably arrive at Paley's discarded "Natural Theology," and so much the more necessarily the more clearly he thinks and the more independent his judgment. . . . The possibility, ever so distant, of banishing from nature its seeming purpose and putting a blind necessity everywhere in the place of final causes, appears therefore as one of the greatest advances in the world of thought, from which a new era will be dated in the treatment of these problems. To have somewhat eased the torture of the intellect which ponders over the world-problem will, as long as philosophical naturalists exist, be Charles Darwin's greatest title to glory.'

An extraordinary passage, surely. Would Darwin have accepted the position assigned to him by the German savant? We hardly think so. For Darwin, while continually refuting allegations of discovered design in creation, yet refused to say, looking at the sum of things, 'There is no design herein.' This position of his, which is not inconsistent with the 'Origin of Species' itself, receives some illustration from his recently published letter to Professor W. Graham ('Life and Letters', vol. ii, p. 100), while denying that 'the existence of the

so-called laws of nature implies purpose,' he had said, 'You have expressed my inward convictions . . . that the universe is not the result of chance.' Again, in a letter to Lord Farrer ('More Letters,' i, 395), after refusing to allow of the 'variations of organic beings having been designed,' he continues, 'On the other hand, if we consider the whole universe, the mind refuses to look at it as the outcome of chance, that is, without design or purpose. The whole question seems to me insoluble.'

We wish to do all justice to that train of merely physical sequences which has been so carefully drawn out by Dr Merz; to the possibility that out of the infinite variations of circumstance a world may arise in which the strongest, from the very fact that they are the strongest, shall appear in the end as the governors and lords of the whole; so that all need of a directing power among the contending forms of life shall be superfluous. But this possibility is not to be treated as a certainty; the room is open for causes other than those of a physical struggle.

It is of course one thing to affirm that the Darwinian theory leaves room for the belief in a creative purpose animating this whole scheme of things in which we find ourselves, and guiding beneficently the world of life in its upward progress; another thing to affirm that such a creative purpose is discernible by us, and positively exists. Only, the field on which such a question must primarily be argued is not the field of biological science, it is the field of personal experience in the ordinary conduct of life. Do we find that the belief in a higher than human power strengthening and directing us tallies with the experience of life? That is the question; and though it does not belong to physical science, it may still have a certain pertinency as regards the results which physical science would suggest when taken by itself. A biologist may not unfittingly remember that he is also a man, and that it is possible for him, as a man, to draw conclusions which could not have been drawn from biology pure and simple, but which intermingle with and modify the conclusions reached by him as a biologist.

Perhaps that is enough to say on the Darwinian question. But let us recur for a moment to the position of the physicists, with Helmholtz at their head. That t

is truth in those great hypotheses in which the physicists entrench themselves—the conservation of energy, the dissipation of energy, and the formation of the solar and stellar fires by the slow contraction of nebulae—we do not for a moment doubt. But is it the whole truth? If in such mighty matters there ever was occasion to use the word scandal, the theory of the dissipation of energy, with its consequences, is surely a scandal. That the universe should be destined to eternal death and darkness (even if it be only ‘after infinite time,’ as Helmholtz says) is surely an inference that must excite in us the question, ‘Is this really a necessary result of the processes which we see?’ Let us consider. The crux is the dissipation of energy—the phenomenon which Clausius calls the increase of entropy, that is, the process of the locking up of energy, the rendering it useless, unavailable.

‘The entropy of the world is continually on the increase,’ Clausius tells us. Is it really so? and if it be so, is there no way of mending it? What does ordinary experience say? Why, every idle vagabond who gets drunk seven days in the week is full of this dissipated energy; every river of Arabia or Persia which has swept together the sands which clog its course and finally bury it is an instance of energy locked up; every forest destroyed by fire is a store of energy lost to human uses. But is there no remedy for these misfortunes? Let us reform our drunkard; let us clear a course for our river; let us replant our forest, and something will have been done to restore lost energies, or to bring new energies into play. These are small matters, it is true, compared with the creation or death of a universe; but from the infinitesimals of the world we have to judge of the infinites of the world; so it always is. If we, in our small sphere, can repair the wastes of earth, may there not be powers which can repair the wastes of heaven? Is it certain that the fires of the sun are doomed to extinction? It is not experience which tells us so; it is theory which tells us so, and theory which deals simply with material causes and leaves wholly out of sight the question whether purpose and rethought have not some field of operation, as in earth, also in heaven. Are we so certain that purpose and thought *are in a manner inconceivable by us, it*

is true) have no function in the preservation of the orbs of heaven? May there not be powers which, as we men may clear a channel for a river, are capable of clearing a course for the sun's radiant heat, so that it shall not be choked up in the inertia of an everlasting death?

The physicists themselves tell us that energy can never be destroyed, only they say that it cannot help being dissipated or locked up; but is it not the function of all others most proper to mind to prevent this happening? Nay, is it not natural to think that the very meaning of creation is the greater and greater revelation of hidden powers? Suppose (to take one of the most probable losses that may befall the race of man) that in the course of the next two or three thousand years the world's coal supply should be exhausted; is it irrational to hope that other sources of latent energy may by that time be brought to light which to us now are as unknown as the manifold uses of coal were to the contemporaries of Julius Cæsar? We cannot prove that this will happen, of course; but why should it not happen? why should not the future history of the earth be the continual development of new energies which, up to the time of their discovery, were hidden and unsuspected? and why should this process ever end? If, out of what seems the pure void of ether, suns and galaxies of suns may arise—as astronomers assume that they can—who shall say what latent energy there may be in every grain of the earth's dust? Only it is the mind of man which must elicit this hidden energy of the earth; without the mind of man coal would never have given to steam or electricity their working power; and, whatever energies of terrestrial things may be turned to use in the future, it is the mind of man that will turn them to use. The mind of man is the great practical agent for drawing the earth's stored-up power into continuous and increasing action; and the mind of man receives its stimulus from the emotions of man. Where is it that the emotions of man have their organising centre? We reply, as religious men have always replied, in God. We are co-workers in the creative process which eternally goes on, and that process in its root is divine.

J. R. MOZLEY,

Art. V.—A GREAT FRENCH SCHOLAR.

1. *Histoire littéraire de la France*. Par des religieux bénédictins de la Congrégation de Saint-Maur, continuée par des membres de l'Institut. Tomes i-xxxii. Paris, 1733-1897.
2. *Romania; recueil trimestriel consacré à l'étude des langues et des littératures romanes*. Publié par Paul Meyer et Gaston Paris. Tomes i-xxxii. Paris: Bouillon, 1872-1903.
3. *Chansons du xv^e siècle*, and other works published by the *Société des anciens textes français*. Paris: Firmin Didot, 1875-1903.
4. *La vie de Saint Alexis, poème du xi^e siècle, et renouvellements des xii^e, xiii^e, et xiv^e siècles*. Publiés par Gaston Paris et Léopold Pannier. Paris: Bouillon, 1872.
5. *Manuel d'ancien français—la littérature française au moyen âge* (1888; revised, 1890): *La poésie du moyen âge* (1^{re} série, 1885, 2^e série, 1895): *Penseurs et poètes* (1896): *Poèmes et légendes du moyen âge* (1900): *François Villon* (1901): *Légendes du moyen âge* (1903); and many other works by Gaston Paris.

THE recent death of Gaston Paris was felt as a personal loss by many who had never known him; such was the influence of his character, exerted through the long series of his published works. It is rarely that an author so purely scientific and specialist, so little inclined to court the popular favour, receives such a tribute of regret. The death of a poet or a novelist may touch a number of people all over the world; but the death of a man of learning, whose work was conducted always with regard for the subject, and never with any unfair device to catch applause, can seldom make the impression which that of Gaston Paris made on all who laboured in the same fields. A rare candour and simplicity of aim and procedure made Gaston Paris what he was, and won for him his many friends. The beginners, the half-learned, were drawn into his circle and made partners in his industry, by virtue of the perennial youthfulness of his spirit.

With all his knowledge and all his skill in methods

of work, the product of his long experience, he never grew out of humour with his subject. In freshness of interest, in the keen appetite for learning, he was the equal of the 'juniorest sophister.' This was his genius and his charm. Those who listened or who read had no need to be afraid of any bondage to formulas, any respectable orthodoxy taking the place of freedom. Their master was ahead of them all, pressing forward and exploring; stopping to defend his views only when such a defence was forced upon him as part of the day's work. Gaston Paris was always more ready to discover new things than to dwell upon his former attainments. Not that he had any want of respect for positions which he thought he had secured; his work was too solid for that. Nor did he try to lighten his studies by forgetting what he had once known, and allowing new interests to drive out the old. But new interest was unfailing, wherever he turned. His followers were kept busy; and that was why they followed him.

Gaston Paris, as a child, received from his father the right of entry into the old literature of France, and never lost the simple pleasure in romances and *chansons de geste*, as poems and stories. In his university days, keeping still to the subjects in which Paulin Paris was at home, he added a more exact training in philology under Diez at Bonn. But language did not usurp upon the other province; in Germany there was not yet the division between literary and linguistic teaching which is now generally observed, perhaps inevitably. Diez himself, the historian of Provençal poetry and author of the 'Comparative Grammar of the Romance Languages,' refused to be limited exclusively to one portion of the field; and the work of Gaston Paris was comprehensive in the same way. Although literary history was always his chief interest, he did not neglect what is called in the narrower sense philology. He was not wholly occupied with the medieval literature of France. Problems of linguistic science engaged him, as the pages of 'Romania' show. It may be that division of labour is more and more required for the progress of these studies; it is not easy for any one scholar to speak with authority on matters so various as were handled by Gaston Paris. *But no number of specialists can quite make up for the*

genius, wide in range and at the same time discriminating, of the old type of great scholars. The acuteness, the finer work, of Bentley or Lachmann cannot well be taken apart from their substantial historical learning. Gaston Paris had the same sort of ideal. Language cannot be understood from words alone; and the emendation of a phrase in an old French text might require the help of wide and miscellaneous reading, far away from the immediate matter in hand. There are obvious dangers for the pure scholar in the attractions of historical research; and it is possible for a narrow man to be more active than one who carries a burden of learning. But the greatest scholars are not 'word-catchers, that live on syllables'; they find it possible to be both strong in the weighty matters and alert with the more subtle problems, as Gaston Paris was.

He learned much from his father, as has been said already, and he carried on his work. Paulin Paris* represented an older stage of interest in medieval French, older methods and views, mainly of the eighteenth century, with some colouring from the romantic school. His manner often recalls that of Scott in his antiquarian essays, e.g. the introduction to 'Sir Tristram,' or, from an earlier generation, that of Warton's 'History of English Poetry.' He writes like a free man, as if it were all for his own pleasure, whatever amount of industry he may have put into his description of *chansons de geste*, or romances of the Round Table, or French lyric poetry of the thirteenth century. He refused to be pitied for the time spent in 'deciphering' old manuscripts.

'Car pour moi je ne demande pas qu'on me sache le moindre gré de les avoir déchiffrés. En effet, combien d'heures ai-je vues passer rapidement en poursuivant cette lecture! Combien de romans du jour et de gazettes ai-je fermés pour étudier plus longtemps ces admirables compositions, images de l'esprit, des mœurs et des croyances de nos ancêtres! Combien de fois alors n'ai-je pas mis un frein à mon enthousiasme, en me rappelant avec une sorte d'effroi l'aventure du chevalier de la Manche! Honnête Don Quichotte! les romans coupables de ta folie n'étaient que de longues paraphrases décolorées des

* 'Notice sur Paulin Paris,' 1881; see also 'La poésie du moyen âge,' p. 211 et seq.

"Chansons de Geste"; que serais-tu devenu si tu avais lu les originaux!'"*

Yet, deeply plunged as he was in the literature of the Middle Ages, full of knowledge and enjoyment of all the things that appealed to the Romantic school, Paulin Paris at the same time judged his ground with a rational and sceptical coolness, and never forced his admiration or allowed it to interfere with his historical sense. His controversy with Fauriel, over the hypothesis of a Provençal origin for French epic, is still delightful reading for the ease with which he manages the discussion and corrects the too enthusiastic reasoning of the other side. Gaston Paris, with a much severer training, followed the same tradition, and displayed, though in a different way, the same enjoyment of medieval literature, the same good sense in criticism.

Neither Paulin Paris nor his son belonged to the Romantic school, though they passed their time among the books and in the centuries from which modern romantic poets are supposed to have drawn their most effective scenery, properties, ideals, and emotions. Paulin Paris was glad to call the attention of poets to the riches of the *chansons de geste*, but it did not matter to him very much whether they took his advice or not. He had his books, and could use them for his own profit or entertainment whatever the contemporary fashion might be. In spite of the humorous reference to Don Quixote, his very sincere delight in the old heroic poems was never wrought up to the extreme romantic pitch. Like George Ellis, and like Scott himself, he kept a sane estimate of medieval romance. Gaston Paris was equally free from any extravagant romanticism, but not quite in the same manner. It was not the old-fashioned ironical worldliness of the eighteenth century that determined his views and tastes. The second half of the nineteenth century never escaped from the romantic influence, however it might protest and rebel; the realists are all romanticists disguised—'unfrosted,' as Flaubert expressed it. Men of learning were of course protected from the violent revolutions that tormented the poets and novelists; some were drawn to the Middle Ages by purely scientific

* Preface to 'Garin le Loherain' (1833), p. iii; quoted by Gaston Paris in his account of his father, *op. cit.* p. 217

motives, with a positive prejudice to begin with against all the 'Gothic' fascinations of the romantic tradition.* But Gaston Paris was not one of these; he had learned from the Romantic school all that it had to teach regarding the Middle Ages and the interpretation of their art; he had gone further on ways of his own, but in his sober judgment of values, even when pointing out the faults, the flatness, the puerilities of medieval literature, he always kept a sense of the old charm, of the magic still recoverable in 'Tristan' and in many less famous stories.

The French Romantic school was not so deep in learning as the schools of some other countries; there was no poet who, like Scott or Uhland, worked hard in antiquarian prose to collect and edit and explain the poetry of the Middle Ages. Victor Hugo's romantic ornament is borrowed from all lands and tongues; a tribute levied on mild historians without respect for their feelings:—

'Écoutez tous, marquis venus de la montagne,
Duc Gerhard, Sire Uther, pendragon de Bretagne,
Burgrave Darius, burgrave Cadwalla!'

Among the lighter essays of Gaston Paris is one (appended to 'Les sept infants de Lara' in 'Poèmes et légendes') that traces in an amusing way one of the medieval inspirations of Victor Hugo: in M. Demaison's introduction to 'Aimeri de Narbonne' may be found the sources of the poet's 'Aymerillot,' showing the same masterful ease and unconcern in turning the most casual knowledge to good account in immortal verse. By which it is not proved, nor intended, that 'Aymerillot' is less poetical than it seems to be; only that Victor Hugo was not a student of the same sort as Scott or Uhland. The Romantic school in France, so far as it dealt with the Middle Ages, was dependent upon the men of learning, and not to any great extent a sharer in their historical work.

Gaston Paris, coming after the Romantic days, carried on the researches that had preceded them. How continuous the labour has been, and how enormous, may be partly realised in looking at the thirty-two volumes of the 'Histoire littéraire de la France,' begun by the Benedictines in 1733, and now brought down, 'vaster than

* Cf. 'La poésie du moyen âge,' I, 213, for the 'conversion' of Victor Le Clerc.

empires and more slow,' as far as the fourteenth century. In that great work the ideas of 1830 may be found here and there reflected, but they are only an accident, a passing radiance; the substantial life is hardly touched by them.

The study of Old French as it is understood by Gaston Paris and his associates and pupils is the same kind of work as the study of antiquity, Greek or Latin, carried on at the time of the revival of learning. They have the same trust in the value of the subject, the same sort of ambition and appetite for universal knowledge, including in its scope everything ascertainable in political or social history, every document of the time, with the most effective instruments of criticism to explain them. Their business is historical, in the original liberal meaning of the term history. The spirit of curiosity about the past is their chief motive; no appliance or apparatus is neglected that can add to the store of knowledge.

In an essay on Gaston Paris written some years ago, M. Jules Lemaitre described the processes of medieval research in terms that might have held good of Browning's Grammarian. Historical learning, he says (and the text of his sermon is the work of Gaston Paris), has no thought of any immediate use for its discoveries; labour is bestowed on minute things, in the faith that some day they may be turned to account. The history of the Middle Ages grows like a coral island, by the aggregated lives of many workers. This is not the whole truth. Few indeed of the contributors to the '*Histoire littéraire*' have allowed the pursuit of knowledge to be hindered or diverted by doubts or scruples about the immediate value of each step. It is in this that the modern scholar, the successor of the Benedictines in their industry, differs from the dilettante of the Romantic school. Many things are included in the '*Histoire littéraire*' and in '*Romania*' that are of no obvious use to the literary artist. It is not on every page that a suggestion like that of '*Aymerillot*' may be found; and a discussion of the terminations in *-ain* has little connexion—much less than '*hoti's* business'—with the inspiration or the interpretation of poetry.

But Gaston Paris thought of more than the accumulation of facts or the working out of historical and philological details. He was a humanist; and his labours were *directed* by the same ideal as those of the founders of

classical learning. He studied the history of Old French literature, not by way of opposition to the humanities of Greece and Rome, but as an extension of the same domain. He had a full sense of all the respects in which 'Roland' comes short of the 'Iliad,' in which the fluent simplicity of Old French verse is inferior to the Greek art of poetry; yet he believed that the French epics have things to tell worth listening to, and that there is a lesson of style, not only of mythology, in the intricate romances of Arthur.*

His genius as a critic of literature equalled his industry as historian and philologist. Of all his achievements, if not the greatest, at any rate that of which it is easiest to speak outside of the school, is that, in a long series of writings, with every variety of scale and immediate purpose, he has explained the growth of Old French poetry and prose in all their kinds, and has judged their present literary value as securely as he worked out technical points of history or scholarship. It is not everything, but it is the aspect of his work most convenient for this Review, that he was one of the great critics of French literature. His preface to the 'History of French Literature,' edited by Petit de Julleville, is a summary of the whole matter, down to the Renaissance and beyond, written with an insight into general causes such as is often desired but seldom attained in the work of other critics. In the certainty with which the lines are drawn it resembles St Evremond's comparison and interpretation of the French and English genius, probably the most successful piece of generalisation ever made by any writer on such subjects; while the general view is enlivened with exact knowledge of details. This essay explains the peculiar character of the French Renaissance, the reason of the wide difference between the Middle Ages and the sixteenth century in France, bringing out the peculiar character of the fifteenth century—

'une littérature bâtarde, sorte de Renaissance avortée, mêlant les restes de la puerilité subtile du moyen âge à une gauche imitation de l'antiquité latine.' (Preface, p. 9)—

* See for example the comparison of the Anglo-Norman Thomas, the chief authority for the story of Tristan, with his more refined contemporary Chrétien de Troyes ('Poèmes et légendes').

a kind of waste interval, empty, pretentious, at the back of which lay the right medieval poetry, unknown to Ronsard and his companions. Then follows the description of this older literature, in terms that prove its affinity with all that is most characteristic of the French nation in modern times, its talent for clear language, a perfect sympathy and understanding between the author and his audience. From this virtue of lucidity comes also (as St Evremond has remarked in comparing French and English) a certain shallowness; the personages in French epic or French drama are not fully realised; more or less they are abstract, they represent ideas.

‘On chercherait en vain dans toute l’Europe médiévale une œuvre qui incarne comme la “Chanson de Roland” les façons de sentir, sinon de la nation tout entière, au moins de la partie active et dominante de la nation, dans ce qu’elles eurent de plus impersonnel et de plus élevé. De là cette faiblesse de la caractéristique qu’on a relevée dans notre vieille épopée: les individus l’intéressent moins que les idées et les sentiments dont ils sont les porteurs.’ (Ib.)

A similar quality is proved to exist in the other kinds of old poetry, in the courtly romances of the twelfth century, in the fabliaux; Lancelot and Renard, the hero and the picaresque, are both of them, in Old French, rather abstract types.

‘Leurs traits sont d’autant plus significatifs qu’ils sont moins personnels, et se gravent d’autant mieux dans le souvenir qu’ils sont coordonnés par une logique parfaite. Ils gagnent en relief et en clarté tout ce qu’ils perdent en profondeur et en complication. N’est-ce pas aussi ce qu’on peut dire des créations les plus parfaites de notre littérature classique?’ (Ib.)

Then Gaston Paris brings out the peculiar excellence of the romantic poetry of France in the twelfth and thirteenth century, so seldom understood beyond the borders, by the Teutonic nations who imported French novels and adapted them.

‘La tendance à créer des types, plutôt qu’à essayer de faire vivre des individus dans toute leur complexité changeante, n’exclut pas l’analyse psychologique; au contraire. Les sentiments humains sont étudiés en eux-mêmes, dans leur évolution logique et leurs conflits, tels que, dans des conditions données,

ls doivent se produire, chez tout homme défini d'une certaine façon; et ceux qui les éprouvent aiment à se les expliquer à eux-mêmes . . . pour l'instruction des autres. Cette analyse psychologique, la littérature française y a excellé dans tous les temps. On pourrait citer tel morceau de Chrétien de Troyes qui ne le cède pas en vérité, en ingéniosité, parfois en subtilité, aux plus célèbres monologues de nos tragédies, aux pages les plus fouillées de nos romans contemporains.' (Ib.)

Following which comes a note on the 'Romance of the Rose,' 'l'épopée psychologique,' as it were the ghost or shadow of all the sentiment in the school of Chrétien de Troyes, disembodied 'states of mind' moving about as persons in a story. The discussion of French medieval style, after this, is equally sure of its ground, and in the same way impartial; setting down all the common faults, platitude, triviality, but not concealing the delight with which the critic turns to the ancient writers, nor ignoring the true beauty of their work.

'Mais leur langue n'est pas seulement claire: elle a souvent une justesse, une légèreté, une aisance naturelle qui font penser aux meilleurs morceaux de notre littérature des deux derniers siècles. Ils voient bien et savent dire avec netteté ce qu'ils ont vu; leur parole les amuse et nous amuse avec eux. Beaucoup d'entre eux sont d'aimables causeurs, un peu babillards, qui se laissent d'autant plus volontiers aller à leur verve qu'ils voient que leurs auditeurs y prennent plaisir; d'autres sont d'excellents raisonneurs, qui cherchent sérieusement à convaincre ou à intéresser leur public, et qui y réussissent par la simplicité et la précision de leur exposition; d'autres encore ont su imprimer à leurs discours de la grandeur, de la sensibilité ou de la finesse.' (Ib.)

Gaston Paris himself, in his writing, had that instinctive clearness which he finds constant in French literature; that same regard for his hearers which, in the earliest authors of his nation, as he points out, distinguished the even, plain discourse of the *chansons de geste* from the more high-flown heroic poetry of other nations. At the same time his literary judgment, moving so freely among generalisations, was always based on particulars, a different thing from the peremptory opinions of less patient critics. Popular literary history, working at some distance from its subject, may pronounce that one *chanson de geste*

is just like any other *chanson de geste*. Gaston Paris, with complete appreciation of all the habitual ways, the repetitions, the want of care, the ready use of common forms and stop-gaps ('décourageantes chevilles'), in Old French epic, knew well also that under superficial uniformity there were differences of genius and temper clearly marked; and that to confound Balzac and Stendhal, or Corneille and Racine, on account of their common qualities would be hardly a stronger proof of critical incompetence than (for example) a refusal to distinguish the merits of 'Roland' and 'Raoul de Cambrai.' He treated Old French poetry with the same conscience and the same discernment as the greatest critics have given to the greatest masters. He did not exaggerate the value of his authors; but the fact that they did not belong to the seventeenth or the nineteenth century was for him no reason to treat them under different rules or with less precision.

Perhaps the essays in which he showed his learning and his critical power to best advantage are those on the Arthurian romances, in 'Romania,' and the 'Histoire littéraire' (tome xxx). He had to discover their sources and trace their development—a business sometimes pursued without much regard for qualities of literature. Gaston Paris, studying the transmission of popular tales from obscure Celtic origins to the schools of French poetry in the twelfth century, did not keep to what is called folklore, though this was a large part of his work. It was not enough for him to trace the progress of a fable through different stages, or merely to verify the fact that similar plots, incidents, characters or names were found in different versions, in different languages. Along with this he watched the literary motives of the poets, the influences of fashion or of individual temper that made them change and remould the folklore substance.

An example of his procedure may be found in the description of 'Guinglain,' a poem of Renaud de Beaujeu, in which the simple fairy-tale of 'Li beaux Desconus' is incongruously decorated to indulge the rhetorical and sentimental taste of an ambitious literary man. Problems much more complex are solved in the essay on 'Le Chevalier de la Charrette,' i.e. the 'Lancelot' of Chrétien de Troyes ('Romania,' x, p. 459 *seqq.*). Peculiar insight

and judgment were required to distinguish the shadows in this illusory realm; the result, which proves the dependence of Lancelot on the doctrine of the troubadours, and establishes the relation between the narrative poetry of France and the lyric of Provence, is gained by a masterly use of every available instrument. Historical study of the facts (e.g. of the part taken by Marie de Champagne in bringing Provençal ideas to the north) is completed and enlightened by critical intuition and sympathy.

Another talent is displayed in the short history of medieval French literature. This is a book for the schools, compact and positive, with little room either for eloquence or for historical detail. Yet, along with its serried names and dates, it presents, at the smallest cost of words, a critical estimate of every matter it touches. On a larger scale the 'Villon,' one of the author's latest works, is perhaps the finest example of his powers. In the description of Villon's poetry, and more especially, perhaps, in the account of his poetical education, there is the fruit of a whole lifetime of research and reflection. Villon and his age are shown in their relation to the poetry of the preceding centuries; the decline of the earlier literature, the strange obliteration of the older poetry, the rise and decay of new schools in the fourteenth century, the vacancy and vanity of the fifteenth, are all brought out, in the author's inimitably simple manner, as a setting for the new genius of Villon. Often and well as Villon has been praised, this mode of approaching his work was needed; and no one else could have used it to the same effect, with so sure a control of all the history.

Many of the friends of Gaston Paris have written lately about his personal influence. Such regret as they feel was felt and expressed by Gaston Paris himself in the memorial notices that he wrote on James Darmesteter and Renan, passages of meditation, full of dignity, not effusive, which perhaps convey as much as a stranger need seek to know about his more intimate thoughts. It may not be out of place to mention here the generous phrase in his 'Villon,' returning thanks for the liberal gift of his friend Marcel Schwob, who, surrendering the interests of his own book, made over the results of

his independent researches to be used in the biography. And further, there is one aspect of the private life of Gaston Paris which it is well to remember—the grace and rectitude of his dealing with scholars outside of France. He believed strongly in his own country, and hardly less strongly in the community of learning over all the world. Two papers of his, composed during the Franco-Prussian war, illustrate the two loyalties, which he was able to reconcile without diluting either of them. One is the lecture on ‘Roland,’ in December 1870, repeating the old prayer—

‘Ne placet Deu ne ses saintismes angles
Que ja par mei perdet sa valor France!’

The other is one of his more technical pieces (on a Latin poem about Frederick Barbarossa), written during the siege of Paris. It mentions calmly his regret that he is prevented from consulting German scholars: ‘They are separated from us by their armies and our ramparts, or engaged perhaps in the preparations for an attack upon our city.’* Gaston Paris knew to the full the claims of patriotism and of learning, and tampered with neither when they were accidentally opposed.

In England he had many personal friends, besides many more who were indebted to him through his writings—attracted almost unconsciously by the character as well as the matter of his work. There was no display, no emphasis in his style. But everything he wrote gave the impression of efficiency and sincerity, or rather of an intellectual magnanimity in which all the other excellences are included.

W. P. KER.

* The war interrupted the work of a young German scholar in Paris, Julius Brakelmann, who had to leave half printed the ‘Corpus’ of Old French lyric poetry which he was editing. He was killed, fighting against the French, at Mars la Tour, in July 1870; the fragment of his book was published in 1891 as he had left it, with a note simply stating the facts, more impressive than any rhetoric.

Art. VI.—THE SLEEPING SICKNESS.

1. *Preliminary Notes on Sleeping Sickness.* By R. U. Moffat, Principal Medical Officer, Uganda Protectorate. Submitted by Commissioner Sadler to the Marquess of Lansdowne, 1902. (Foreign Office Papers: East Africa.)
2. *Reports of the Sleeping-sickness Commission of the Royal Society.* Nos 1 to IV. London: Harrison, 1903.
3. *A Monograph of the Tsetse Flies.* By E. E. Austen. Published by order of the Trustees of the British Museum. 1903.
4. *Generations- und Wirthswechsel bei Trypanosoma und Spirochæte.* Von Fritz Schaudinn. Arbeiten aus der Kaiserl. Gesundheitsamte zu Berlin; vol. xx, part 3. 1904.

AMONG the strange and mysterious diseases to which mankind is subject in regions less familiar to the civilised world than Western Europe, none is stranger or more appalling in its quiet, inexorable deadliness than the Sleeping Sickness of the West African coast. Apparently it has existed among the natives of that region from time immemorial; but the first printed record we have of it is due to Winterbottom, who, writing in 1803 of Sierra Leone, said, 'The Africans are very subject to a species of lethargy which they are much afraid of, as it proves fatal in every instance.' One of the latest notices of the disease, before it became the subject of active investigation within the last two years, is that of Miss Kingsley, who saw a few cases near the Congo estuary; but, though she was impressed by the mysterious fatality of the disease, she did not describe it as very prevalent or as a general source of danger to life. The opening up of the Congo basin and increased familiarity with the inner lands of the West African coast have shown that this disease is widely scattered—though rarely so abundant as to be a serious scourge—through the whole of tropical West Africa. Writers in the early part of the last century described the disease as occurring in the West Indies and in Brazil. Its presence was almost certainly due, in those days of the slave trade, to the importation of negroes already infected with the disease; and a

curious theory obtained some favour, according to which the sleeping sickness of the West Indian slaves was a kind of nostalgia, and, in fact, the manifestation of what is sometimes called 'a broken heart.'

The signs that a patient has contracted the disease are very obvious at an early stage. They are recognised by the black people, and the certainly fatal issue accepted with calm acquiescence. The usually intelligent expression of the healthy negro is replaced by a dull apathetic appearance; and there is a varying amount of fever and headache. This may last for some weeks, but is followed more or less rapidly by a difficulty in locomotion and speech, a trembling of the tongue and hands. There is increased fever and constant drowsiness, from which the patient is roused only to take food. At last—usually after some three or four months of illness—complete somnolence sets in; no food is taken; the body becomes emaciated and ulcerated; and the victim dies in a state of coma. The course of the disease, from the time when the apathetic stage is first noticed, may last from two to twelve months.

It is this terrible disease which has lately appeared on the shores of the Victoria Nyanza, in the kingdom of Uganda, administered by the British Government. Until the early part of the year 1901 there was not the slightest suspicion that sleeping sickness occurred in any part of the Uganda Protectorate; nor was it known in East Africa at all, any more than in the north and south of that great continent. It seems gradually to have crept up the newly opened trade-routes of the Congo basin, and thence to have spread into the west of Uganda, the territory known as Busoga. Numbers of Soudanese and Congo men are known to have settled in this region after the death of Emin Pasha. First noticed in 1901, it was estimated in June 1902, by the Commissioner of Uganda, writing officially to the Marquess of Lansdowne, that 20,000 persons had died of this disease in the district of Busoga alone, and several thousands in the more eastern portion of Uganda. At this moment (June 1904) it is probable that the number of deaths in this region due to sleeping sickness since 1901 *amounts* to more than 100,000; and this though, most *the disease has not yet spread eastward*

into British East Africa,* nor, so far as has been reported, down the Nile. No curative treatment for the disease has yet been discovered; nor is there any authenticated instance of recovery.

The appalling mortality produced by this disease in Central Africa naturally caused the greatest anxiety to his Majesty's Government, which had but just completed the railway from the East Coast to the shores of lake Victoria Nyanza, and had established a prosperous and happy rule in that densely populated region. The official medical men on the spot, though capable and experienced practitioners, were unable to cope with this new and virulent outbreak. The Foreign Office, having no imperial board of hygiene and medical administration to apply to in this country, sought the assistance of the Royal Society of London.

A committee of that society had already undertaken the study of malaria at the request of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and had sent out young medical men as a commission to make certain enquiries and experiments on that subject and report to the committee in London. The sleeping sickness enquiry was undertaken by the same committee; but unfortunately very insufficient funds were placed at its disposal. When the South African cattle-owners found their herds threatened three years ago by a new form of mortal disease—the 'East Coast fever'—the South African Government accepted the offer of Dr Robert Koch, of Berlin, to undertake the investigation of the disease and the discovery, if possible, of a remedy, for the sum of 10,000*l*. No such sum was at the disposal of the committee of the Royal Society. They were obliged to send out young and enterprising medical men, practically without pay or reward, to see what they could do in the way of determining the cause of, and, if possible, the remedy for, the terrible sleeping sickness raging in Uganda and destroying daily hundreds of British subjects. The committee set to work in the summer of 1902, and sent

* The disease has actually entered into the administrative area known as British East Africa, but has not made any rapid progress towards the coast. According to a recent report by Dr Wiggins, the disease is confined in British East Africa, as in Uganda, to those areas in which *Glossina palpalis* occurs.

out Drs Low, Christy, and Castellani to Entebbe, the capital of Uganda.

The guesses as to the cause and nature of sleeping sickness at the time when this commission set forth were very various. Some highly capable medical authorities held that it was due to poisonous food. The root of the manioc, on which the natives feed, was supposed to become infected by some poison-producing ferment. A more generally received opinion was that it was caused by a specific bacterium which invades the tissues of the brain and spinal cord. Several totally different micro-organisms of this sort had been described with equal confidence by French and Portuguese investigators as the cause of the sleeping sickness studied by them in West Africa or on the Congo. Sir Patrick Manson, the head of the British Colonial medical service, an authority of great experience in tropical disease, had put forward the suggestion that the sleeping sickness was due to the infection of the patient by a minute thread-worm (allied to the 'vinegar-eels,' and one of a great class of parasites) which he had discovered in the blood of negroes and had named *Filaria perstans*.

The occurrence of minute worms (true worms, not unicellular plants or protozoa) in the blood of man was first made known by Dr Timothy Lewis, who described the *Filaria sanguinis hominis*, as well as some other most important blood-parasites, some years ago (1878), when officially engaged in an enquiry into the cause of cholera in Calcutta. Subsequently, in China, Manson found that these little blood-worms were sucked up by mosquitoes when gorging themselves on the blood of a patient. It is, indeed, difficult to imagine how they should escape passing into the mosquito with the blood. Manson suggested that the minute worms (known to be the embryos of a worm which, when adult, is about one fifteenth of an inch long) are obliged to pass through a mosquito in order to accomplish their development; but no proof of this suggestion has ever been made. We know by abundant and repeated demonstration and experiment that another blood-parasite—the malaria parasite—must pass through a mosquito, in whose body it develops, and by which it is carried to a new victim of infection. This was suspected long ago by both peasants and doctors, and

experimentally proved by Ross; but no such proof has been given of the relation of Lewis' blood-worm to a mosquito. The so-called *Filaria perstans*, discovered by Manson in the blood of negroes, appears to be very different from the *Filaria sanguinis hominis* of Lewis. It is not known how it gets into the blood; and it is very astonishing, and much to be regretted, that none of the medical men who have had it under observation have given a proper anatomical account of it. It appears that this worm is very common in the blood of negroes in tropical Africa; and, as it was found in several cases in the blood of individuals attacked by sleeping sickness, Sir Patrick Manson was justified in entertaining the view that this parasite was the cause of the disease.

One of the first results obtained by the commission sent by the Royal Society committee to Uganda was the proof—which had, indeed, been already furnished by the resident medical officers of the Uganda Protectorate—that *Filaria perstans*, though remarkably abundant in the blood of the negroes of Uganda, can have nothing to do with sleeping sickness, since, though it often occurs in persons attacked with that disease, it also exists in districts where sleeping sickness is unknown; and, further, many cases of sleeping sickness have been observed in which no *Filaria perstans* has been discovered in the blood or other parts of the body.

While Drs Low and Christy occupied themselves with settling this question as to the connexion of *Filaria perstans* with the disease, and carried out a careful study of its clinical aspects, Dr Castellani examined the brain and spinal cord of those who died from sleeping sickness, for bacteria. He found again and again an extremely minute globular vegetable parasite—of the kind known as streptococcus—which he concluded to be the cause of the disease, although he had not produced the disease experimentally by inoculating an animal with this microbe.

In the early part of 1903 these were the only results obtained by some six months' work of the medical men sent out by the Royal Society's committee; and it was felt that something more must be done. The investigation of a disease hitherto little known and studied is one of the most difficult tasks in the world, requiring the highest qualities. Any serious attempt to deal with the

sleeping sickness in Uganda would, it was at length recognised, require the despatch of a man of proved capacity and experience, provided with full powers and with trained men as his assistants. No such men are provided by the public service of the British Empire. To detach a medical man of recognised insight and experimental skill from his practice—even were it possible to find one specially qualified for the present enquiry—would involve the payment of a large fee, which neither the Royal Society nor the Foreign Office could command.

What, then, was to be done? Fortunately there was one man in the public service, recently appointed to be one of the chiefs of the educational arrangements of the Army Medical Department, who had shown himself to be especially gifted in the investigation of obscure diseases. This was Colonel David Bruce, F.R.S., who, some twelve years ago, established the existence of Malta fever, as an independent disease, by his clinical observations and by the isolation and cultivation of the parasitic bacterium causing it; and who, further, when employed by the governor of Zululand a few years later (1895) to investigate the celebrated tsetze-fly disease of South Africa, had discovered, contrary to the assertions and prejudices of a large number of African sportsmen and explorers, that the horse and cattle disease known as nagana or tsetze-fly disease was due to the presence in the blood of the affected animals of a peculiar cork-screw-like animal parasite, the *Trypanosoma Brucei*. This is carried by the bite of the tsetze fly from the blood of wild game, such as buffalo and antelope, where it does no harm, to the blood of domesticated animals, in which it multiplies and proves to be the source of a deadly poison causing death in a few weeks. The experiments by which Colonel Bruce demonstrated this relationship of tsetze fly, trypanosome parasite, wild big game, and domesticated animals, were universally regarded as masterly both in conception and execution, and absolutely conclusive.

The committee of the Royal Society came to the conclusion that the thing to be done was to get Colonel Bruce to consent to proceed to Uganda, and to recommend the Foreign Office to obtain from the War Office the temporary detachment of Colonel Bruce for this service. Accordingly, Colonel Bruce arrived in Uganda in the middle of March,

1903. Dr Low and Dr Christy had already departed, but Dr Castellani was still at Entebbe engaged in the study of his streptococcus. He mentioned to Colonel Bruce on his arrival that he had on more than one occasion seen a trypanosome in the cerebro-spinal fluid of negroes suffering from sleeping sickness; but, inasmuch as Dutton on the West Coast and Hodges in Uganda had described a trypanosome as an occasional parasite in human blood, he had not considered its occurrence in sleeping-sickness patients as of any more significance than is the occurrence of *Filaria perstans*. Castellani regarded the trypanosome, like the filaria, as a mere accidental concomitant of sleeping sickness, the cause of which he considered to be the bacterial streptococcus which he had so frequently found to be present.

Naturally enough, Bruce was impressed by the fact that trypanosomes, of the deadly nature of which he had had ample experience, had been found, even once, in the cerebro-spinal fluid of sleeping-sickness patients; and he immediately set to work to make a thorough search for this parasite in all the cases of sleeping sickness then under observation at Entebbe. He generously allowed Castellani to take part in the investigation, which resulted in the immediate discovery of the trypanosome in the cerebro-spinal fluid of twenty cases, out of thirty-four examined, of negroes afflicted with the disease; whilst in twelve negroes free from sleeping sickness the trypanosome could not be found in the cerebro-spinal fluid. Castellani returned to Europe three weeks after Bruce's experiments were commenced, and announced the discovery, which has been, in consequence, erroneously attributed to him, although mainly due to Bruce.

Bruce continued his work in Uganda until the end of August 1903, having been joined there by Colonel Greig of the Indian Army, who has continued the work of the Royal Society's commission since Bruce left. Other valuable observations have been carried out by various medical men officially connected with the Uganda Protectorate. Bruce soon showed that in every case of sleeping sickness, when examined with sufficient care, the trypanosome parasite is found to be present in the cerebro-spinal fluid. He also showed that it is absent from that fluid in all negroes examined who were not

afflicted with the disease, but made the very important discovery that the trypanosome is present in the blood (not the cerebro-spinal fluid) of twenty-eight per cent. of the population in those areas where sleeping sickness occurs, the persons thus affected having none of the symptoms of sleeping sickness, but being either perfectly healthy or merely troubled with a little occasional fever. The subsequent history of all the cases thus observed has not as yet been recorded. But in many such, even in some Europeans, the earlier presence of the trypanosome in the blood has been followed by its entry into the cerebro-spinal lymphatics, and by the fatal development of sleeping sickness.

As already indicated, it was found by Bruce, on recording the cases of sleeping sickness brought into or reported in Entebbe, that there were certain 'sleeping-sickness areas' and other areas free from sleeping sickness. The theory now took shape in Bruce's mind that the trypanosome first gets into the blood, and then, after a time, makes its way into the cerebro-spinal system, only then producing its deadly symptoms. Very generally, when once in the blood, the trypanosome multiplies itself, and sooner or later—apparently, in some cases, even after two or three years—gets into the cerebro-spinal fluid. It is probable that it may be destroyed by natural processes in the human body before this final stage is reached; and thus the infected person may recover and escape the deadly phase of the disease. But nothing certain is known, as yet, on this head. The latest news bearing on the matter is that the trypanosome is found alive and in large quantity in the lymphatic glands, especially those in the region of the neck, in infected persons. These glands were known to be enlarged in persons suffering from the disease.

Colonel Bruce's next step was to ascertain the mode in which the trypanosome is introduced into the blood. Naturally he looked for a kind of tsetse fly, such as carries the trypanosome in the nagana disease of horses and cattle. It is a fact that the *Glossina morsitans* and *Glossina pallidipes*, which are the tsetse flies of the 'fly-districts' where nagana disease is rife, are unknown in Central or Western Africa; and also it is a fact that no tsetse fly had been observed in the neighbourho

of the Victoria Nyanza when Colonel Bruce began his enquiries. He employed, through the good-will of the native chiefs and rulers, a large number of natives to collect flies throughout the country forming a belt of twenty or thirty miles around the north of the lake. Many thousands of flies were thus brought in, and the localities from which they came carefully noted. Among these flies Colonel Bruce recognised a tsetze fly; and, when these collections were received at the Natural History Museum in London, it was at once determined by Mr Austen, the assistant in charge of our collections of Diptera (or two-winged flies), that the Uganda tsetze fly was not the same species as that of Zululand and the fly country, but a distinct species previously known only on the West Coast and the Congo basin, and described by the name *Glossina palpalis*. The story thus developed itself: the trypanosome of sleeping sickness is probably carried by this West Coast tsetze fly just as the trypanosome of nagana is carried in the south east of Africa by the *Glossina morsitans* and *pallidipes*, the regular and original 'tsetze' flies.

Sleeping sickness thus presented itself as a special kind of human tsetze-fly disease. To test this hypothesis, Colonel Bruce pursued two very important and distinct lines of enquiry. In the first place he found that those places on his map which were marked as 'sleeping-sickness areas' were precisely those places from which the collected flies included specimens of tsetze fly, whilst he found that there were no tsetze flies in the collections of flies brought in by the natives from the regions where there was no sleeping sickness.

His second test-enquiry consisted in ascertaining whether the tsetze flies of Uganda are actually found, experimentally, to be capable of carrying the trypanosome from one infected person to another. For this purpose it was necessary to make use of monkeys, certain species of which were ascertained to be liable to the infection of the sleeping-sickness trypanosome when this was introduced by means of injection through a syringe. Such monkeys were found to develop the chief symptoms of sleeping sickness, and ultimately died of the disease, their cerebro-spinal fluid being invaded by the parasite. Accordingly it was possible to use monkeys as

animals. It was found by Colonel Bruce that tsetze flies (*Glossina palpalis*) which had been made to bite infected negroes could carry the infection to the monkeys; and it was also found that even when a number of tsetze flies, not specially prepared, were allowed to bite a monkey, the latter eventually developed the trypanosome in its blood and cerebro-spinal fluid, thus showing that the tsetze flies, as naturally occurring in the country around Entebbe, contain, many of them, the trypanosome ready to pass from the fly to a human or simian victim, when casually bitten by the fly.

Experiments such as these of infection by the fly, and the use of monkeys in the research, require very great care; and it is quite reasonable to ask that they shall be repeated and most carefully checked before they are considered as demonstrative and absolutely certain. It may, however, be considered as practically certain that the sleeping sickness is due to the presence in the cerebro-spinal fluid of quantities of a minute parasite, the *Trypanosoma Gambiense*, which is carried from man to man by the *palpalis* tsetze fly, which sucks it up from the blood of an infected individual and conveys it to previously uninfected individuals. The natives in Uganda lie about and sleep under the shade of trees where the tsetze flies are especially abundant; and they are quite indifferent to the bites of flies of one kind and another.

It is the dislike to the mere touch of a fly, still more to its bite, which has protected Europeans almost entirely from the sleeping sickness. Unfortunately there is no immunity for Europeans in the matter; and the existence of half a dozen or more cases of white people infected with the trypanosome, who have ultimately died in England or elsewhere in Europe from sleeping sickness contracted through the bite of a fly in Africa, is abundant proof that there is not, as has been supposed, any special freedom from the disease for white people.

The foregoing description of the nature and mode of the infection of sleeping sickness will not cause any astonishment to the layman of the present day who knows anything of recent medical science. We are all familiar with the danger of fly-bites, even in this country, where deadly bacteria are occasionally carried

by biting flies, such as the horse-flies, into the human subject; and nowadays every one is more or less familiar with the discovery of the minute blood-parasite which causes malaria or ague, and is carried by a particular kind of gnat in the interior of which it multiplies by a process of sexual conjugation. At the same time the reader who is interested in sleeping sickness will probably desire to know more about the nature of the tsetze flies and some further details as to the parasite spoken of as trypanosome.

The tsetze flies form a genus called by Wiedemann (in 1830) 'Glossina.' They are only found in Africa; and some seven species in all are known. They are little bigger than a common house-fly, and much like it in colour. They differ in appearance from the house-fly in the fact that the wings, when the insect is at rest, are parallel to one another, and slightly over-lap in the middle line, instead of being to a small extent divergent at their free extremities. The bite, like that of all flies, is rather a stab than a bite, and is effected by a beak-like process of the head, the blood of the animal pricked in this way being drawn into the fly's mouth by a sucking action of the gullet. The tsetze flies appear to be especially greedy, and are said to gorge themselves to such an extent that the blood taken in from one animal overflows the gullet, and so contaminates the wound inflicted by the fly on the next animal it visits. It is at the present moment assumed very generally that this is the way in which infection is produced. But it is not at all improbable that the trypanosome undergoes some kind of multiplication and change of form when sucked into the tsetze fly, as happens in the case of the malaria parasite when swallowed by the *Anopheles* gnat. No such change has yet been discovered in regard to the trypanosome of sleeping sickness; but it cannot be said that the matter has been exhaustively studied, or that a negative conclusion is justified.

As to the parasite itself—the trypanosome—a long and very interesting story has now to be told. The first blood-parasite ever made known to naturalists and medical men was that to which Gruby, in 1843, gave the name *Trypanosoma sanguinis*. He found it in the blood of the common frog. We have here reproduced a figure

of this original trypanosome (fig. 1). Similar parasites had been seen, but not named, in the blood of fishes. These trypanosomes are all very minute and of a some-



FIG. 1.—*TRYPANOSOMA SANGUINIS*, GRUBY.

The original trypanosome from the blood of the frog described and so named by Gruby in 1843. The figures are taken from original drawings made and published by Lankester in 1871.

n. the nucleus.

what elongated form, a fair average length being one thousandth of an inch. They are simple protoplasmic animals, consisting of one single nucleated corpuscle. The protoplasm is drawn out at one end of the creature into a motile undulating thread, and from the point where this joins the body a membranous undulating crest extends along the greater part of the animal's length. There is no mouth, nutrition being effected by the imbibition of soluble nutrient matter.

After a long interval Gruby's trypanosome was re-discovered in 1871; and then several kinds were described in the blood of tortoises, fishes, and birds. In 1878 Dr Timothy Lewis found a parasite in the blood of rats, at



FIG. 2.—*TRYPANOSOMA LEWISII*, KENT.

The trypanosome discovered by Dr Timothy Lewis in 1878 in the blood of rats.

n. nucleus; bl. blepharoplast or micronucleus.

first in India, and subsequently in the common rats of London sewers. This parasite resembles a trypanosome in many respects (fig. 2), but was very properly given

a distinct name by Savile Kent, who called it 'herpetomonas.' This name has, however, been dropped; and the rat's-blood parasite is spoken of as a trypanosome. It is the *Trypanosoma Lewisii*, and was the first of these trypanosomes to be found in the blood of a mammalian animal. The *Trypanosoma Lewisii* of the rat's blood seems to do no harm to the rat, in which it swarms, multiplying itself by longitudinal fission; nor is it at present known to produce any trouble in other animals when transferred to their blood. Similarly, the frog's trypanosome seems to exist innocently in the frog's blood.

The next trypanosome discovered (1880) was, however, found in the blood of camels, horses, and cattle suffering from a deadly disease known in India by the name 'surra.' It is called *Trypanosoma Evansii*, after the observer who detected it. Trypanosomes now began to get a bad name, for the next was discovered in animals afflicted by a North African disease known to French veterinaries as 'dourine.' This trypanosome was called *T. equiperdum*.

A little later, namely, in the year 1895, came Bruce's discovery of a trypanosome associated with a tsetse fly in the production of the terrible nagana disease of the 'fly-belts' of South Africa, which renders whole territories impassable for horses or cattle. The remarkable and important observation was made by Bruce that this trypanosome (known as *T. Brucei*) inhabits the blood of big game without injuring them, just as the rat's trypanosome inhabits the rat's blood without producing disease; and that it is only when the trypanosome is carried from these natural wild 'hosts' to domesticated animals introduced by man, such as horses, asses, cattle, and dogs, that disease results. The wild animals are 'immune' to Bruce's trypanosome; the introduced animals are poisoned by the products of its growth and fissile multiplication in their blood.

Since Bruce's researches on nagana, a trypanosome, *T. equinum*, has been discovered in the horse-ranches of South America, where it causes deadly disease, the *mal de caderas*, among the collected horses; and a curiously large-sized trypanosome has been found by Theiler in the blood of cattle in the Transvaal. Down to a recent date no trypanosome had been found in

the blood of man; and indeed it is almost certain that none of the kinds hitherto mentioned can survive in his blood. But in 1902 Dutton discovered a trypanosome in the blood of a West African patient; and a few other cases were noted. This trypanosome of human blood was called by Dutton *T. Gambiense*. It was not found to be connected with any serious symptoms, a little fever being the only disturbance noted. It now, however, appears that this trypanosome in the blood is the preliminary stage of the infection which ends in sleeping sickness; and, as we have seen, in a population seriously attacked by sleeping sickness, as is that of Uganda, as many as 28 per cent. of the people have trypanosomes in their blood.



FIG. 3.—*TRYPANOSOMA GAMBIENSE*, DUTTON.

The trypanosome of sleeping sickness. From a drawing made at Entebbe, Uganda, by Mrs Bruce, of two specimens stained by the Romanowsky method.

n. the nucleus; bl. the blepharoplast or micronucleus. The same figures would fairly represent the appearance of the trypanosomes of nagana, surra, and mal de caderas.

There is no ground at present known for distinguishing Dutton's *T. Gambiense* of human blood from that which Bruce has found to be so terribly abundant in Uganda, and to be the cause of sleeping sickness. Indeed all the trypanosomes of the blood of the larger mammalia are singularly alike in appearance; and the figure which is here given (fig. 3) of the trypanosome of sleeping sickness (*T. Gambiense*) might quite well serve to represent the *T. Evansii* of surra disease, the *T. Brucei* of nagana disease, or the *T. equinum* of the South American mal de caderas.

A most characteristic feature, which has been made out by the careful study of these trypanosomes by means of colouring reagents and very high powers of the microscope, is that, whilst there is a large granular nucleus (see fig. 3 *n.*), there is also a small body (fig. 3 *bl.*) which readily stains and is placed at the end of the root (so to speak) of the vibratile *flagellum* or free thread. This smaller nucleus has been variously called the 'micro-nucleus,' the 'centrosome,' and the 'blepharoplast.' It is identical with a structure similarly placed in non-parasitic microscopic animals to which trypanosoma is undoubtedly related. We find it in the phosphorescent noctiluca of our seas, and in various animalcules called 'Flagellata.'

The creature drawn in our fig. 3 is, then, the typical trypanosome. It is this which the medical investigator looks for in his human or animal patients; it is this which he has regarded as the sign and proof of infection. Experiments have shown that, though so much alike in appearance in the different diseases we have named, yet each trypanosome has its own properties. Human blood-serum is poisonous to one and not to another; an animal immune to one is not immune to another. At present no treatment has been discovered which will destroy the parasites when once they have effected a lodgment, or act as an antidote to the poison which they produce in the infected animal or man. But the fact that in some cases an animal may become immune to the attack of the parasite which usually is deadly to its kind, gives hope of an eventual curative treatment for trypanosome infection; as does also the fact that the serum of some animals acts as a poison to trypanosomes which flourish in other animals.

With regard to immunity, it must always be remembered that we are liable to confuse two different conditions under this one term. An animal may be said to be immune to a blood-parasite because that parasite is actually unable to live in its blood. On the other hand, an animal is often said to be immune to a parasite when the parasite can and does flourish in its blood or tissues but produces no poisonous effect. A more precise nomenclature would describe the attacked organism in the first case as 'repellent,' for it repels the parasite altogether;

in the second case as 'tolerant,' for it tolerates the presence and multiplication of the parasite without suffering by it.

We have yet to learn a good deal more as to the repulsion and the toleration of the trypanosome parasites by mammals and man. Still more have we to learn about the life-history of the trypanosome. At the moment of writing, absolutely nothing has been ascertained as to the life-history of the trypanosomes of mammalian blood, except that they multiply in the blood by longitudinal fission. Our ignorance about them is all the more serious since other trypanosomes, discovered by Danilewsky in birds, have been studied and have been shown to go through the most varied phases of multiplication and change of size and shape, including a process of sexual fertilisation like that of the malaria parasite, to which, indeed, it now seems certain the trypanosomes are very closely allied.

It is to Dr Schaudinn, of Rovigno, that we owe a knowledge of some most extraordinary and important facts with regard to the trypanosomes parasitic in the blood of the little stone-owl of southern Europe (*Athene noctua*). These facts are so remarkable that, were Dr Schaudinn not already known as a very competent investigator of microscopic organisms, we should hesitate to accept them as true. Supposing, as is not improbable, that similar facts can be shown in regard to the trypanosomes of mammalian blood, the conclusions which our medical investigators have based upon a very limited knowledge of the form and life-history of the trypanosomes occurring in diseases such as sleeping sickness, surra, and nagana, are likely to be gravely modified, and practical issues of an unexpected kind will be involved.

As has already been pointed out in this article, the British Government has no staff of public servants trained to deal with the world-wide problems of sanitation and disease which necessarily come with increasing frequency before the puzzled administrators of our scattered Empire. There is no provision for the study of the nature and history of blood-parasites in this country, that is to say, no provision of laboratories with the very ablest and exceptionally-gifted investigators at their head. We play with the provision of an

army, officers, and equipment to fight disease, which annually destroys hundreds of thousands of our people, much as barbarous states or bankrupt European kingdoms play with the provision of an ordinary army and navy. Their forces exist on paper, or even in fact, but have no ammunition, no officers, and no information; and there is no pay for the soldiers or sailors. Dr Schaudinn, on the other hand, is carrying on his researches as an officer of the German Imperial Health Bureau of Berlin; and the account of them was published in the official Report of that important department of the German imperial administrative service six months ago.

It is not possible here to give a full report on Dr



FIG. 4.—*TRYPANOSOMA ZIEMANNI*, SCHAUDINN.

From the blood of the stone-owl, *Athene noctua*. This phase of the life-history corresponds to the 'crescent-phase' of the malarial parasite *Laverania*.

a, represents a female or egg-cell (macrogamete); *b*, represents a male or sperm-mother-cell (microgametocyte); *n*, nucleus; *bl*, blepharoplast. After Schaudinn.

Schaudinn's work; but it appears that he has studied two distinct species of trypanosoma, both occurring side by side in the blood of the little stone-owl, and already seen, but incompletely studied, by Danilewsky and Ziemann. The second of the two species of trypanosome is in some respects the more remarkable. Schaudinn calls it *Trypanosoma Ziemanni*; and from the figures which are here given (figs. 4, 5, 6 and 7), copied from his article, with the explanation below the figures, the reader will at once see what

an extraordinary range of form and mode of multiplication is presented by this one species of trypanosome. Space will not permit us to comment on these various phases beyond noting how assuredly such forms would have escaped recognition as belonging to the trypanosome history if seen, before Dr Schaudinn's memoir was printed, by any of our medical commissioners blindly exploring round about the diseases caused by trypanosomes in man and mammals.

One very astonishing and revolutionary fact discovered by Schaudinn we must, however, especially point out. Medical men have long been acquainted with the spirillum,

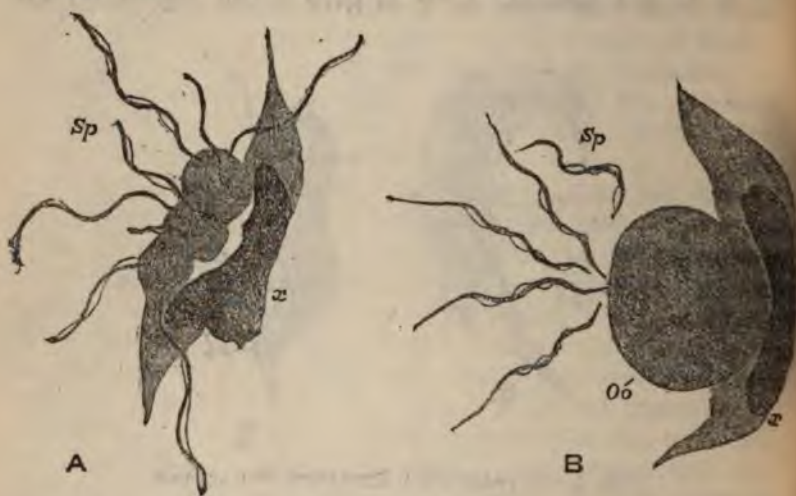


FIG. 5.

The full-grown trypanosomes seen in fig. 4 have now been swallowed by the common gnat, *Culex pipiens*, and are undergoing development in its stomach.

A, shows the spermatozoa, *Sp.*, or microgametes, developing as elongated animalcules from the male cell. The large black mass, *x*, is the stained nucleus of a blood cell of the owl to which the parasite was adherent. B, shows the now rounded egg-cell, *Oo*, being fertilised by the liberated spermatozoa, *Sp.* The fusiform mass on the right is a discarded outer coat of the female trypanosome together with the nucleus, *x*, of a blood-corpuscule of the owl to which it was adherent. After Schaudinn.

or spiral threads, discovered by Obermeyer in the blood of patients suffering from the relapsing fever of eastern Europe. These were universally and without question regarded as Bacteria (vegetable organisms) and referred to the genus 'Spirochæte' of Ehrenberg. They were called

Spirochæte Obermeieri; and relapsing fever was held to be a typical case of a bacterial infection of the blood. It is now shown by Schaudinn that the blood-parasite spirochæte is a phase of a trypanosome (fig. 7); that it has a large nucleus and a micronucleus or blepharoplast, neither of which are present in the spiral Bacteria; and, further, that it alters its shape, contracting so as to present the form of minute oval or pear-shaped bodies, each provided with a larger and a smaller nucleus. These oval bodies are often engulfed by the colourless corpuscles (phagocytes) of the blood; and it is in the highest degree probable that in this condition they have been observed in some tropical diseases without their relation to the spiral

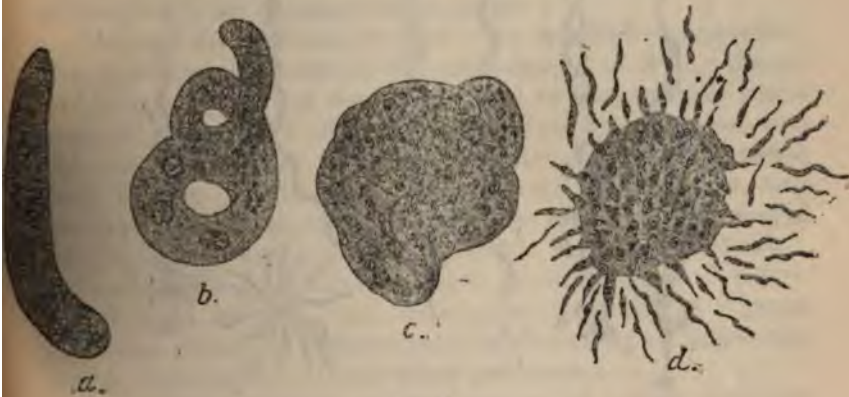


FIG. 6.

Further phases of *Trypanosoma Ziemanni* after fertilisation, which are found in the intestine of the common gnat, *Culex pipiens*.

a, corresponds to the vermicle phase (ookinete) of the malaria parasite. It is the fertilised egg-cell, now elongated and active in movement. The nucleus is seen, and within the nucleus is the blepharoplast. b and c, elongation and coiling of the ookinete with multiplication of the nucleus corresponding to the formation of the spore-holding cysts of the malaria parasite which are attached to the gut-wall of Anopheles; d, breaking up of the coil into small neutral trypanosomes (neither male nor female). From Schaudinn.

forms being suspected. The corpuscles lately described by Leishman, in cases of a peculiar Indian fever, are very probably of this nature, as are also similar bodies recently described in Delhi sore. On the whole, it may safely be said that the researches of Dr Schaudinn, of which only a preliminary account has yet been published, have widely modified our conceptions as to these blood-

parasites, and must lead to important discoveries in regard to diseases caused by them in mammals and in man.

The facts that wild game serve as a tolerant reservoir of trypanosomes for the infection of domesticated animals by the intermediary of the tsetse fly, and that native children in malarial regions act the same part for the malarial parasite and mosquito, suggest very strongly that some tolerant reservoir of the sleeping-sickness trypanosome may exist in the shape of a hitherto unsuspected mammal, bird, or insect. The investigation of that hypothesis and the discovery of the reproductive and

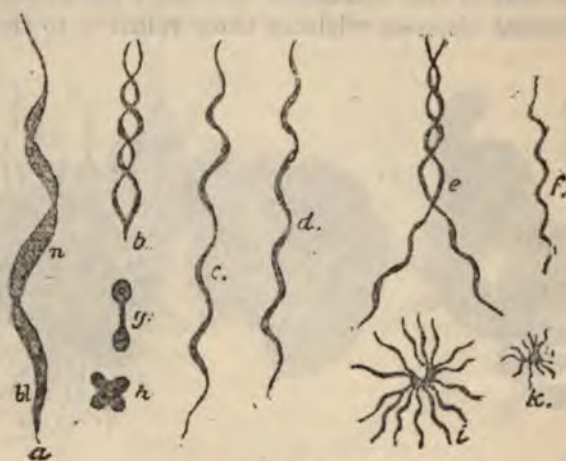


FIG. 7.

Forms of small neutral trypanosomes belonging to the series of *T. Ziemanni* found in the malpighian tubes of the common gnat. That marked *a* is also found in the owl's blood, where it is introduced by the bite of the gnat and multiplies by fission, eventually giving rise to the full-sized sexual forms of fig. 4. These small elongated forms are what have been called Spirochæta, and confused up till now with the bacterial parasites known as Spirillum.

a, neutral Spirochæta-phase showing, *n*, nucleus and, *bl*, blepharoplast; *b*, a smaller individual dividing by longitudinal fission into two; *c*, a similar individual with the two newly formed fission products extended in line; *d* and *e*, further longitudinal fission in progress; *f*, a smaller Spirochæta-phase; *g*, resting state or contracted condition of the same; *h*, resting state of a four-fold individual such as *e*; *i* and *k*, star-like agglomerations (such as are well known in *Trypanosoma Lewisii*, *Brucei*, and *equinum*) due to a coming together of free individuals and not to a fission or budding process. After Schaudinn.

secondary forms of the mammalian trypanosomes are the matters which now most urgently call for the efforts of capable medical officers. But we must not be sanguine of rapid progress, since men of the scientific quality

needful for pursuing these enquiries are not numerous; and those who exist are not endowed with private fortunes, as a rule. At the same time no attempt is made by the British Government to take such men into its pay, or to provide for the training and selection of such officers.

The relations of parasites to the organisms upon or in which they are parasitic, and the relation of man, once entered on the first steps of his career of civilisation, to the world of parasites, form one of the most instructive and fascinating chapters of natural history. It cannot be fully written yet, but already some of the conclusions to which the student is led in examining this subject have far-reaching importance and touch upon great general principles in an unexpected manner.

Before the arrival of man—the would-be controller, the disturber of Nature—the adjustment of living things to their surrounding conditions and to one another has a certain appearance of perfection. Natural selection and the survival of the fittest in the struggle for existence lead to the production of a degree of efficiency and harmonious interaction of the units of the living world which, being based on the inexorable destruction of what is inadequate and inharmonious as soon as it appears, result in a smooth and orderly working of the great machine, and the continuance by heredity of efficiency and a high degree of individual perfection.

Parasites, whether microscopic or of larger size, are not, in such circumstances, the cause of widespread disease or suffering. The weakly members of a species may be destroyed by parasites, as others are destroyed by beasts of prey; but the general community of the species, thus weeded, is benefited by the operation. In the natural world the inhabitants of areas bounded by sea, mountain, and river become adjusted to one another; and a balance is established. The only disturbing factors are exceptional seasons, unusual cold, wet, or drought. Such recurrent factors may from time to time increase the number of the weakly who are unable to cope with the invasions of minute destructive parasites, and so reduce even to extermination the kinds of animals or plants especially susceptible to such influences. But anything like the epidemic diseases of para-

sitic origin with which civilised man is unhappily familiar seems to be due either to his own restless and ignorant activity or, in his absence, to great and probably somewhat sudden geological changes—changes of the connexions, and therefore communications, of great land areas.

It is abundantly evident that animals or plants which have, by long æons of selection and adaptation, become adjusted to the parasites and the climatic conditions and the general company (so to speak) of one continent may be totally unfit to cope with those of another; just as the Martian giants of Mr H. G. Wells, though marvels of offensive and defensive development, were helpless in the presence of mundane putrefactive bacteria, and were rapidly and surely destroyed by them. Accordingly, it is not improbable that such geological changes as the junction of the North and South American continents, of North and South Africa, and of various large islands and neighbouring continents, have, in ages before the advent of man, led to the development of disastrous epidemics. It is not a far-fetched hypothesis that the disappearance of the whole equine race from the American continent just before or coincidently with the advent of man—a region where horses of all kinds had existed in greater variety than in any other part of the world—is due to the sudden introduction, by means of some geological change, of a deadly parasite which spread as an epidemic and extinguished the entire horse population.

Whatever may have happened in past geological epochs, by force of great earth-movements which rapidly brought the adaptations of one continent into contact with the parasites of another, it is quite certain that man, proud man, ever since he has learnt to build a ship, and even before that, when he made up his mind to march aimlessly across continents till he could go no further, has played havoc with himself and all sorts of his fellow-beings by mixing up the products of one area with those of another. Nowhere has man allowed himself—let alone other animals or even plants—to exist in fixed local conditions to which he or they have become adjusted. With ceaseless restlessness he has introduced men and beasts and plants from one land to another. He has constantly migrated, with his herds and his horses, from *continent to continent*. Parasites, in themselves beneficent

purifiers of the race, have been thus converted into terrible scourges and the agents of disease. Europeans are decimated by the locally innocuous parasites of Africa; the South Sea islanders are exterminated by the comparatively harmless measles of Europe.

A striking example of the disasters brought about by man's blind dealings with Nature—disasters which can and will hereafter be avoided by the aid of science—is to be found in the history of the insect phylloxera and the vine. In America the vine had become adjusted to the phylloxera larvæ, so that when they nibbled its roots the American vine threw out new root-shoots and was none the worse for the little visitor. Man in his blundering way introduced the American vine, and with it the phylloxera, to Europe; and in three years half the vines in France and Italy were destroyed by the phylloxera, because the European vines had not been bred in association with this little pest, and had not acquired the simple adjusting faculty of throwing out new shoots.

But it is not only by his reckless mixing up of incompatibles from all parts of the globe that the unscientific man has risked the conversion of paradise into a desert. In his greedy efforts to produce large quantities of animals and plants convenient for his purposes, and in his eagerness to mass and organise his own race for defence and conquest, man has accumulated unnatural swarms of one species in field and ranch and unnatural crowds of his own kind in towns and fortresses. Such undiluted masses of one organism serve as a ready field for the propagation of previously rare and unimportant parasites from individual to individual. Human epidemic diseases, as well as those of cattle and crops, are largely due to this unguarded action of the unscientific man.

A good instance of this is seen in the history of the coffee plantations of Ceylon, where a previously rare and obscure parasitic fungus, leading an uneventful life in the tropical forests of that country, suddenly found itself provided with an unlimited field of growth and exuberance in the coffee plantations. The coffee plantations were destroyed by this parasite, which has now returned to its pristine obscurity. Disharmonious, blundering man was responsible for its brief triumph and celebrity. Dame Nature had not allowed the coffee fungus more than a very moderate

scope. Man comes in and takes the reins ; disaster follows ; and there is no possibility of return to the old régime. Man must make his blunders and retrieve them by further interference—by the full use of his intelligence, by the continually increasing ingenuity of his control of the physical world, which he has ventured to wrest from the old rule of natural selection and adaptation.

The adjustment of all living things to their proper environment is one of great delicacy and often of surprising limitation. In no living things is this more remarkable than in parasites. The relation of a parasite to the 'host' or 'hosts' in which it can flourish (often the host is only one special species or even variety of plant or animal) is illustrated by the more familiar restriction of certain plants to a particular soil. Thus the Cornish heath only grows on soil overlying the chemically peculiar serpentine rocks of Cornwall. The two common parasitic tape-worms of man pass their early life the one in the pig and the other in bovine animals. But that which requires the pig as its first host (*Tænia solium*) cannot use a bovine animal as a substitute ; nor can the other (*Tænia mediocanellata*) exist in a pig. Yet the difference of porcine and bovine flesh and juices is not a very patent one ; it is one of small variations in highly complex organic chemical substances. A big earth-worm-like stomach-worm flourishes in man, and another kind similar to it in the horse. But that frequenting man cannot exist in the horse, nor that of the horse in man. Simpler parasites, such as are the moulds, bacteria, and again the blood-parasites, trypanosoma, etc., exhibit absolute restrictions as to the hosts in which they can or can not flourish without showing specific changes in their vital processes. Being far simpler in structure than the parasitic worms, they have less 'mechanism' at their disposal for bringing about adjustment to varied conditions of life. The microscopic parasites do not submit to alterations in the chemical character of their surroundings without themselves reacting and showing changed chemical activities. A change of soil (that is to say of host) may destroy them ; but, on the other hand, it may lead to increased vigour and the most unexpected reaction on their part in the production of virulent chemical poisons.

We are justified in believing that until man introduced his artificially selected and transported breeds of cattle and horses into Africa there was no nagana disease. The *Trypanosoma Brucei* lived in the blood of the big game in perfect harmony with its host. So, too, it is probable that the sleeping-sickness parasite flourished innocently in a state of adjustment due to tolerance on the part of the aboriginal men and animals of West Africa. It was not until the Arab slave-raiders, European explorers, and india-rubber thieves stirred up the quiet populations of Central Africa, and mixed by their violence the susceptible with the tolerant races, that the sleeping-sickness parasite became a deadly scourge—a 'disharmony,' to use the suggestive term introduced by my friend Elias Metschnikow.

The adjustment of primæval populations to their conditions has also been broken down by 'disharmonies' of another kind, due to man's restless invention, as explained a few years ago in the interesting book of Mr Archdall Reid on the 'Present Evolution of Man.' Not only does the human race within given areas become adjusted to a variety of local parasites, but it acquires a tolerance of dangerous drugs, such as alcohol and opium, extracted by man's ingenuity from materials upon which he operates. A race thus provided and thus immune imposes, by its restless migrations, on unaccustomed races the deadly poisons to the consumption of which it is itself habituated. The unaccustomed races are deteriorated or even exterminated by the poisons thus introduced.

Infectious disease, it was long ago pointed out, must be studied from three main points of view: (1) the life-history and nature of the disease-germ or infective matter; (2) the infected subject, his repellent or tolerant possibilities, and his predisposition or receptivity; (3) the intermediary or carrying agents. Whilst it is true that little or nothing has been done by the State in acquiring or making use of knowledge as to the first and second of these factors, with a view to controlling the spread of disease, it is the fact that much has been done both in the way of investigation and administration in relation to the third factor. The great public-health enquiries and consequent legislation in this country, in which scientific men of the highest qualifications, such as Simon, Farr, Chadwick, and Parkes, took part during the Victorian

period, have had excellent results; to them are due the vast expenditure at the present day on pure water, sewage disposal, and sanitary inspection. But little or nothing has been done in regard to the first and second divisions of the subject, in which the less organised portions of the British Empire are more deeply concerned than in waterworks and sewer-pipes. It is still contested whether leprosy (which is a serious scourge in the British Empire, though expelled from our own islands) is a matter of predisposition caused by diet or solely due to contagion; and yet it is left to individual practitioners to work out the problem. The State prepares vaccine lymph in a cheap and unsatisfactory way for the use of its, till recently, compulsorily vaccinated citizens; but the State, though thus interfering in the matter of vaccine, has spent no money to study effectively and to improve the system of vaccination. Here and there some temporary and ineffective enquiry has been subsidised by a government office; but there is no great army of investigators working in the best possible laboratories, led by the ablest minds of the day, with the constant object of improving and developing in new directions the system of inoculation. Surely if compulsion, or every pressure short of compulsion, is justified in enforcing vaccine inoculation on every British family, it would be only reasonable and consistent to expend a million or so a year in the perfection and intelligent control of this remedy by the most skilled investigators. Yet not a halfpenny is spent by the British Government in this way. Medicine is organised in this country by its practitioners as a fee-paid profession; but as a necessary and invaluable branch of the public service it is neglected, misunderstood, and rendered to a large extent futile by inadequate funds and consequent lack of capable leaders. The defiant desperate battle which civilised man wages with Nature must go on; but man's suffering and loss in the struggle—the delay in his ultimate triumph—depend solely on how much or how little the great civilised communities of the world seek for increased knowledge of nature as the basis of their practical administration and government.

E. RAY LANKESTER.

Art. VII.—THE LAWS OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

1. *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*. Herausgegeben im Auftrage der Savigny-Stiftung von F. Liebermann. Erster Band: Text und Übersetzung. Halle: Niemeyer, 1903.
2. *Quadripartitus: ein englisches Rechtsbuch von 1114* (1892). *Consiliatio Cnuti: eine Uebertragung angelsächsischer Gesetze aus dem zwölften Jahrhundert* (1893). *Ueber Pseudo-Cnuts Constitutiones de Foresta* (1894). *Ueber die Leges Anglorum Sæculo xiii ineunte Londoniis collectæ* (1894). *Ueber die Leges Edwardi Confessoris* (1896). *Ueber das englische Rechtsbuch Leges Henrici* (1901): and other treatises. By F. Liebermann. Halle: Niemeyer.

THOUGH Dr Liebermann has still something in store for us in the way of notes, index, glossary, and the like, the time has already come when we may rejoice in the possession of a really good edition of the oldest English laws, an edition which will bear comparison with the very best work that has hitherto been done upon any historical materials of a similar kind. That this task should have been performed by a German scholar at the instance of a German academy, and with the support of a German trust fund, may not be what we in England should have liked best, but must not detract from the warmth of our welcome and our praise. If Englishmen cannot or will not do these things, they can at least rejoice that others can and will.

The German occupation of a considerable tract of English history has been a gradual process. The sphere of influence becomes a protectorate, and the protectorate becomes sovereignty. The shore is surveyed and settled; and now with colour of right far-reaching claims can be made over an auriferous hinterland. How and why all this happened it would be long to tell, but a small part of the story should be remembered.

Few words will be sufficient to recall to our minds the nature and extent of the territory which, so we fear, is slipping from our grasp. Any one who, at the present day, desired to study, even in outline, the first six centuries of English history—those centuries which intervene

between the withdrawal of the legions and the coming of the Normans—would find himself compelled, whether he liked it or not, diligently to peruse a certain small body of laws. We cannot, indeed, say that, were it not for these monuments of ancient jurisprudence, the only tale that he would have to tell would be of battles between 'kites and crows.' Certain great men—an Alfred, for instance, or a Dunstan—might be seen and portrayed, though without a background. There would still be something to be learnt about heathenry and Christianity, about religious doctrines and ecclesiastical organisation, about poetry and prose, about arts and crafts. One of those old-fashioned chapters or appendixes touching 'the manners and customs of the people' might be rewritten with truer insight and apter illustrations. But if from the sum total of what we know about our forefathers we subtracted what has been directly or indirectly taught us by legal documents, the residue, it must be confessed, would be both incoherent and precarious. Not only could we make no attempt to see the nation as an organised and growing whole, but our great men, our Alfred and our Dunstan, would be far more shadowy than they are. Nay, even our battles would have little good fighting in them, and our very 'kites and crows' would be phantasmal. Moreover, if we owe to these laws a certain sum of assured knowledge, we owe to them also—and this is hardly less valuable—a certain sum of assured ignorance. When they do not satisfy they at all events stimulate a rational curiosity; and where they do not give us intelligible answers they prompt us to ask intelligent questions—questions which go deep down into the pith and marrow of our national history, but questions that would never have occurred to us if we had nothing to read but chronicles and the lives of saints.

We have spoken of a small body of laws, and small it certainly is. Without translation and apparatus it might be handsomely printed in a hundred and fifty octavo pages. We fancy that in the days of flamboyant draftsmanship a single Act of Parliament sometimes contained more words than have come to us from all the law-givers that lived in England before the Norman Conquest. We have, it will be remembered, a little priceless matter from our first Christian king from Æthelberht of Kent. To

use round figures, we may say that it comes from the year 600. We have a little from his successors upon the Kentish throne; we have more from the West Saxon Ine (circ. 700), which, however, has passed through the hands of Alfred (circ. 900); and we have a considerable amount from Alfred himself. Then legislation becomes commoner. The tenth century and the first years of the eleventh are illustrated by laws of Edward, Æthelstan, Edmund, Edgar, and Æthelred; and the series ends with the respectably lengthy and luminous code of Cnut the Dane. Besides this, we have a few short statements of legal or customary rules coming to us, not from law-givers, but from presumably learned men—little formularies and so forth, which were transcribed along with the laws and have been slowly disengaged from them by the skill of recent editors.

Such was the territory which was to be explored and cultivated by modern science; and such was the territory which, as some of our neighbours saw, was lying derelict and inviting annexation. Exploration, it is true, was no easy task, especially because—unlike the parallel laws of the continental nations, Goths and Lombards, Franks and Saxons—these old ‘dooms,’ as they call themselves, were written, not in Latin, but in the vernacular, or, in other words, in a language which, for a long time past, has been far less intelligible than Latin to the great mass of fairly educated mankind. Just for this reason, however, these English dooms might claim a prerogative right. Up to a certain point Latin, and even the worst Latin of a dark age, may be generally intelligible; but, as many investigators have of late had occasion to remark, the thoughts of barbarous Teutons were sadly contorted in the process of latinisation. Many a passage, for example, in the code of the Salian Franks, the famous *Lex Salica*, would by this time be far less obscure than it will ever be had it been transmitted to us, not in Latin, but in Frankish words. In this respect, therefore, our English dooms have a singular, a unique, value. It was a value which could but slowly be turned to account, but it became an effective asset as the old English language was gradually reconstructed; and nowadays, in the eyes of every serious student of early medieval history, the Anglo-Saxon laws appear, not merely as good but as supremely good material.

But to speak at greater length of the extent and fertility of the ground that we have lost or are losing would be needless. The control of the Anglo-Saxon laws, which henceforward we shall have to know as 'Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen,' implies a protectorate, to say the least, over some six centuries of English history. Nor is that all, for, as will be remarked below, the people who taught us the word 'hinterland' have taught us also how a hinterland should be treated. But in order to understand what they have done we must go back a little way.

In the middle of the sixteenth century the Anglo-Saxon laws began, if we may so say, to awake from a long sleep. That there had been such things had never been quite forgotten, for a well-known chronicle contained large extracts from one of those Latin translations that were made soon after the Norman Conquest. But, diligent as our lawyers had been in their hunt for ancient documents—and the amount of old manuscript that Anthony Fitzherbert had perused and digested may well astonish us—a limit was set to their investigations. As far back as the boundary of legal memory, as far back as Glanvill, they could pursue their researches not only with interest, but with professional profit. What lay on the other side of that line seemed to belong to another world, and had no points of contact with their practical work. As to an original Anglo-Saxon text, they could hardly have understood one word of it. The fact that their own technical language was not even English but debased French tended to widen a gulf which in any case would have been wide enough.

As Dr Liebermann rightly remarks, the Anglo-Saxon renaissance began in another quarter. We might call it a by-product of the Reformation. So soon as the quarrel with Rome became acute, 'divers sundry old authentick histories and chronicles' were being explored by important people; and a charter in which an English king appeared as a 'Basileus' was passing from hand to hand and exciting comment. A little later, and it seemed possible that, expressed in an unknown tongue and a barely legible script, there lay title-deeds of a national church—title-deeds which told not only of independence, but of purity. And, as a set-off to the dismal tale of pillaged libraries, we may remember that the tools had at length come to

those who would use them—the rescued manuscripts to the hands of those who would be at pains to read them. Pains were required. The casting of a fount of type that would imitate the Old English characters shows us how outlandish to Elizabethan Englishmen was the speech of their forefathers. For the service performed in the cause of history by Matthew Parker, John Joscelyn, and Laurence Nowell we must always be grateful; nor should Bale and Foxe be forgotten, though it was no purely scientific spirit that guided them in their enterprises. It was reserved, however, for Nowell's pupil, that sound lawyer William Lambard, to publish an edition of the Anglo-Saxon laws; and we now have Dr Liebermann's authority for saying that he did his work wonderfully well. That in every five lines or thereabouts of his Latin version he should be guilty of a mistake which his successors can call gross, is only what was to be expected. He was a pioneer in an unknown land.

The first half of the seventeenth century may be regarded as the heroic age of English legal scholarship. Great questions were opening, and on all sides an appeal was being made to ancient law and ancient history. It is true that, as regards very old times, little that was of real value came from the imperious dogmatist who dominated the jurisprudence of his time. When he was on unfamiliar ground Sir Edward Coke was, of all mankind, the most credulous. There was no fable, no forgery, that he would not endorse; and a good many medieval legends and medieval lies passed into currency with his name upon their backs. But in Selden and Spelman England produced two explorers of whom she might well be proud. We are glad to say that in Dr Liebermann's sketch of the work that was done by his predecessors Sir Henry Spelman comes by his rights; and we think it worthy of observation that it was what we nowadays call the comparative method which enabled these illustrious Englishmen to put new life into English history. It has been said with some truth that the man who 'introduced the feudal system into England' was not William the Conqueror, but Henry Spelman; and if, as is usual in such cases, similarities were seen before dissimilarities, still to have begun the comparison was a great achievement; for very true it is that England will

never be known to those who will know nothing else. There are many other names that deserve remembrance—the names of diligent antiquaries. Marvellously diligent they were. Contending with difficulties and discomforts which their luxurious successors can but faintly imagine, they copied and collated and edited. Prynne, for example, munching his crust of bread as with burning zeal he deciphered decaying documents in the filth and stench of the White Tower, is an heroic figure. If we have done little else to help Dr Liebermann, we may at least hope that ‘Englands edle Gastfreundschaft’ (we are glad to see the phrase) has enabled him to do his work in pleasant surroundings.

In his judgment the editions of the Anglo-Saxon laws which were published by Abraham Wheelock in 1644 and by David Wilkins in 1721 owe their merits more to others than to their editors, who marched rather behind than in front of the linguistic science of their times. That the man whose edition held the field for a century and upwards was of Prussian descent, and that his real name was not Wilkins but Wilke, might be represented as a forecast shadow of future events; but there is little or nothing to show that this industrious professor and archdeacon brought to his task any equipment of foreign learning. Meanwhile linguistic science had been advancing; and, if in this quarter the help of a De Laet and a Dujon had been useful, George Hickes, the nonjuring bishop, had surely shown that at this point England could as yet hold her own.

But general interest in the old laws was failing. They had disappointed reasonable expectations. It is plain enough, for example, that Blackstone does not know what to make of them. And what is one to make of laws which leave it somewhat doubtful whether our Saxon forefathers were possessed of our glorious constitution, with trial by jury and ‘habeas corpus,’ and all other bulwarks, palladia, checks, balances, commodities, easements, and appurtenances? Unfortunately the forgeries and the fables, the legends and the lies, were much more to the point than those meagre, enigmatical, and altogether ‘Gothic’ sentences which defied the resources of gentlemanly scholarship.

The study of the old texts never died out altogether.

We might tell of good deeds, but they were done, for the more part, in the antiquary's fashion, and seldom by men of great power. Then in the nineteenth century came the critical moment. Would Englishmen see and understand what was happening in Germany? Would they appreciate and emulate the work of Savigny and Grimm? In particular, would they set themselves to investigate the growth of law and institutions with scientific accuracy and scientific zeal, and, inspirited by big thoughts, hold no labour too laborious, no text too obscure, no detail insignificant until all should be known? It can hardly be said that they rose to the occasion. We had our swallows, and beautiful birds they were; but there was spring in Germany. We had our *guerrilleros*; they were valiant and resourceful; but in Germany an army was being organised. Grimm's pupil, Kemble, was in the field, fighting a brave battle for the study of the Old English language and the Old English laws. The great Palgrave was in the field; surely a great commander if an army had been forthcoming. But our English forces, if forces they might be called, were irregulars. Discipline was not their strong point, as the chequered tale of the Record Commissions amply shows. Chequered indeed were the books in which public money was invested; the scandalously bad elbowed the admirably good.

The official edition of the 'Ancient Laws and Institutes of England,' which was published in 1840, fell midway between the two extremes. Dr Liebermann, who is scrupulously fair to his forerunners, goes no farther than truth compels when he says that the book did not meet just expectations. The proof came soon. In 1858 Reinhold Schmid, a professor of law at Bern, without being able to visit England, and consequently without seeing the manuscripts, published a much better edition. A very good book it was, and those who now are laying it aside must feel that they are parting from an old and trusty friend. From that moment the English official edition was superseded. There the matter rested, so far as England was concerned. That the failure should be officially recognised and a new edition put in hand was not to be expected—such confessions of failure are in Germany; but no Englishman came forward to the German challenge, though it must have

ciently plain that an edition made by one who had not seen the manuscripts could not be final. The next edition was to be made by Felix Liebermann, at the instance of the Bavarian Academy, at the cost of the Savigny Trust; it was to be beautifully printed at Halle; it was to be dedicated to Konrad von Maurer, or to his memory.

Konrad Maurer—the 'von' came afterwards—was one of our conquerors. He was the son of that Georg Ludwig von Maurer who explored village communities, gave Greece a criminal code, was a prominent statesman in the Bavaria of Lola Montez, died in 1872, and lives for Englishmen in the pages of Sir Henry Maine. Early in the fifties of the last century Konrad reviewed Kemble's book in a series of papers which, though not always to be found even in the best of English libraries, marks a dividing line between two periods. In his hands the study of Anglo-Saxon law passed into a more scientific stage, because it became part of a much larger whole, 'die Germanische Rechtsgeschichte.' Already in 1845 he had won his doctor's degree by a piece of sober comparative jurisprudence, a study of the growth of the noble class among the Teutons; and the Teutonic inhabitants of England had received a full share of his attention. Then, while still a young man, he wrote those memorable papers about Anglo-Saxon law, and he gave the rest of a long life to the subjugation of the Scandinavian north. In 1902, after encouraging and helping Dr Liebermann to the last, he died full of years and honours. None of the honours were English; but he must have known that he had left his mark very deep in the current version of the oldest English history. And so to 'Konrad von Maurer, dem Altmeister der Germanischen Rechtsgeschichte,' this edition of our old laws is dedicated.

There is another of Dr Liebermann's dedications to which it is pleasant to turn. One of the tracts in which he has been giving to the world the result of his researches bears on its forefront these words, 'Dem Andenken an William Stubbs, den Meister der Erforschung und Darstellung Englischer Geschichte im Mittelalter.' Every one of these words is well weighed and well deserved. The grand figure of William Stubbs seems to be destined to become grander and more solitary as the years roll by.

Now the extent to which, in his reconstruction of the age before the Conquest, Dr Stubbs adopted the theories of German pioneers might easily be exaggerated; and exaggeration we have seen. He was a sturdily independent and conservative Englishman, not easy to lead, not easy to persuade, and wholly free from the vanity that parades what is new and what is foreign. Still it is unquestionable that he had learned much from Waitz and Schmid and Maurer; and his willingness to look for good books beyond the four seas was an essential trait in his greatness. Also it was natural that the German influence should be most perceptible in the most purely legal part of his work. Englishmen were beginning to think of talking about 'comparative jurisprudence' while Germans had been steadily making it. That prematurely ambitious theories, 'evolved from the depths of the inner consciousness,' had seen the light in Germany no one would deny. But their short reign was over, and sanity, modesty, and caution were in the order of the day. If we must name one example of the sort of work to which we refer, let it be Wilda's 'Strafrecht der Germanen'; and let the date upon its title-page, 1842, be noted. Was it, then, unnatural that Dr Stubbs should look abroad? How much remained to be done before the Anglo-Saxon laws and the law-books of the Norman age would be a well-mapped country he was fully aware. How he welcomed Dr Liebermann to England, Dr Liebermann has told; and we wish that we could repeat the terms in which the Bishop of Oxford explained to the University of Cambridge how well this German visitor deserved his honorary degree; we have warrant for saying that they were warm and forcible.

Whether the study of the Old English language, and the family of languages to which it belongs, flourished in the England of the nineteenth century with all desirable prosperity is a question about which we offer no decided opinion, though we fancy that here also the tale that has to be told is rather of rare swallows than of genial spring. The main deficiency, so it seems to us, did not lie in this quarter. The laws, on the interpretation of which the whole historical scheme depends, were left severely alone, while Bede and the Chronicle families attracted editors, and Asser was : te in the hands

of Mr Stevenson. But where schools of law do not flourish the history of law will not be adequately studied, and the consequence will be that the march of the whole historical army, and especially of those new regiments, economic and social history, will be seriously retarded. Whether we like it or not, the fact remains that, before we can get at the social or economic kernel of ancient times, we must often peel off a legal husk that requires careful manipulation. It will not be supposed that we are bringing any general accusation against such law schools as we have had. Of late years there has been a very marked improvement in our text-books of current law—in the 'dogmatic' of law, as a German would say—and it is directly traceable to a few men who have believed that law can be taught. We freely admit that this is far more important work than that of training editors for barbarous codes. Nor do we in any way regret the gallant efforts that have been made to keep a few Englishmen interested in the classical law of Rome. All things considered, this may have been the best available preventive against that fatal disease of contented insularity which so easily besets us. Still the Victorian age came and went without Englishmen having written a tithe of the legal and institutional history that might reasonably have been expected of them. We have not forgotten Sir Henry Maine. Who could forget the world-wide horizon, the penetrating glance, the easy grace, the pointed phrase? But, to blurt out an unfashionable truth, there were qualities in his work, or in his presentment of his work, which would have served to better purpose in a land of laborious pedantry than where men are readily persuaded that hard labour is disagreeable and that the signs of hard labour are disgusting. That old fable needs revision. Perhaps the Frenchman is a little reluctant to do more than 'cultivate his garden'—a well-arranged garden it is nowadays; it is the German who seeks the wilderness, while the Englishman remains at the fireside or elegantly strolls down 'the high priori road.'

When once it was apparent that our own old laws would only become eloquent when they were placed among their kinsfolk, the question was whether Englishmen would master foreign law, or whether foreigne

would master English law. That question was soon closed; or rather we pay ourselves too high a compliment if we suppose that it ever was open. Extravagance could go no farther than to expect that an Englishman would devote his life to an edition of—we will not say of the *Sachsenspiegel* or the *Grágás* or the *Siete Partidas*—but of those Norman customals which are almost English. It is all very well to be modest, to believe that foreigners know their own business, to believe that M. Tardif or M. Viollet knows more of Normandy than you will ever learn; but in these days of international science we must be invaders or invaded, and if we will not dump we must not complain of dumping; no tariff can protect us. There came a Russian scholar to teach us, among many other interesting things, that all that we had been saying about the folk-land was untrue. We bowed our heads in meek submission, and not one English lance was broken in defence of orthodoxy. Happily Oxford's 'edle Gastfreundschaft'—to her great honour be it said—saved the situation, and made a professor of Dr Vinogradoff.

The sureness of Dr Liebermann's tread in a province that Englishmen have almost abandoned gives occasion for one other remark. The province to which we refer is the history of ecclesiastical law. Now it is unquestionable that in Victorian England a vast part of the best work that was done for medieval history was done by clerks in holy orders. It would be far too little to say that in this, as in many other quarters, the Church of England fully maintained her reputation as a learned Church. What is more, it was the clergyman that taught the lawyer about the Middle Ages, not the lawyer that taught the clergyman. Nevertheless it must be confessed that a field which lies (if we may so say) within view from the vicarage window is not being tilled very zealously or in conformity with the methods of modern science. To be concrete, we might ask whether Stubbs's edition of the *English Councils* is always to remain a fragment. We might ask how it came about that an extraordinarily interesting tract written by a canon of York concerning the relation between Church and State was carried off as lawful prize for the 'Monumenta Germaniae' from under the guns of the Cambridge divines. We might ask whether Boehmer's indictment of Lanfranc as one of

the most unscrupulous of forgers is to be answered, or whether the fair fame of an archbishop of Canterbury is to have no defender. We might ask why a young German student of divinity should have a chance of writing so good and so new a book as Boehmer's 'Church and State in England and Normandy.' We should have thought that the whole story of papal encroachments—a story that might be told not in vague outline but realistically out of countless edited and unedited documents—would have been singularly attractive to some of our learned clerks, for there is much in it on which Anglicans might dwell with pride. The fault is not theirs. They have had none to guide them among legal snares and to tell them of the revolutionary work that has been accomplished in Germany and Italy and France. Where law schools do not flourish ecclesiastical history may be good as far as it goes, but it will never go to the end.

When we turn from our own modest output to the tons of books concerning legal history which Germany produced in the nineteenth century, it is right to remember that during a great part of that period our neighbours were being spurred forward by an incitement to study such as we have never felt and they are not likely to feel again. When the famous 'historical school' began its career, the legal condition of Germany was deplored by all those for whom Germany was more than a name. How could this miserable state of affairs be remedied? To what causes was it due? Whence would deliverance come? From a closer study of those Roman texts which constituted such 'common law' as Germany possessed? from the disinterment of old Germanic principles? from the observation of neighbouring and less unfortunate nations? We do not detract from the scientific value of the best work that was done if we remember that the motive force was not mere curiosity. When once the impulse had been given, men would labour in regions far remote from the practical life of their own time with no hope of any reward except a few new grains of truth. Still the impulse, a patriotic, a national, and we might even call it a utilitarian impulse, was requisite. And now we see the result of it all. This people of pedants and dreamers, of antiquaries and metaphysicians, after *discussing* the history of every legal term and every legal

idea, has made for itself what is out and away the best code that the world has yet seen.

It is currently said that this interdependence of historical research and practical endeavour is now being illustrated in another way. It is said that legal history is losing its interest; that young Germans will study nothing but the 'Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch'; that famous teachers have now no time for anything else; that even Roman law is being deserted. A warning issued by Bekker, Brunner, Mitteis, and Mommsen is, we should suppose, likely to receive attention in the proper quarter. If not, the world will be the poorer and Germany will not be the richer, except perhaps in the wealth that perishes. One title to honour will have been forfeited, and neither success in arms nor success in commerce will wholly fill the vacant place. Dr Liebermann's book, however, speaks of no decadence, but of the great age when men reconstructed the praetor's edict and discovered the origin of trial by jury and tracked the false Isidore to his lair. And, since we have mentioned German wealth and German honour, we will allow ourselves two remarks, one of which may deserve consideration in some English, and the other in some German circles. We believe that the man who put fourteen years of the hardest drudgery into an edition of the Anglo-Saxon laws had, as some Englishmen would reckon, no valid reason for living 'laborious days,' but 'scorned delights' which he might have tasted to the full. We believe also that this man, whom we in England can regard as a good representative of what is best in Germany, is one whom what is worst in Germany, the blatant sham science of her Philistines, would ban as 'ungermanisch.' Well, there are fools everywhere; but we in England are not going to dispute the Englishry of our great Sir Francis Palgrave.

On the present occasion we will say but little of what has been done for the Anglo-Saxon laws, properly so called, for, as already said, some notes are yet to come. But already we have a translation of a very excellent kind—a translation from which even those who have but a slight acquaintance with the Old English tongue may gather both what a laconic legislator has said and also what he has meant to an editor skilled in story of Teutonic law. We shall run no risk by

this new version all older versions are superseded. As to the text, we do not like to speak of finality, but have great difficulty in imagining what more could have been done. In particular, students of language will, so we think, be hard to please if Dr Liebermann has not given them material enough. Rejecting less exhaustive methods, he has printed in parallel columns the texts that are given by all the leading manuscripts. We open the book; we see alongside each other three different English texts of the laws of Cnut and three different Latin versions of the same, while the new German translation fills the bottom of the page. It looks like the full score of an opera, and some time must be spent before we can master the manifold typographical devices which have been invented to save time and space. At first sight the editor seems to have a rooted objection to printing six consecutive words without a change of type; and the natural man sighs for the simplicity of a pianoforte arrangement. But unquestionably all this elaborate technique, which must have taxed to their uttermost the resources of a great printing house, will be highly valued by philologists. Want of imagination has been a common fault in editors. A little difference in spelling, for example, seems to you too trivial for notice. A few years go by; science strides forward; you can be accused of jumbling two dialects together; and then your work must be done over again. Never, it is rightly said, is a long day; but we fancy that a long day will pass before Dr Liebermann is charged with insufficiently minding his p's and q's. It would be admitted on all hands nowadays that the oldest monuments of the English language deserve as much care as an English, or any other, editor would ungrudgingly spend upon the most worthless scrap of classical Greek; but we fear that we have been slow to take this truth to heart. A characteristic example occurs on Dr Liebermann's first page. There is a word, now partly illegible, in the only medieval manuscript that gives the very earliest of all the laws. The English editor can only tell us of a guess. It struck Dr Liebermann that what cannot be read now could perhaps be read in the sixteenth century by one of those antiquarian worthies who sometimes copied the more accurately because they hardly aspired to understand what they were copying. And so a very 'secondary

source,' Francis Tate's transcript of a manuscript that is still in our hands, solves the difficulty. Why did not we think of it?

But we shall be on yet surer ground if we turn to the law-books of the Norman time, for during the last twelve years or thereabouts Dr Liebermann has been slowly telling his tale about them in various pamphlets, and we hardly know where to lay our hands upon better specimens of modern research. It is true that his pamphlets are not always easy reading. In his desire for compression he becomes algebraic. We very much wish that he would now be persuaded to step, as it were, between his severer self and an ignorant, but not unteachable, British public. After all this fatiguing research a little 'high vulgarisation,' as the French call it, would be a pleasant kind of relaxation. Many scattered remarks show that he has a good eye for men and movements as well as for laws and language. He might teach us much of parties and policies, of efforts and ideals, much even that Freeman did not teach and could not; for, with reverence be it said, Freeman's healthy contempt for lawyers did not always improve the quality of his work when 'past politics' were to be discovered in legal documents.

We have spoken of a hinterland. It is curious that these law-books of the Norman age should naturally present themselves as a hinterland, as a region into which we can penetrate only by passing through the laws of a yet older time, or as a mass of matter whose destined place is the appendix. Yet that is the traditional, and it still seems the right place. What is under examination refuses to look like a prologue; it is an epilogue. These books—'book' is rather too grand a name for some of them—are the product of a very strange, and perhaps we might say a unique, state of affairs. The conquering Frenchmen have no written laws, or none to speak of, and they have no law-books of their own. The conquered Englishmen have a considerable mass of written laws ending with the code of Cnut. The official theory tells of unbroken continuity. William has inherited the crown from his cousin, and, upon the whole, is well satisfied with the rights that the old English laws will give him. Yet, despite official theory, the whole is

changed, until at length the theoretic crust falls in and a new formation is displayed in Glanvill's orderly treatise. The honest books of this confused and confusing time try their best—a very bad best it often is—to reconcile theory and fact; and then people who are not scrupulously honest begin to tinker and to tamper, to forge and to fudge in the interest of classes and professions and programmes. A wild hinterland it has been, full of gins and snares, peopled by uncouth monsters, 'anthropophagi and men whose heads do grow beneath their shoulders.' Roads were slowly made into it. No admiration for 'the last German book' must induce us to forget how much good road-making was done by Selden and Spelman, by Twysden and Somner, by Allen and Palgrave, by Schmid and Stubbs. Still it is the simple truth that the credit of having surveyed the whole territory, of having classified its grotesque fauna, of having reduced the savage inhabitants to order, falls to Dr Liebermann. There are warnings in legible German now over most of the pitfalls, and even where the hill is dangerous to cyclists. The chimera can no longer prey upon the reasonably cautious traveller, and will soon be harnessed to the historian's plough. And let it be remembered that this hinterland is auriferous. A stage in the history of law and thought and manners which is represented in England by these obscure texts is represented elsewhere by an obscurer silence. The English twilight between moon and sun, between the laws of Cnut and Glanvill's treatise, is not very brilliant; but there is dark night in other lands.

One of the most interesting of the strange people, the anthropophagi, whom Dr Liebermann has interviewed is the latest of them, a Londoner of John's day, so it seems, who forges in the interest of a political and municipal programme. In some respects it was a by no means irrational programme, though the manner in which he sought to forward it was singularly unscrupulous. An imperialist he was with a witness. In his view the King of England was by rights lord or emperor not only of Wales and Scotland, but also of 'all the adjacent islands with their appurtenances,' a very extensive region floating in a haze of mysterious graphy. Round his cave were human bones f

Some of his products had, indeed, long been known as the lies that they were—not fables, but lies told with intent to deceive. But here for the first time his offences are brought home to him. The indictment is long, and it comprises, among its many counts, a crime of the first order, the concoction of that famous letter which Pope Eleutherus did not write to Lucius, King of Britain. For some time past this letter, which used to play a part in Anglo-Roman controversy, has been stigmatised as forger's work, though Dr Liebermann is able to say, to our surprise, that so late as 1892 it was seriously cited. But who was the forger? A singularly convincing argument enables us now to hold with some certainty that he was the man who interpolated his civic and imperialistic conceits into the laws of Alfred and Ine, and that the scene of his nefarious operations was not remote from the Guildhall of London. It is pleasant to remember that an article in the 'Quarterly Review' delivered mankind from the tyranny of the false Ingulf.* To see the pseudo-Eleutherus writhing under Dr Liebermann's cross-examination would have delighted Sir Francis Palgrave.

But by far the most important of these men of the twilight is the most puzzling of them all. He is the man who schemes a comprehensive law-book which Dr Liebermann, with fairly good warrant, calls the *Quadripartitus*. He is also the man who, having but little English, painfully translates into some sort of Latin the Anglo-Saxon laws, returning again and again to his task as his knowledge increases. He is also the man who composes the treatise that we know as the '*Leges Henrici*.' A most puzzling person he is, even when Dr Liebermann has written a life of him. That life is of necessity a series of inferences. Some of them we may dispute; but the biographer always allows us to see precisely what he is doing. If from time to time he seems to be acuter than a man should be, recalling those dear Red Indians of our youth and the Sherlock Holmes of to-day, he always tells us what is the basis of ascertained fact upon which he proposes to build. If, for example, we are told that this man is not of English race, that he is not a monk, that he is a cleric, that he has served the Archbishop of York,

* 'Quarterly Review,' No. 67 (June 1826).

that he has the run of a considerable library, that he is a justice of the King's Court, we know the premises from which these conclusions are deduced. Dr Liebermann is not one of those who, in the name of a false art, pull down the scaffolding when the house is built—one of the worst crimes against history that the historian can commit. We can climb if we please, and form our own opinions as to the strength of the structure, for all is visible. For our own part we have struggled long against one of Dr Liebermann's conclusions, namely, that this queer being, striving to make himself understood, is not only professionally engaged in the work of the law but sits among King Henry's justices. But the evidence that is brought to bear upon this point is not easily resistible; and Dr Liebermann helps us in many ways to understand the legal, political, social environment in which a royal justice, who was also a churchman with some unusual erudition, could aim so high and fall so low: could be so ambitious, so learned, so industrious, and yet so incapable of arranging his materials or explaining his thoughts.

Keen criticism of literary style is one of the tools in Dr Liebermann's workshop. It is a highly useful weapon when anonymous products are to be dated or a forger is to be confronted with his handiwork, and yet we fancy that it will be almost news to many Englishmen that this weapon can be used not only—no one would doubt that—where literary style is reasonably good, but also, and with even greater effect, where style is abominably bad. As a relic of the old belief 'that all the Middle Ages lived at the same time,' there remains, we will not say a belief, but a disposition to think that all 'low' Latin is equally low. Really, however, the style of these 'Leges Henrici' is as distinctive as style could be: marvellously different from the glib Latinity of Lanfranc and his scholars. It is a highly distinctive compound of the worst sort of windy rhetoric and the mere dog-Latin of a man who is thinking in French about Anglo-Saxon technicalities. There is a repellent preface to one of his works. We fear that an English editor would have thought that he had done enough for the sorry stuff when he had complained of its turgidity. Not so Dr Liebermann. The miserable man is not allowed to finish his first sentence before the *detective* has found a clue. 'Did you say *nullis aduersi-*

latum liuoribus obatrescit? Pardon me, but that is a Firmicianism. You have come under the influence of the astrologer, Julius Firmicus Maternus; and that is another link between you and Archbishop Gerard, who, to the scandal of all right-thinking Christians, died—at least, so the High Church people said—with this necromancer's book under his pillow.' But it will be easier for Englishmen to recover any ground that they may have lost in this literary quarter than to appear once more as the best interpreters of ancient English law. Those who, like Dr Brunner, have seen it, not in taciturn isolation, but in the converse of the family circle, have been Dr Liebermann's guides and must for a long while be ours.

One pressing task remains. We have lost the Anglo-Saxon laws. Can we retain the Anglo-Saxon charters, those numerous 'land-books' which must be re-edited if the first period of English history is ever to be well understood? Kemble was a great man, but, even according to the standard of his own time, he was not a very good editor of legal documents; and now, owing to the progress that has been made by various studies, linguistic, legal, and diplomatic, the standard has been raised by many degrees. That it is not unattainable by Englishmen, Professor Napier and Mr Stevenson have fully proved by their masterly treatment of a few lucky charters which had escaped less expert hands. Dr Liebermann salutes their work as the beginning of a new era. At this point we have a great advantage. All else may go; but those very acres that the old kings 'booked' lie where they always lay, and the identification of places and the perambulation of boundaries is a highly necessary part of the work that awaits the coming editor. Moreover, at the hither end of the charters stands Domesday Book; and that book is not the riddle that it was when Mr Round began his brilliant researches. We have a long start, a favourable handicap, but, to continue the metaphor, the odds are against us. It may be that Berlin will emulate the enterprise of Munich, that the 'Savigny-Stiftung' will make yet another grant in aid of British indigence, and that the England that the Normans conquered will be not less thoroughly conquered a second time.

Art. VIII.—THE NOVELS OF SIR ARTHUR CONAN DOYLE.

Collected Edition. Smith, Elder: London, 1903.

IF this country's education were conducted on truly scientific principles, we ought to have statistics of the great Novel industry. It is not enough to know how many copies of popular novels are sold; on that point the publishers often give us ample information. From 80,000 to 150,000 copies of a novel that really reaches the heart of the English people are promptly disposed of; and, allowing only ten readers for each copy, the millions are plainly being influenced by our authors of genius. This is a grave thought for conscientious novelists; the making of the spiritual life of England is in their hands. They feel it, and are all but overborne by the too vast orb of their responsibilities. In their photographs, which accompany the reports of interviews with them, we mark with sympathy the ponderous brow, supported by the finger so deft on the type-writing machine; and, as we read the interview, we listen to the voice that has whispered so many thousands of words into the phonograph.

The popular novelists of England and of America are serious men; they occupy, at least in their own opinion, a position which, since the days of the great Hebrew prophets, has been held by few sons of earth. Now and again they descend, as it were, from the mountain and wearily tell the world the story of their aims, their methods, and their early struggles, before they were discovered by enterprising publishers, before their books provided the text of many a sermon, just as did Mr Richardson's 'Pamela.'

These men and women are our social, spiritual, religious, and political teachers. This is an important fact, for their readers take fiction seriously; their lives are being directed, their characters are being framed, by authors such as Mr Hall Caine, Miss Marie Corelli, Mr Anthony Hope, Mr Rudyard Kipling, and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. Unluckily we have, for lack of statistics, no means of knowing the nature and limits of the moulding of character and direction of life exercised by these energetic authors. Can it be possible that |

sometimes neutralise each other's effects, and that the earnest reader of Mr Wells finds the seeds of his doctrine blown away on the winds of the mighty message of Mr Hall Caine? Does the inquirer who sets out to follow the star of Miss Marie Corelli become bewildered and 'pixy-led,' as they say in Devonshire, by the will-o'-the-wisps of Mr Kipling?

The serious writers on 'the Novel,' in the Press, like the late Mr Norris, author of 'The Octopus,' assure us that all is well, that the Novel is, or ought to be, everything; that the novelist is our inspired teacher in matters theological, social, political, and perhaps (when we think of Mr H. G. Wells) scientific; not to mention that the historical novelist writes the only sort of history which should be, and which is, read by the world. But the pity of it is that novelists, like other teachers, differ vastly in doctrine among themselves; so that, if we read all the popular authors, we 'come out,' like Omar Khayyám, 'no wiser than we went,' but rather perplexed in our intellects.

The owners of the stores in America which gave away a celebrated British novel as a bounty on soap, are said to have expressed themselves thus:—

'Our hands were never half so clean,
Our customers agree;
And our beliefs have never been
So utterly at sea.'

The beliefs of the public may, of course, be brought back to dry land by some more orthodox novelist, but the whole process is unsettling. Yet it may be that the populace, in various sections, cleaves to one teacher, neglecting others. Do the devotees of Miss Marie Corelli read the discourses of Mr Hall Caine; and do the faithful of Mrs Ward peruse either, or both, of the other two spiritual guides? Lacking the light of statistics we can only guess that they do not; that the circles of these authors never intersect each other, but keep apart; just as a pious Mussulman does not study 'Hymns Ancient and Modern,' while a devotee of Mr Swinburne seldom declines upon 'The Christian Year.' Meanwhile the mere critic fails to extract a concrete body of doctrine from the discourses of any of our teachers.

Concerning Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, who is, we trust, nearly as popular as any teacher, it may be said with gratitude that he aims at entertaining rather than at instructing his generation. We venture to think that the contemplative and speculative elements in his nature are subordinate to the old-fashioned notion that a novelist should tell a plain tale. A handsome and uniform edition of his works lies before us, with manly, brief, and modest prefaces by the author. The volumes are fair to see; the type and paper are good, though the printing is not incapable of correction, and the spelling is sporadically American.

There are authors whom we like best in stately 'library editions,' others whom we prefer in first editions—of such are Keats and Charles Lamb; and, handsome as is the *format* of Sir Arthur's collected works, there are a few of them which please us most 'in the native pewter.' Now the native pewter of Sherlock Holmes is a sixpenny magazine, with plenty of clever illustrations; he takes better in these conditions than in a sumptuous text with only one or two pictures. Sir Arthur is an unaffected writer. His style is not 'a separate ecstasy,' as in the case of Mr R. L. Stevenson's writings; his is a simple narrative manner. He does not pass hours in hunting for *le mot propre*; and a phrase is apparently none the worse in his eyes because it is an old favourite of the public, and familiar to the press and the platform. However, like Aucassin in the *cantefable*, 'we love a plain tale even better than none,' and love anything better than the dull and tormented matter of the prigs who, having nothing that deserves to be said, say it in a style which standeth in an utterly false following of Mr George Meredith. 'The Author's Edition' is a delightful set for a smoking room in a club or in a country house.

By a laudable arrangement, Sir Arthur has confined his speculative and contemplative exercises to a pair of books, 'The Stark Munro Letters' and 'A Duet.' In the former, a young man has his 'first fight' (not at all in the style of the author's 'Rodney Stone') 'with the spiritual and material difficulties which confront him at the outset of life. There is no claim that his outlook is either profound or original.' Indeed his outlook is not remarkable for subtlety or distinction. Sir Arthur is not

a Pascal; and, if he were, his 'Pensées,' presented in a work of fiction, would fail to exhilarate. As he says, Tom Jones and Arthur Pendennis and Richard Feverel 'do not indicate their relation to those eternal problems which are really the touchstone and centre of all character.' Thank heaven they do not!

An eternal problem can hardly be 'the centre of a character'; and, if it were, we do not always pine to read a novel about an eternal problem. A little of 'Obermann' goes a long way. If a problem is eternal it has obviously never been solved; and what chance had Thomas Jones, a foundling, of solving eternal problems? As for Pen, he frankly abandoned the attempt. The narrator in the 'Stark Munro Letters' ends his speculation by deciding that 'something might be done by throwing all one's weight on the scale of breadth, tolerance, charity, temperance, peace, and kindness to man and beast.' Having arrived at this acceptable solution, we do not care to follow the mental processes by which the young thinker reaches the result. We have ever been of his mature opinion, which, moreover, has the sanction of the Church, and of the best heathen and Christian philosophers.

There is no speculation and no preaching of doctrines, no nonsense about a 'message' or a 'mission,' in the rest of Sir Arthur's books, where the good people are plucky, kind, and honourable, while the bad people are usually foiled in their villainous machinations. The quality which recommends Sir Arthur's stories to his readers, and to ourselves, is a quality which cannot be taught or learned; which no research, or study, or industry can compass; which is born with a man; which can hold its own without the aid of an exquisite style; and which is essential. Sir Arthur can tell a story so that you read it with ease and pleasure. He does not shine as a creator of character. Perhaps Micah Clarke, an honest English Porthos, is the best of his quite serious creations; while Sherlock Holmes, not so seriously intended, has become a proverb, like Monsieur Lecoq. But Brigadier Gerard is Sir Arthur's masterpiece; we never weary of that brave, stupid, vain, chivalrous being, who hovers between General Marbot and Thackeray's Major Geoghegan, with all the both, and with others of his own.

The ladies who pass through the novels play their parts, and are excellent young women in their rôles, but they are not to be very distinctly remembered, or very fondly adored. There is not a Sophia Western, an Amelia, a Diana Vernon, a Becky Sharpe, an Anne Elliot, a Beatrix Esmond, or a Barbara Grant, in their ranks; and indeed such characters are scarce in all fiction. The greatest masters but seldom succeed in creating immortal women; only Shakespeare has his quiver full of such children as these. In short, we read Sir Arthur Conan Doyle for the story, and are very glad that we have such stories to read; rapid, varied, kindly, and honest narratives. As Mr Arthur Pendennis remarked about his ancestral claret, 'there is not a headache in a hogshead' of them.

We shall first glance at Sir Arthur's historical novels, 'Micah Clarke,' 'The White Company,' 'The Refugees,' and 'Rodney Stone.' The public is very far from sharing the opinion professed by James II. in exile, that 'history is much more instructive than novels, and quite as amusing.' For ourselves we deem his Majesty's own historical work vastly more entertaining than any novel written during his lifetime; but, in the opinion of the public, history only exists as material for historical romances, just as the engineer said that rivers exist for the purpose of feeding navigable canals.

Sir Arthur's earlier historical novels are influenced, more than he probably suspects, by those of Sir Walter Scott. 'Micah Clarke,' like Mr Blackmore's 'Lorna Doone,' is a tale of the last romantic rebellion with a base in England—the futile attempt of Monmouth. The big Porthos-like hero is, in some ways, akin to John Ridd; but he occupies, as regards politics and religion, the *juste milieu* that Sir Walter favoured when he wrote history, and assigned to such romantic heroes of his own as Henry Morton, and even Roland Graeme. Though 'a simple-hearted unlettered yeoman,' Micah Clarke is really wise with the wisdom of the later Victorian time, and, in one remark, speaks as if he had read Mr Herbert Spencer with approval, so far as the problems of religion are concerned. He takes a calm view of history, and is no fanatic of the Protestantism of his period—that of Titus Oates. 'The mob's ideas of Papistry were mixed up with

thumbscrews' (not a Catholic implement, by the way) 'and Fox's Martyrology.' Micah is the son of a church-woman, and a Puritan, and himself has no particular bent, except in favour of freedom and fighting. 'I believed that there was good in Papistry, Church, Dissent, but that not one was worth the spilling of human blood.' King James was the rightful King, and Monmouth, black box and all, was a bastard, to Micah's mind; but, as fighting was toward, he fought for the son of Lucy Walters.

Decimus Saxon, the pedantic soldier of fortune, a most entertaining character, with his Latin and his professional skill, his indifference as to the cause for which he draws his sword, and his eye for 'caduacs and casualties,' is an English Dalgetty, and almost as amusing as the immortal laird of Drumthwacket, 'that should be.' He is a grandson, as it were, of Dugald's father, Sir James Turner, who was learned, but not pedantic, and a far better-hearted man than either Decimus or Dugald. Indeed Decimus 'doth somewhat lean to cutpurse of quick hand.' A more original character is the 'Malignant' Monmouthite, the ruined, kind, dandified, and reckless Sir Gervas Gerome, so full of fight and foppery.

Rather to the surprise of the reader, at a given moment, while escorting a preacher and his rustic flock of 'slashing communicants' to join Monmouth, Decimus suddenly ceases to be Dalgetty, and becomes John Balfour, called Burley. A cornet of the King's Horse approaches the psalm-singing conventicle with a flag of truce, and we quote what follows.

"Who is the leader of this conventicle?" he asked.

"Address your message to me, sir," said our leader from the top of the waggon, "but understand that your white flag will only protect you whilst you use such words as may come from one courteous adversary to another. Say your say or retire."

"Courtesy and honour," said the officer with a sneer, "are not for rebels who are in arms against their lawful king. If you are the leader of this rabble, I warn you if they are not dispersed within five minutes by this watch"—he pulled out an elegant gold time-piece—"we shall ride down upon them and cut them to pieces."

"The Lord can protect His own," Saxon answered, amid a fierce hum of approval from the crowd. "Is this all thy message?"

"It is all, and you will find it enough, you Presbyterian traitor," cried the dragoon cornet. "Listen to me, you fools," he continued, standing up upon his stirrups and speaking to the peasants at the other side of the waggon. "What chance have ye with your whittles and cheese-scrapers? Ye may yet save your skins if ye will but give up your leaders, throw down what ye are pleased to called your arms, and trust to the King's mercy."

"This exceeds the limits of your privileges," said Saxon, drawing a pistol from his belt and cocking it. "If you say another word to draw these people from their allegiance, I fire."

"Hope not to help Monmouth," cried the young officer, disregarding the threat, and still addressing his words to the peasants. "The whole royal army is drawing round him and——"

"Have a care!" shouted our leader, in a deep, harsh voice.

"His head within a month shall roll upon the scaffold."

"But you shall never live to see it," said Saxon, and stooping over he fired straight at the cornet's head. At the flash of the pistol the trumpeter wheeled round and rode for his life, while the roan horse turned and followed with its master still seated firmly in the saddle.'

Here we have Drumclog, and Cornet Graham, and Burley's slaying of him under a flag of truce, with his excuse for so doing, all over again; whereof the author must have been as unconscious as Sir Walter himself when he annexed a verse by the poetical valet of his friend Rose. The Shirra justly said that, like Captain Bobadil, he 'had taught many gentlemen to write almost or altogether as well as himself.' This English Drumclog ends like the other, after a pretty fight; and the adventurers reach Taunton, where the condition of that unhappy and pious town, and of Monmouth's scythemen and other rude levies, is depicted with much fire and energy. The hero, with great self-sacrifice, hands over the love-making business to a humorous friend named Reuben, and is free to devote himself to manly adventure. At this point comes the news of the failure of Argyll; and Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth and Sir John Cochrane

(whom Claverhouse had prophetically damned) receive from Decimus the same critical hard measure as Macaulay gives them. 'The expedition was doomed from the first with such men at its head,' says Decimus—with truth; for Argyll, if alone, would have been safe, though the Lowland leaders, in any case, being odious to the Remnant, could have raised no stir in Scotland.

Monmouth himself appears to us to be very well designed, though he was more fair to outward view than he seemed in the eyes of Micah Clarke. Though his Stuart blood was doubted by all but Charles II, his weakness, waywardness, and loss of nerve when Sedge-moor fight went against him, were quite in the vein of the Chevalier de St George at Montrose, of Queen Mary at Langside, and of Charles Edward in the first hours after Culloden. Each one of that forlorn four had shown courage enough on other fields, but as leaders of a lost hope the terror of betrayal overmastered them. Unlike the rest, Monmouth was a sentimentalist of the most modern fashion. A worse commander could not have been found for a very bad cause.

Robert Ferguson is described as almost a maniac from sheer vanity; but the unique character of the Plotter cannot be unriddled in a novel, if it can be unriddled at all. Still, we do not recognise him when he speaks to Monmouth in the wildest manner of the Remnant. 'Why was Argyll cutten off? Because he hadna due faith in the workings o' the Almighty, and must needs reject the help o' the children o' light in favour o' the bare-legged children o' Prelacy, wha are half Pagan, half Popish.' The terms do not apply to the Campbells; and Ferguson had humour enough if Dalrymple says truly that he tided over a day's lack of supplies by inducing Monmouth to proclaim a solemn fast for the success of his arms. Probably Sir Arthur bases his account of Ferguson's demeanour on a passage of Burnet: 'Ferguson ran among the people with all the fury of an enraged man that affected to pass for an enthusiast, though all his performances that way were forced and dry.' He would not perform in this forced way before Monmouth.

Micah's personal adventures are excellent romantic reading, especially his captivity in a mysterious dungeon whence the most experienced reader, though he knows

that the hero must escape, cannot imagine how he is to do it. Through 'The Onfall at Sedgemoor' the author, like Scott at Flodden, 'never stoops his wing,' for Sir Arthur is a master in the rare skill of describing a battle with lucidity and picturesque vigour. There is no better account of Waterloo, from the private soldier's point of view, than that given in his brief novel, 'The Great Shadow'; and Sedgemoor also is excellent.

The picture of Judge Jeffreys may be cited: probably it is quite accurate; yet Dryden admired this man!

'Last of all, drawn by six long-tailed Flemish mares, came a great open coach, thickly crusted with gold, in which, reclining amidst velvet cushions, sat the infamous Judge, wrapped in a cloak of crimson plush with a heavy white periwig upon his head, which was so long that it dropped down over his shoulders. They say that he wore scarlet in order to strike terror into the hearts of the people, and that his courts were for the same reason draped in the colour of blood. As for himself, it hath ever been the custom, since his wickedness hath come to be known to all men, to picture him as a man whose expression and features were as monstrous and as hideous as was the mind behind them. This is by no means the case. On the contrary, he was a man who, in his younger days, must have been remarkable for his extreme beauty.* He was not, it is true, very old, as years go, when I saw him, but debauchery and low living had left their traces upon his countenance, without, however, entirely destroying the regularity and the beauty of his features. He was dark, more like a Spaniard than an Englishman, with black eyes and olive complexion. His expression was lofty and noble, but his temper was so easily aflame that the slightest cross or annoyance would set him raving like a madman, with blazing eyes and foaming mouth. I have seen him myself with the froth upon his lips and his whole face twitching with passion, like one who hath the falling sickness. Yet his other emotions were under as little control, for I have heard say that a very little would cause him to sob and to weep, more especially when he had himself been slighted by those who were above him.'

'Micah Clarke' is a long novel of five hundred and

* 'The painting of Jeffreys in the National Portrait Gallery more than bears out Micah Clarke's remarks. He is the handsomest man in the collection.' (Author's note.)

seventy pages; but nobody, when he has finished it, remembers that it is long—which is praise enough for any romance.

In the preface to 'Micah Clarke' the author says:—

'To me it always seems that the actual condition of a country at any time, a true sight of it with its beauties and brutalities, its life as it really was, its wayside hazards and its odd possibilities, are (*sic*) of greater interest than the small aims and petty love story of any human being. The lists, the woodlands, and the outlaws are more to me than Rebecca and Rowena.'

Passe pour Rowena, but surely Diana Vernon or Beatrix Esmond is not of inferior interest to Locksley, Friar Tuck, and the lists of Ashby de la Zouche? 'To others the story of one human heart may be more than all the glamour of an age, and to these I feel that I have little to offer.'

This is very true, and marks one of Sir Arthur's limitations. He does not interest us in love affairs, or in his women. Fielding could not only give us life 'with its wayside hazards,' but also bring us acquainted with Amelia and Sophia, whom to have known is great part of a liberal education, in the famous old phrase. In 'The White Company' we have lists, indeed, and a scene reminiscent of that immortal passage in 'Ivanhoe,' where the Disinherited Knight smites, with the point, the shield of the Templar. Sir Arthur's romance of Froissart's age in some ways resembles 'The Cloister and the Hearth'; its main interest lies in its 'wayside hazards,' whether in England, or with the wandering White Company in southern France. The hero, leaving the monastery where he has been educated with that useful old favourite a gigantic, hard-hitting lay-brother, John of Hordle, marches to join a very good knight of fantastic chivalry, Sir Nigel Loring, and fights under his standard, south of the Pyrenees. It is a tale of swords and bows, and we cannot refrain from quoting 'The Song of the Bow,' which provokes the very unusual wish that the author had written more verse.

'What of the bow?

The bow was made in England

Of true wood, of ~~very~~ wood

The wood of English bows;
 So men who are free
 Love the old yew-tree
 And the land where the yew-tree grows.

What of the cord?
 The cord was made in England:
 A rough cord, a tough cord,
 A cord that bowmen love;
 And so we will sing
 Of the hempen string
 And the land where the cord was wove.

What of the shaft?
 The shaft was cut in England:
 A long shaft, a strong shaft,
 Barbed and trim and true;
 So we'll drink all together
 To the grey goose feather
 And the land where the grey goose flew.

What of the mark?
 Ah, seek it not in England:
 A bold mark, our old mark
 Is waiting oversea
 When the strings harp in chorus
 And the lion flag is o'er us
 It is there that our mark shall be.

What of the men?
 The men were bred in England:
 The bowmen—the yeomen—
 The lads of dale and fell.
 Here's to you—and to you!
 To the hearts that are true
 And the land where the true hearts dwell.'

The roadside adventures, especially that of the man who has taken sanctuary, and of the pursuing avenger of blood, are brilliant studies of life in Chaucer's time; and, though they are many, they are not too many. The little fighting Sir Nigel, the soul of chivalry, is a very tall man of his hands—almost too excellent a swordsman for his weight and his inches—while the very plain middle-aged wife whose favour he wears, proclaiming her *la plus belle du monde*, is a figure as original as her lord. He is an expert in heraldry, and, his sole object

being 'advancement' in the way of honour, he holds his own in single combat with du Guesclin, though the natural odds are those of Tom Sayers against Heenan. Like the hero of the old song who

'Met the devil and Dundee
On the braes of Killiecrankie,'

Sir Nigel 'fought by land and fought by sea'; and the adventure of the 'Yellow Cog' with the rover galleys is one of the best fights in a book full of fighting. Even after 'Ivanhoe' the tournament at Bordeaux and the adventure of the unknown knight seem fresh and stirring; and the unknown knight, du Guesclin, is quite equal to his reputation, when we reach the Jacquerie, which was a predestined incident. The siege of a house is always a lively affair, though the artist does not represent the bald and unhelmeted Sir Nigel as a very dangerous opponent; his attitude of self-defence rather resembles that of Mr Pickwick, which was 'paralytic'; indeed he is offering a tame and unheard-of kind of lunge, or rather poke, from the shoulder at an almost naked adversary, who 'takes it very unconcernedly.' When an archer shoots six hundred and thirty paces, we must presume that the author has warrant for such a prodigious deed with the long bow; to be sure the Bowman makes use of his feet, 'turning himself into a crossbow.' Sir Arthur relies on 'one chronicler,' criticised by Mr C. J. Longman in the Badminton 'Book of Archery'; and that chronicler, Giraldus Cambrensis, does not stand the test of modern experiment.

As Sir Arthur adds historical notes, he might as well name his 'old chroniclers,' with their dates; otherwise their evidence is of no great value. The novel reader, who is terribly afraid of coming to know anything accurately, is not likely to look at the notes, and be frightened away by a name and a date. 'The White Company' is a lively romance, and very good reading for boys and friends of old times and tall knights. There is a love story; but, by separating hero and heroine early in the tale, the author ingeniously avoids a subject in which he does not pretend to shine. The mystic Lady Tiphaine, wife of du Guesclin, with her limited clairvoyance, is not a success; and the author has never

distinguished himself in dealing with the supernormal. In consulting with seeresses, 'physical contact' is very properly 'barred,' so as to avoid 'muscle-reading'; but Lady Tiphaine (who has a view of the future glories of the British Empire) 'would fain lay hands upon someone' when she practises her clairvoyant art. After her success with the vision of the Union Jack, or the English banner, at all events,

"It is over," said du Guesclin, moodily. . . . "Wine for the lady, squire. The blessed hour of sight hath passed!"

Here the author is more patriotic than imaginative, though du Guesclin was naturally vexed, being a good Frenchman, at hearing of our superior colonial expansion.

'The Refugees,' a tale of the court of Louis XIV, about the time of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, ends in the Iroquois country, whither the Huguenot characters have fled. The story, though full of life and action, deals with a theme which does not 'set the genius' of the author. He has not the finesse for a romance of the court of France; and his foil to all its artificialities, Amos Green, a young English colonial trapper, is of incredible simplicity. He certainly would not have been allowed to shoot at casual birds in the streets of such rising American townships as Boston and New York, and he could not have expected such sporting privileges in Paris. Yet he is amazed and annoyed when he is not permitted to go about gunning in the midst of the French capital. He is, of course, very shrewd, much too shrewd to be so innocently simple, and he is our old friend the useful Porthos of the novel, like John of Hordle in 'The White Company.' It is well to have a character who can open any door without a key, and fight more than the three enemies at once, whom Major Bellenden, in 'Old Mortality,' found too many for any champion except Corporal Raddlebanes. As to the Iroquois, we know their fiendish cruelties even too well from the 'Lettres Édifiantes' of the Jesuit missionaries, and we do not care to make closer acquaintance with them in a novel. The following passage shows the courtiers waiting for the king to get out of bed.

'Here, close by the king, was the harsh but energetic Louvois, all-powerful now since the death of his rival Colbert,

discussing a question of military organisation with two officers, the one a tall and stately soldier, the other a strange little figure, undersized and misshapen, but bearing the insignia of a marshal of France, and owning a name which was of evil omen over the Dutch frontier, for Luxembourg was looked upon already as the successor of Condé, even as his companion Vauban was of Turenne. . . . Beside them, a small, white-haired clerical with a kindly face, Père la Chaise, confessor to the king, was whispering his views upon Jansenism to the portly Bossuet, the eloquent Bishop of Meaux, and to the tall, thin, young Abbé de Fénelon, who listened with a clouded brow, for it was suspected that his own opinions were tainted with the heresy in question. There, too, was Le Brun, the painter, discussing art in a small circle which contained his fellow-workers Verrio and Laguerre, the architects Blondel and Le Nôtre, and sculptors Girardon, Puget, Desjardins, and Coysevoix, whose works had done so much to beautify the new palace of the king. Close to the door, Racine, with his handsome face wreathed in smiles, was chatting with the poet Boileau and the architect Mansard, the three laughing and jesting with the freedom which was natural to the favourite servants of the king, the only subjects who might walk unannounced and without ceremony into and out of his chamber.

"What is amiss with him this morning?" asked Boileau in a whisper, nodding his head in the direction of the royal group. "I fear that his sleep has not improved his temper."

"He becomes harder and harder to amuse," said Racine, shaking his head. "I am to be at Madame de Maintenon's room at three to see whether a page or two of the 'Phèdre' may not work a change."

This passage cannot but remind us of the scene with the wits at Button's in 'George de Barnwell,' and also of an imaginative reporter's account of people at a private view, or some such function. At the period indicated, we need not be told, as we are, that people were not talking about 'the last comedy of Molière' or of 'the insolence of Pascal.' Molière was dead; Pascal was dead; and Paris did not talk for ever about the 'Lettres Provinciales.' The rivalries of Madame de Montespan and Madame de Maintenon, the night ride of Amos—as adventurous, for a short distance, as that of the musketeers to Calais—remind us of Dumas, and do not bear the comparison. Montespan's attar have his

wife beheaded is much less convincing than the decapitation of Milady. Here it is.

'And thus it was that Amory de Catinat and Amos Green saw from their dungeon window the midnight carriage which discharged its prisoner before their eyes. Hence, too, came that ominous planking and that strange procession in the early morning. And thus it also happened that they found themselves looking down upon Françoise de Montespan as she was led to her death, and that they heard that last piteous cry for aid at the instant when the heavy hand of the ruffian with the axe fell upon her shoulder, and she was forced down upon her knees beside the block. She shrank screaming from the dreadful red-stained, greasy billet of wood; but the butcher heaved up his weapon, and the seigneur had taken a step forward with hand outstretched to seize the long auburn hair and to drag the dainty head down with it when suddenly he was struck motionless with astonishment, and stood with his foot advanced and his hand still out, his mouth half open, and his eyes fixed in front of him.'

We think of the terrific scene when Barbazure's head was struck from his cruel shoulders as he was directing the execution of his innocent and injured spouse, for,

'Quick as a flash de Catinat had caught up the axe, and faced de Montespan with the heavy weapon slung over his shoulder, and a challenge in his eyes.

'“Now!” said he.

'The seigneur had for the instant been too astounded to speak. Now he understood at least that these strangers had come between him and his prey.'

However, Montespan stabs 'his bearded seneschal through the brown beard and deep into the throat'—strange doings in the golden prime of Louis XIV. The Iroquois adventures are more plausible, and very exciting; while for villain, we have a Franciscan, more fierce and tenacious than any Dominican, who pursues a French heretic into the heart of the Iroquois country, where he gets his end more easily than the brave Père Brébeuf.

A more interesting novel, despite the wild improbabilities of the plot, is 'Rodney Stone,' where the author is on English soil, among the bloods of the Regency and the heroic bruisers of an heroic age. The prize-fighters and country folk may be more truly drawn than th

dandies ; but every one who, like the Quaker lady known to George Borrow, adores 'the bruisers of England' will find this a book to his heart's desire. From the old champion, Harrison, to that Sir Nigel Loring of the fancy, young Belcher, and the strange old Buckhorse with his bell-like cry, all Sir Arthur's fighting men are painted in a rich and juicy manner, with a full brush ; and his hard-driving Corinthian blackguards are worthy of them, while the Prince Regent is more successful, as an historical portrait, than Louis XIV. There are plenty of 'spirited rallies' and 'rattling sets-to' in Sir Arthur's short stories ; but 'The Smith's Last Battle' is his masterpiece, and the chivalrous honesty of that excellent man would have made him justly dear to Borrow's Quakeress.

The best of the author's tales of times past, we have little doubt, are collected in the volume of 'The Exploits of Brigadier Gerard.' This gallant, honest, chivalrous, and gay soldier represents a winning class of Frenchmen of the sword, with a considerable element of sympathetic caricature. The vanity of the Brigadier and his extreme simplicity are a little exaggerated ; perhaps the author did not know at first how dear Gerard was to grow to himself and to his readers. In Napier's famous 'History of the Peninsular War' we meet many young French officers doing things as desperate as Gerard does, and doing them, like the great Montrose, with an air, with a flourish, with a joyous acceptance of a dramatic opportunity. The English officer who captures Gerard, and plays a game of *écarté* with him for his liberty, was just such another as himself ; but 'Milor the Hon. Sir Russell, Bart' could never have told his own story. Like Thackeray's General Webb, and like General Marbot, the Brigadier 'is not only brave, but he knows it,' and is not at all diffident in making his hearers aware of his prowess. His fight with the Bristol Bustler is not the least audacious of his combats, though, being ignorant of the rules of the fancy, the Brigadier kicked his man. 'You strike me on the head, I kick you on the knee' ; he thinks that this is perfectly legitimate. 'What a glutton he'd have made for the middle-weights,' exclaims the Bustler's admiring trainer, after observing, 'it's something to say all your life, that you've been hand^d finest light-weight in England.' The Bib^d 'alton observes,

'always takes angling in the best sense'; and Sir Arthur takes boxing in the same liberal way. Keats would have sympathised with him deeply, for the poet was a man of his hands, and is said to have polished off a truculent butcher. But the Brigadier, of course, shines most with the sword, and mounted; and there is not a tale in the collection which we cannot read with pleasure more than once; indeed they are so equally good that it is hard to select a favourite. Perhaps 'How Gerard Won his Medal' and 'The Brothers of Ajaccio' come back most pleasantly to the memory, with the Brigadier's remarkable feat in saving the Emperor at Waterloo.

To prefer this book among Sir Arthur's is as much as to say that we deem him better at a *conte* than in the composition of a novel of the conventional length. This is natural, as adventure and description, rather than character and analysis and love stories, are his forte. He has omitted 'The Firm of Girdlestone' from this collection, though we prefer it to 'A Duet,' where the story is one of young married affection, and there are neither swords in the sun nor wigs on the green. Ladies may write love letters about merinos and alpacas, and 'a little white trimming at neck and wrists, and the prettiest pearl trimming. Then the hat *en suite*, pale grey *lisse*, white feather, and brilliant buckle.' These things may be written, but the wooer would be as much bored as Bothwell probably was by Queen Mary's sonnets, if she really defied 'the laws of God, and man, and metre' (especially metre) in the poems attributed to her by her enemies.

'Not here, oh Apollo,
Are haunts meet for thee.'

We cannot pretend to be interested in Frank and Maude, and 'the exact position of the wife of the assistant accountant of the Co-operative Insurance Company'—certainly no lofty position for a bride whose father, we learn, had a billiard-room of his own, and everything handsome about him, at 'The Laurels, St Albans.' Francis writes 'critical papers in the monthlies,' and here is example of his discourse when, with his bride, he Westminster Abbey:—

'What an assembly it would be if at some
each man might stand forth from the portals

Tennyson, the last and almost the greatest of that illustrious line, lay under the white slab upon the floor. Maude and Frank stood reverently beside it.

“Sunset and evening star
And one clear call for me,”

Frank quoted. “What lines for a very old man to write! I should put him second only to Shakespeare had I the marshalling of them.”

“I have read so little,” said Maude.

“We will read it all together after next week. But it makes your reading so much more real and intimate when you have stood at the grave of the man who wrote. That’s Chaucer, the big tomb there. He is the father of British poetry. Here is Browning beside Tennyson—united in life and in death. He was the more profound thinker, but music and form are essential also.” . . .

“Who is that standing figure?”

“It is Dryden. What a clever face, and what a modern type. Here is Walter Scott beside the door. How kindly and humorous his expression was! And see how high his head was from the ear to the crown. It was a great brain. There is Burns, the other famous Scot. Don’t you think there is a resemblance between the faces? And here are Dickens, and Thackeray, and Macaulay. I wonder whether, when Macaulay was writing his essays, he had a premonition that he would be buried in Westminster Abbey. He is continually alluding to the Abbey and its graves. I always think that we have a vague intuition as to what will occur to us in life.”

“We can guess what is probable.”

To find a likeness in the faces of Burns and Scott is certainly original criticism. These young married people certainly ‘do not overstimulate,’ whether they moralise in Mr Carlyle’s house or in the Abbey.

It may be a vulgar taste, but we decidedly prefer the adventures of Dr Watson with Mr Sherlock Holmes. Watson is indeed a creation; his loyalty to his great friend, his extreme simplicity of character, his tranquil endurance of taunt and insult, make him a rival of James Esq., of Auchinleck. Dazzled by the brilliance of ock, who doses himself with cocaine and is amateur of the middle-weights, or very nearly (what ner say to this?), the public over-

looks the monumental qualities of Dr Watson. He, too, had his love affair in 'The Sign of Four'; but Mrs Watson, probably, was felt to be rather in the way when heroic adventures were afoot. After Sherlock returned to life—for he certainly died, if the artist has correctly represented his struggle with Professor Moriarty—Mrs Watson faded from this mortal scene.

The idea of Sherlock is the idea of Zadig in Voltaire's *conte*, and of d'Artagnan exploring the duel in 'Le Vicomte de Bragelonne,' and of Poe's Dupin, and of Monsieur Lecoq; but Sir Arthur handles the theme with ingenuity always fresh and fertile; we may constantly count on him to mystify and amuse us. In we forget what state trial of the eighteenth century, probably the affair of Elizabeth Canning, a witness gave evidence that some one had come from the country. He was asked how he knew, and said that there was country mud on the man's clothes, not London mud, which is black. That witness possessed the secret of Sherlock; he observed, and remembered, and drew inferences, yet he was not a professional thief-taker.

The feats of Sherlock Holmes do not lend themselves as inspiring topics to criticism. If we are puzzled and amused we get as much as we want, and, unless our culture is very precious, we *are* puzzled and amused. The *roman policier* is not the roof and crown of the art of fiction, and we do not rate Sherlock Holmes among the masterpieces of the human intelligence; but many persons of note, like Bismarck and Moltke, are known to have been fond of Gaboriau's tales. In these, to be sure, there really is a good deal of character of a sort; and there are some entertaining scoundrels and pleasant irony in the detective novels of Xavier de Montépin and Fortuné du Boisgobey, sonorous names that might have been borne by crusaders! But the adventures of Sherlock are too brief to permit much study of character. The thing becomes a formula, and we can imagine little variation, unless Sherlock falls in love, or Watson detects him in blackmailing a bishop. This moral error might plausibly be set down to that over-indulgence in cocaine which never interferes with Sherlock's physical training intellectual acuteness. Sir Arthur writes in
prefaces:—

'I can well imagine that some of my critics may express surprise that, in an edition of my works from which I have rigorously excluded all that my literary conscience rejects, I should retain stories which are cast in this primitive and conventional form. My own feeling upon the subject is that all forms of literature, however humble, are legitimate if the writer is satisfied that he has done them to the highest of his power. To take an analogy from a kindred art, the composer may range from the oratorio to the comic song and be ashamed of neither so long as his work in each is as honest as he can make it. It is insincere work, scamped work, work which is consciously imitative, which a man should voluntarily suppress before time saves him the trouble. As to work which is unconsciously imitative, it is not to be expected that a man's style and mode of treatment should spring fully formed from his own brain. The most that he can hope is that as he advances the outside influences should decrease and his own point of view become clearer and more distinctive.

'Edgar Allan Poe, who, in his carelessly prodigal fashion, threw out the seeds from which so many of our present forms of literature have sprung, was the father of the detective tale, and covered its limits so completely that I fail to see how his followers can find any fresh ground which they can confidently call their own. For the secret of the thinness and also of the intensity of the detective story is that the writer is left with only one quality, that of intellectual acuteness, with which to endow his hero. Everything else is outside the picture and weakens the effect. The problem and its solution must form the theme, and the character-drawing be limited and subordinate. On this narrow path the writer must walk, and he sees the footmarks of Poe always in front of him. He is happy if he ever finds the means of breaking away and striking out on some little side-track of his own.'

Not much more is left to be said by the most captious reviewer. A novelist writes to please; and if his work pleases, as it undeniably does, a great number and variety of his fellow-citizens, why should his literary conscience reject it? If Poe had written more stories about Dupin—his Sherlock Holmes—and not so many about corpses and people buried alive, he would be a more agreeable author.

It is a fact that the great majority of Sherlock's admirers bly never heard of Poe; do not know that detective from Dupin, and stories of ciphers and Golden Bug,' or beetle, as the insect

is usually styled in English. Of Sir Arthur's debt to Poe there is no more to say than he has said. Perhaps he has not himself observed that his tale of 'The Man with the Twisted Lip' is a variant of the adventure of Mr Altamont in the 'Memoirs of James Fitzjames de la Pluche. The 'mistry' of that hero's 'buth,' by the way, seems to be revealed in his Christian names, which, like the motto of Clan Alpine, murmur, 'My race is royal.' Readers who remember the case of Mr Altamont are not puzzled by the disappearance of Mr Neville St Clair.

Possibly the homicidal ape in 'The Murders in the Rue Morgue' suggested the homicidal Andaman islander in 'The Sign of Four.' This purely fictitious little monster enables us to detect the great detective and expose the superficial character of his knowledge and methods. The Andamanese are cruelly libelled, and have neither the malignant qualities, nor the heads like mops, nor the weapons, nor the customs, with which they are credited by Sherlock. He has detected the wrong savage, and injured the character of an amiable people. The *bō : jig-ngijji* is really a religious, kindly creature, has a Deluge and a Creation myth, and shaves his head, not possessing scissors. Sherlock confessedly took his knowledge of the *bō : jig-ngijji* from 'a gazetteer,' which is full of nonsense. 'The average height is below four feet'! The average height is four feet ten inches and a half. The gazetteer says that 'massacres are invariably concluded by a cannibal feast.' Mr E. H. Man, who knows the people thoroughly, says 'no lengthened investigation was needed to disprove this long-credited fiction, for not a trace could be discovered of the existence of such a practice in their midst, even in far-off times.'

In short, if Mr Sherlock Holmes, instead of turning up a common work of reference, had merely glanced at the photographs of Andamanese, trim, elegant, closely-shaven men, and at a few pages in Mr Man's account of them in 'The Journal of the Anthropological Institute' for 1881, he would have sought elsewhere for his little savage villain with the blow-pipe. A Fuegian who had lived a good deal on the Amazon might have served his turn.

A man like Sherlock, who wrote a monograph over a hundred varieties of tobacco-ash, ought not have been gulled by a gazetteer. Sherlock's

fights with a blow-pipe and poisoned arrows. Neither poisoned arrows nor blow-pipes are used by the islanders, according to Mr Man. These melancholy facts demonstrate that Mr Holmes was not the paragon of Dr Watson's fond imagination, but a very superficial fellow, who knew no more of the Mincopies (a mere nickname derived from their words for 'come here') than did Mr Herbert Spencer.

Sherlock is also as ignorant as Dickens was of a very simple matter, the ordinary British system of titles. He has a client, and he looks for that client in another 'book of reference,' not the light-hearted gazetteer which he consults with the pious confidence that Mrs Gallup bestows on the 'Encyclopædia Britannica.' He discovers that the client's name is 'Lord Robert Walsingham de Vere St Simon, second son of the Duke of Balmoral'—not a plausible title at best. Yet, knowing this, and finding, in the 'Morning Post,' the client's real name, both Sherlock and the egregious Watson speak of Lord Robert St Simon throughout as 'Lord St Simon'! The unhappy 'nobleman,' with equal ignorance of his place in life, signs himself, 'Yours faithfully, St Simon.'

Of course we expect that so clumsy a pretender to be the second son of a duke will be instantly exposed by the astute Sherlock. Not so; Sherlock 'thinks it all very capital.' Now would Sherlock have called the late Lord Randolph Churchill 'Lord Churchill,' or would he have been surprised to hear that Lord Randolph did not sign himself 'Churchill'? Anthropology we do not expect from Sherlock, but he really ought to have known matters of everyday usage. The very 'page boy' announces 'Lord Robert St Simon'; but Sherlock salutes the visitor as Lord St Simon, and the pretended nobleman calls his wife 'Lady St Simon.' But do not let us be severe on the great detective for knowing no more of anthropology than of other things! Rather let us wish him 'good hunting,' and prepare to accompany Dr Watson and him, when next they load their revolvers, and go forth to the hieving of great adventures.

Art. IX.—THE TSAR.*

THE Emperor Nicholas II has already reigned for nearly ten years, and ruled for fully eight; yet the concrete man, his individual character, and the order of motives to which it is sensible, are nearly all as legendary as those of Numa Pompilius. Clouds of journalistic myths, mainly of German origin, enwrap his figure, hiding it from the vulgar gaze as thoroughly as though he were the Dalai Lama; and the fanciful portrait which we are asked to accept is as abstract and as colourless as that of our legendary Russian princes. Beyond the precincts of the palace his person is transfigured, his most trivial deeds are glorified, and his least disinterested motives are twisted and pulled into line with the fundamental principles of ethics. The result is a caricature closely bordering on the grotesque. Nikolai Alexandrovitch is depicted as a prince of peace, a Slav Messiah sent for the salvation, not of his own people only, but of all the world. The most precious porcelain of human clay was lavished in the making of this unique ruler, who stands upon a much higher level than that of the common run of mortals or of kings, in virtue, not only of the dread responsibilities laid upon him by the Most High, but also by reason of his own passionate love of humanity and his selfless devotion to the true and the good. In short, he is an 'Übermensch' whose innate goodness of heart exceeds even his irresponsible power.

But no newspaper hero is a prophet in his own country for long; and Nicholas II did not play the part in Russia for more than a twelvemonth. His father's reign had ended in utter moral exhaustion, in the blasting of hopes, the killing of enthusiasm, the blackness of despair. Better things were confidently expected of the son, because worse were rashly held to be impossible. But the credulous masses were again mistaken, and soon became conscious of their error. All Europe will know it soon.

Nicholas II began his reign in 1894 as a highly sensitive, retiring young man, who shrank instinctively from the fierce light that beats upon the throne. In spite of his camp experience he was still his mother's child,

* This article is from the pen of a Russian official of high rank

passivity his predominant trait, and diffidence one of its temporary symptoms. But that phase of his existence was short, and the change from the chrysalis to the butterfly very rapid.

Men still call vividly to mind the Emperor's first meeting with one of the historic institutions of the Empire. It was a raw November day in 1894. The members of the State Council, many of them veteran officials, who had served the Tsar's great-grandfather, were convened to do homage to the new monarch, and long before the time fixed were gathered together at the appointed place, their bodies covered with gorgeous costumes and their faces hidden with courtly masks expressive of awe and admiration. But he came and went like a whiff of wind in a sandy waste, leaving them rubbing their eyes. They had expected imperial majesty, but were confronted with childish constraint, a shambling gait, a furtive glance, and spasmodic movements. An undersized, pithless lad sidled into the apartment in which these hoary dignitaries were respectfully awaiting him. With downcast eyes, and in a shrill falsetto voice, he hastily spoke a single sentence: 'Gentlemen, in the name of my late father, I thank you for your services,' hesitated for a second, and then, turning on his heels, he was gone. They looked at each other, some in amazement, others in pain, many uttering a mental prayer for the weal of the nation; and after an awkward pause they dispersed to their homes.

The nation's next meeting with his Majesty took place a few days later, upon an occasion as solemn as the first; but in the interval he had been hypnotised by M. Pobedonostseff, the lay-bishop of autocracy, who has the secret of spiritually anointing and intellectually equipping the chosen of the Lord. The key-note of the Emperor's second appearance was dignity—inaccessible, almost superhuman dignity. All Russia had then gathered together in the persons of the representatives of the Zemstvos or local boards—we may call them embryonic county councils—to do homage to his Majesty on his accession to the throne. Loyal addresses without number, drawn up in the flowery language of oriental servility, had been presented from all those institutions. One of these documents—and only one—had seemed to M. Pobedonostseff

to smack of Liberalism. No less loyal in form or spirit than those of the other boards, the address drawn up by the council of Tver vaguely expressed the modest hope that his Majesty's confidence might not be wholly restricted to the bureaucracy, but would likewise be shared by the Russian people and by the Zemstvos, whose devotion to the throne was proverbial. This was a reasonable wish; it could not seriously be dubbed a crime; and, even if it bespoke a certain spirit of mild independence, it was after all the act of a single Zemstvo, whereas the men who had come to do homage to the Emperor were the spokesmen, not of one Zemstvo, but of all Russia. Yet the autocrat strode majestically into the brilliantly lighted hall, and with knitted brows and tightly drawn lips turned wrathfully upon the chosen men of the nation and, stamping his little foot, ordered them to put away such chimerical notions, which he would never entertain. Such was the Tsar's first imperious assertion of his divine viceroyalty; and even staunch partisans of the autocracy blamed it as harsh and ill-advised.

Between those two public appearances of Nicholas II lay that short period of suggestion during which the impressionable youth had been made not so much to believe as to feel that he was God's lieutenant, the earthly counterpart of his divine Master. From that time forward his Majesty has been filled with a spirit of self-exaltation which has gone on gaining strength, in accordance with the psychological law that pride usurps as much space as servility is ready to yield. Nikolai Alexandrovitch soon began to look upon himself as the centre of the world, the peacemaker of mankind, the torch-bearer of civilisation among the 'yellow' and other 'barbarous' races, and the dispenser of almost every blessing to his own happy people. Taking seriously this his imaginary mission, he has meddled continuously and directly in every affair of State, domestic and foreign, thwarting the course of justice, undermining legality, impoverishing his subjects, boasting his fervent love of peace, and yet plunging his tax-burdened people into the hor sanguinary and needless war.

Before setting forth a few of the ma
personally to most of those who live in th

throne—facts which justify the foregoing estimate of his Majesty's mental state and character—it should be clearly understood that we are supporters of monarchy and opposed to nihilism, to socialism, and to every kind of revolutionary agitation. We do not wish even for a paper constitution, which, conditions being what they now are, would but serve as a trap for liberal-minded men, gathering them together for imprisonment or exile. Our sole desire, as it is that of most broad-minded men in Russia is to see the spirit of administration made to harmonise with the needs of the time and of the people, and the institution known as the Council of Ministers—created by a ukase of Alexander II which has remained a dead letter—summoned and set to work; for, the people having outgrown the ancient form of government, the fact should be openly admitted, and the practical conclusions drawn.

The only government suited to Russia is a strong monarchy; but between this and a wild oriental despotism there is a difference. Nicholas II, although not guided by his official advisers, has never been a free and independent ruler. During the first part of his reign he was kept in leading-strings by his mother, who, as soon as he ascended the throne, impressed upon him the necessity of imitating in all things his 'never-to-be-forgotten father.' That phrase was engraven upon the tablets of his memory, and is ever at the tip of his tongue and the point of his pen. For long it was the 'open sesame' to his heart and mind, because he strives conscientiously to be a perfected copy of Alexander III, and believes that he has already attained the end. In reality the two men are as far asunder as the positive and negative poles. The father, sincere, gloomy and narrow-minded, at least instinctively felt his limitations, and steadily kept within them. He strove with indomitable perseverance and occasional success to secure within the narrow circle of his acquaintances the best men, and, having once chosen an adviser, always asked his counsel, and usually followed it. Again, breach of faith was an abomination to him, and his word was regarded as better than any bond, in spite of his mistaken attitude towards the Finns, and his broken promise in regard to Batoum. But in all these characteristics the son is the very opposite to his father. Unsteady, half-hearted, self-complacent, and fickle, he

changes his favourites with his fitful moods, allowing a band of casual, obscure, and dangerous men to usurp the functions of his responsible ministers, whose recommendations are ignored, whose warnings are disregarded, and whose measures for the defence of the State are not only baffled, but resented as symptoms of disobedience.

The sway wielded by his mother over Nicholas II soon came to an end, owing chiefly to differences between herself and her daughter-in-law on the subject of the Emperor's children. In the course of that rivalry the strenuous opposition of the young wife checked the influence of the mother over the son. One of the consequences of this domestic struggle for the mastery was that the Emperor freed himself partially, and for a time, from unofficial control; and his first spontaneous act, in the second year of his reign, was to appoint M. Goremykin, a man devoid of qualifications, to the post of Minister of the Interior (1896). This official remained in power for three years, and was then translated to the presidency of the Committee of Ministers—a sort of respectable refuge for ex-statesmen. His successor, M. Sipyaghin, chosen by the influence of the Dowager Empress, who pointed out that he had been favourably noticed by 'your never-to-be-forgotten father,' deserves a few words of mention. For, next to a man's acts examined in the light of his avowed motives, there can be no safer guide to his moral character and mental vigour than his choice of associates and fellow-workers; and some monarchs' claims to the gratitude of their subjects are founded, like those of old Kaiser Wilhelm, entirely upon the wise selections which they made, and the tenacity with which they clung to their ministers through thick and thin. Judged by this standard, Nicholas II will be ranked amongst the most unfortunate rulers of the Russian people.

His second choice, M. Sipyaghin, was nicknamed 'the Boyarin,' from his extreme love of ancient Russian customs and traditions, and the childish ways in which he manifested them. Intellectually Bœotian, but socially agreeable, he was a welcome guest in the houses of nobility, where tea-table gossip is at a high price. His political force lay in the thoroughness with which he threw himself into the part of courtier, and with which he acted it. Ever blithe, his face

in smiles, his words sweetened with the honey of adulation, he infected his master and many of his own equals with the optimism of *Candide*. All was for the best in that best of states, Russia, thanks to the greatest and best of monarchs, Nicholas II. That was the faith of Sipyaghin, who loved his sovereign sincerely, and mistook that love for patriotic duty. In return the Emperor warmed to him, making him not his friend only, but his comrade, and singling him out for special marks of favour. For instance, although his Majesty, as a rule, never dines or sups at the house of a minister, he made an exception for M. Sipyaghin.

M. Sipyaghin's ascendancy over Nicholas II reached a point at which the jealousy of M. Pobedonostseff was aroused: it touched even religion. For the Minister of the Interior, encroaching in his light, off-hand manner upon the domain of the Chief Procurator of the Most Holy Synod, induced the Tsar to visit Moscow and spend Passion week there; and the trip was successful beyond expectation. On this pilgrimage M. Sipyaghin treated the Emperor as Potyemkin dealt with Catherine II; he enveloped him in an atmosphere of popular affection, surrounded him with signal proofs of his subjects' prosperity, intoxicated him with the wine of self-satisfaction. But while his Majesty was thanking heaven that his people were happier than foreigners, millions of his best subjects were being despoiled of their hard-earned money, and many were being imprisoned or banished, some for obeying the commands of God, others for infringing the unjust laws of the Government. M. Sipyaghin, who was not a cruel man at heart, was hated as the champion and inspirer of this misrule. Friends warned him to be on his guard; but, replying that he would continue to do his duty, he went light-heartedly on his way.

On Monday, April 14, 1901, he invited his Majesty to dinner for the following Thursday; and the Emperor graciously consented. In the domestic circle and the State department preparations were at once made for the repast. Officials of the ministry were dispatched in search of a special kind of big strawberries, larger than those which were to be found at Yeliseyeff's in the Nevsky Prospekt. Fiery gipsies were engaged to sing before royalty; telegrams were dispatched to Paris for

prize chickens; piping hot pancakes were ordered *à la Russe* to be eaten with cold caviare; despatches were sent to the caterer Prospere, of Kharkoff, for dainties for the imperial palate; and many officials of the ministry scoured the capital for piquant delicacies. But on the Thursday fixed for the imperial repast, Sipyaghin's body was carried to its last resting-place. The minister had been assassinated by a youth named Balmashoff, not twenty-one years old, as a warning and a protest.

His Majesty now had another opportunity for showing his judgment and gratifying his predilections. Amenable chiefly to tangible and visible influences, his choice fell upon M. de Plehve, who speedily developed into the formidable Dictator of All the Russias. This official is tolerably instructed, possesses an intricate acquaintance with the seamy side of human nature, knows how to touch deftly the right cords of sentiment, prejudice, or passion, and can keep his head in the most alarming crisis. When state dignitaries and officials lost their nerve on the tragic death of Alexander II, M. de Plehve, then public prosecutor, was cool, self-possessed, resourceful. These qualifications were duly noted, and his promotion was rapid; he became successively Director of the Police Department, and Secretary of the Council of the Empire, where he helped to ruin the Finnish nation before the destinies of 150,000,000 Russians were finally placed in his hands.

M. de Plehve cannot be classified by nationality, genealogy, church, or party. Of obscure parentage, of German blood with a Jewish strain, of uncertain religious denomination,* his ethical worth was gauged aright years ago by his colleagues in the Ministry of Justice, and recently again in the Council of Ministers. Aware of their hostile judgment, his first acts were calculated to modify it. He set out for the sacred shrine near Moscow, the Troitsko-Serghieffsky Monastery, where he devoutly received Holy Communion at the hands of an orthodox priest. While he was thus displaying his piety in view of his subordinates, the peasants in Kharkoff and Poltava were being

* M. de Plehve's father died recently; and the powerful minister personally on the Lutheran pastor asking him to perform the funeral speedily and unostentatiously. He was loth to let it be known pillar of orthodoxy, was the son of a Protestant.

cruelly flogged by his orders for showing signs of disaffection. Visiting those provinces in person, M. de Plehve promptly rewarded the governor of Kharkoff for flogging the malcontents at once, and punished the governor of Poltava for flogging them only as an afterthought.

That revolt of the peasants, which was repeated in Saratoff and elsewhere, marks an era in Russian history, for it resulted in M. de Witte's commission of inquiry into the condition of the agricultural classes in Russia, and in that minister's fall. The marshals of the nobility were empowered to summon members of the Zemstvo, landed proprietors, and anybody else who could enlighten them in their investigations. Peasants too were asked to give their views; and all were encouraged to speak out freely. And this was the question asked: If the peasantry are materially impoverished and physically degenerating, if their live-stock is dwindling to nothing, and if the food they eat is less in quantity and worse in quality than ever before, is Nature to blame or man? And if man, what man? The results of the enquiry were convincing; for, without previous consultation, those spokesmen of various social classes throughout Russia, whose interests conflict in many ways, were practically at one in their opinion. Partial to euphemisms, they condemned the system of administration. Dotting their i's and crossing their t's, M. de Plehve called that system by the name of autocracy; and no Russian can honestly say that he was wrong.

The reform inaugurated by Alexander II, when he struck off the fetters of serfdom, ought, so these commissioners held, to be further developed. The peasants should be freed from the shackles of special penal legislation. They should be taught to read, to keep themselves clean in body and in soul, to cope with the horrible diseases which in their ignorance they now communicate to each other, to shake off the net-work of superstition which is eating away their spiritual nature as the poison of infection is undermining their physique, and to fit themselves for trade and industry. That was the opinion of all Russia's representatives—noblemen, landed proprietors, doctors, lawyers, tradesmen and peasants. Yet the men who uttered it were punished for their audacity. M. de Witte had exhorted them to speak their minds;

the Tsar punished them for obeying his minister; and M. de Plehve encouraged the Tsar.

That Land Commission was the turning-point in the career of M. de Witte, whose services the Emperor had inherited from his 'never-to-be-forgotten father.' The ease with which the minister fell into disfavour, and the irrelevant grounds on which he was dismissed, are characteristic of the Tsar's arbitrary ways of thinking and acting. M. de Witte is a statesman of high powers—and great limitations—a financier whose earlier policy did, I believe, much harm, as his mature acts did much good, to the nation. As minister, he came eventually to understand the needs of his time and country, and sought with alternating success and failure to satisfy them; his work was a mixture of promise, achievement and failure. If the one-eyed man is necessarily the leader in the kingdom of the blind, M. de Witte deserved to be the head of the Government in contemporary Russia. But the members of the camarilla refused to have him, and, with the monarch's support, they proved more powerful than he. For they already had brought things to such a pass that none can now serve Russia as ministers but such as are skilful in flattering the Tsar; and M. de Witte was not one of these. He not only spoke freely to Nicholas II, but refused to change his opinion in accordance with the Emperor's desires. He also declined to dupe the foreign Powers. 'Your Majesty pledged your word to evacuate Manchuria, and the world believed you. Russia will now lose all credit, and perhaps not even gain Manchuria, if it please your Majesty to break that pledge. War also will follow, and we sorely need peace. Besides, Manchuria is useless to us. Therefore I cannot be a party to this policy.' Thus plainly spoke the Finance Minister, heedless of courtly phraseology. 'Witte is a haughty dictator, who gives himself the air of an Emperor.' So spoke the courtiers among themselves and to his Majesty through the Grand Dukes. And the autocrat, wrathful that a subject should oppose his wishes and refuse to co-operate with him in professing to work for peace while provoking war, dismissed him. To the Russian nation that loss meant great bloodshed, vast expense, wide-spread misery: what else it involves we cannot yet say.

M. de Plehve is now the most influential personage in the Russian Empire—a Muscovite Grand Vizier, who wields absolute power over what we may be pardoned for calling the greatest nation on the globe; and he holds his position at the pleasure of his imperial master. Whether he remains in office or is dismissed to-morrow depends, not on the good or the evil that may result from his arbitrary administration, but on the success which attends his endeavours to keep the Tsar in countenance and to persuade the wayward monarch that autocracy is safe in his hands. The massacres of Jews, the banishment of Finns, the spoliation of Armenians, the persecution of Poles, the exile of Russian nobles, the flogging of peasants, the imprisonment and butchery of Russian working men, the establishment of a wide-spread system of espionage, and the abolition of law, are all measures which the minister suggests and the Tsar heartily sanctions. M. de Plehve, like his colleagues, would not be minister if his régime were really helpful to the country. That is the unpalatable truth which must be told about the government of Nicholas II.

Another of the Tsar's well-beloved advisers is M. Muravieff, the Minister of Justice, who has cheerfully and steadily subordinated all justice to the personal vagaries of his sovereign. He is one of those plastic public men, of the type of Bertrand Barère, whom one finds in all countries in a state of social and political chaos. To-day there is no limit to his subserviency to the Emperor; to-morrow no man would be surprised to see him vote with Russian Jacobins for the suppression of the autocracy. Through him the law courts receive timely hints about the wishes of the Crown in those cases which interest the rulers of Russia.

It is a mistake, therefore, to imagine that the Emperor is a tool in the hands of his ministers; it is they who are his instruments, merely suggesting measures palatable to the monarch and formulating his will. They make him feel that what he thinks is correct, what he says is true, what he does is right. This Hobbesian view of his position has been carefully engrafted upon his mind by the two theorists of autocracy, Pobedonostseff and Prince Meshtshersky. The Emperor, as a member of the Holy Synod, a cold-blooded fanatic, a Jesuit, a Jesuit type,

is the champion of oriental despotism in its final stage, equipped with railways, telegraphs, telephones, and rifles, and hallowed with canonisations, incense, and holy oil; the feats of Ivan the Terrible achieved with the blessings of St Seraphim. Of Prince Meshtshersky, the editor of the 'Grashdanin' and the private counsellor of the Tsar, it would be difficult to convey an adequate picture without introducing scenes which would offend the taste of the non-Russian public. His political ideas are those of the Dahomey of fifty years ago or the Bokhara of to-day, modified in two important points. According to him, every governor of a province, every peasant-prefect, should share the irresponsible power of the autocrat, and when dealing with the peasantry need observe no law.

'Questions of the Zemstvo have no more to do with law courts,' he writes, 'than questions of family life. If a father may chastise his son severely without invoking the help of the courts, the authorities—local, provincial, and central—should be invested with a similar power to imprison, flog, and otherwise overawe or punish the people.'*

The Tsar, then, is what inherited tendencies and the doctrines of Pobedonostseff and Meshtshersky have made him. Between humanity and divinity he is a *tertium quid*. Such is the doctrine of the two theorists of autocracy; such the conviction of their pupil. He is the one essence in the Empire; they are his organs. Hence they strive to please him, to carry out his behests, to anticipate his wishes, to suggest plans in harmony with his fixed ideas or passing moods. Necessarily also they colour and distort facts, events, and consequences; for, while he can appreciate effects, his faculty of discerning their relations to causes is almost atrophied. He is ever struggling with phantoms, fighting with wind-mills, conversing with saints, or consulting the spirits of the dead. But of the means at hand for helping his people or letting them help themselves he never avails himself. Books he has long ago ceased to read, and sound advice he is incapable of listening to. His ministers he receives with great formality and dismisses with haughty condescension. They are often kept in the dark

* This doctrine, frequently laid down in the 'Grashdanin,' was clearly expressed in that paper on March 1, 1904.

about matters which it behoves them to know thoroughly and early. Thus, shortly after the present war had begun, a number of dignitaries and officials gathered round General Kuropatkin one day and asked him how things were going on. With a malicious twinkle in his eye the War Minister replied: 'Like yourselves, I know only what is published. The war is Alexeyeff's business, not mine.' When three ministers implored the Tsar to evacuate Manchuria and safeguard the peace of the world, he answered: 'I shall keep the peace and my own counsel as well.' To one of the Grand Dukes, who, on the day before the rupture with Japan, vaguely hinted at the possibility of war, the Emperor said: 'Leave that to me. Japan will never fight. My reign will be an era of peace to the end.' With such little wisdom are the affairs of great nations directed.

The pity of it is that there is no intermediary between the isolated sovereign and the disaffected nation, no one who has free access to the monarch for the purpose of telling him the truth. Our history records the deeds of emperors whose authority was as absolute as is his; but they were not inaccessible to public opinion, indifferent to public needs, or deprived of the counsel of strong men. Alexander I was wont to spend whole nights in talking freely and frankly to individuals who told him what they knew and thought. Nicholas I profited by the services of Benckendorff, to whom Russians could speak plainly, and who had the courage to tell his master what was needed. Alexander II was served by Count Adlerberg, who played a similar part with tolerable success. General Richter was the mentor of Alexander III, and his influence was powerful and beneficent. But Nicholas II stands alone on his dizzy pedestal, a Simon Stylites among monarchs. His adjutant, Hesse, who is privileged to see him at all times, is an officer who can scarcely write his name. The Tsar has created a gulf between the autocracy and the people, between himself and his fellow mortals, which is nearly as deep and as broad as that which separates the deity from mankind.

Many educated Russians are wont to compare their present Emperor with Feodor Ivanovitch, the weak-willed, feeble-minded son of Ivan IV. But there were points even in that monarch's favour which we miss in

the life of Nicholas II. He was at least conscious of his weaknesses. 'I am the Tsar of executioners!' his artistic biographer makes him exclaim, on an historic occasion. And, after all, his own weakness was more than outweighed by the strength of will of his prompter, the great statesman Boris Godunoff. The sad conviction is now rapidly gaining ground that Nicholas II is getting to resemble in certain ways the unfortunate Paul I. He is eminently unfit to control personally the destinies of a great people; and he is, unfortunately, ignorant of his unfitness. That is the danger which hangs over Russia at home, and over Russia's peaceful neighbours abroad. Deep-rooted faith in his own ability prompts him to shun men whose statesmanship might shield his people from the consequences of his faults, and to choose officials who will serve merely as tools in his unsteady hands. Consequently his choice of favourites and of ministers is deplorable. Thus the idea that he should have offered the post of Minister of Public Instruction to a man so entirely and deservedly discredited as Prince Meshtshersky embitters those of his subjects who are aware of the facts as much as would the appointment in England of such a man as Jabez Balfour to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury.

A great deal has been written about the Tsar's love of peace, his clemency, his benevolence, and his fairness; but the Russian authors of these eulogies belong to the category of flatterers, who, when his Majesty sleeps, are busy quoting profound passages from his snoring. His reputation as a staunch friend of peace is but the reflex of the views laboriously impressed upon him by M. de Witte, whose whole policy, good and evil, was based upon peace. But, owing to the defective condition of that faculty by which the mind traces effects to causes and calculates results, all he does contributes to bring about the very ends which he abhors.

In the conduct of state affairs the Tsar is reserved and formal. Like his father, when presiding over a committee or council he listens in silence to the opinions of others almost always withholding his own. He sometimes deviates from this rule when he wishes to give a certain direction to the discussion. It was thus when M. de Plehva

in the bill to enlarge the arbitrary powers of provincial governors, proposing that these officials should be the representatives not only of the government but also of the autocrat, and should therefore share his powers. The Emperor then opened the sitting with a few words to the effect that he concurred in that view. In his study he is generally busy signing replies to addresses of loyalty, or writing comments on the various reports presented by ministers, governors, and other officials. He is encouraged by his courtiers to believe that all these replies and comments are priceless; for even such trivial remarks as, 'I am very glad,' 'God grant it may be so,' are published in large type in the newspaper, glazed over in the manuscript, and carefully preserved in the archives like the relics of a saint. But the most interesting are never published; and of these there is a choice collection. Here is one. A report of the negotiations respecting the warship 'Manchur' was recently laid before him by Count Lamsdorff. The tenor of it was that the Chinese authorities had summoned the 'Manchur' to quit the neutral harbour of Shanghai at the repeated and urgent request of the Japanese consul there. On the margin of that report his Majesty penned the memorable words: 'The Japanese consul is a scoundrel.'

The Emperor imagines it to be the right and the duty of the Autocrat of All the Russias to intervene personally in every affair that interests himself or has any bearing on his mission. The instances of this uncalled-for personal action are nearly as numerous as his official acts; and the consequences of several are written in blood and fire in the history of his reign. They have undermined the sense of legality; and the end of legality is always the beginning of the reign of violence. The saddest part of the story is that, the more unsteady he becomes, the more vigorously he sweeps away the last weak barriers which stand between the autocracy and folly or injustice, such as the Council of the Empire, the Committee of Ministers, and the Senate. A few examples will enable the reader to judge for himself. The late Minister of Public Instruction, Sanger, who was not an enemy to instruction like so many of his predecessors, brought in a bill changing a preparatory grammar school in Lutzk, supported by voluntary subscriptions, into a complete one. It was a

useful measure; and the Council of the Empire, having taken cognisance of it, passed it unanimously. On the report, as presented to the Tsar, his Majesty wrote: 'No. I disagree entirely with the Council of the Empire. I hold that we must encourage technical and not classical education.' The bill was killed, and Sanger resigned; but neither technical nor classical education is encouraged.

The Senate, being a judicial and also an administrative institution, can pass resolutions which, if approved by the majority and not opposed by the Minister of Justice, have the force of law. But neither the Council of the Empire nor the Committee of Ministers can enact a law, because their decisions have to be referred to the Tsar, who may agree with the proposal of the majority or the protest of the minority, or ignore both and act on his own initiative. Alexander III usually took the side of the minority; and his son and successor has followed his example religiously. He has also established a practice of first approving the bill in principle and then allowing the minister to send it before the Council or the Committee, so that all the members know beforehand the opinion of the monarch. But if the majority is bold or honest enough to throw it out, the Tsar always adopts the view of the minority.

Here is an amusing case which characterises our government and our rulers. A bill was introduced to indemnify landed proprietors in the Baltic provinces for the losses they had incurred through the government monopoly of alcohol. M. de Witte held that the sum of several millions should be paid over to them in the course of a number of years; the majority maintained that it ought to be paid at once. M. de Witte first informed the Tsar of this divergence; and his Majesty promised to confirm the view of the minority. The minister then wrote a letter to the Secretary of the Council, M. de Plehve, telling him that the Emperor had promised to confirm the decision of the minority so soon as the documents were placed before him. M. de Plehve freely communicated this announcement to all the members. Then many officials, seeing that opposition would be fruitless, changed their views, or their votes, so that the minority unexpectedly became the majority. In the course of time the documents were laid before the Tsar, who remembered only that he had pledged himself to M. de Witte to

reject the proposal of the majority. Accordingly, without reading the papers or taking further thought, he redeemed his promise; and the wrong bill became law.

The course of justice, civil and criminal, is liable to be impeded in the same way. Here is an example. A certain person incurred large debts in St Petersburg, and was declared bankrupt. In the ordinary course of law his estates were to be sold and the creditors satisfied. The Tula Bank was charged with the sale of the estates; but the Tsar, having meanwhile been asked to interfere, issued an order stopping the sale and suspending the operation of the law. An action was brought against Princess Imeretinsky by her late husband's heirs. The Princess, who had powerful friends, privately petitioned his Majesty to intervene on her behalf, and her prayer was granted. The Tsar ordered the plaintiffs to be nonsuited and the action quashed; and his will was duly executed. In a third case, some noblemen sold their estates to merchants; the transactions were properly carried out and legally ratified. But the Tsar, by his own power, cancelled the deed of sale and ordered the money and the estates to be returned to their previous owners. Such instances of interference with the course of justice might easily be multiplied.

Of the course of justice in political trials little need be said. The prosecution of the murderers of the Kishineff Jews is fresh in the memory of all. An incident unparalleled in our history before the present reign rendered that trial celebrated for all time; the counsel for the prosecution in the civil case threw up their briefs and left the court because of the systematic denial of justice to their clients. When the flogging cases were heard in the Government of Poltava last year a similar course was taken by the lawyers. The rights which our laws bestow upon prisoners were so persistently denied them that the advocates of the accused peasants had no choice but to throw up their briefs and leave the court. In every political trial the Minister of Justice closes the doors; and he is prepared to do the same in any civil lawsuits if either of the parties has influence at Court. Peasant malcontents are flogged without trial or accusation; working men are shot down when parading the streets. In all this M. Muravieff, the human embodiment of

Russian law, the Minister of Justice, is the executioner of justice and the executor of unrighteousness.

Yet, undoubtedly, the power of the autocracy could be employed to further the cause of humanity, enlightenment, and justice, if such were the will of him who wields it. A single word from the Tsar would cause a profound change to come over the condition of the country and the sentiments of his people. The responsibility for his acts cannot be laid upon the shoulders of his ministers, whose advice he refrains from seeking in the most dangerous crises of his reign. It was not his ministers who prompted him to break the promise he had given to evacuate Manchuria; they entreated him to keep it. It was not they who proposed that he should curtail the power for good still left to such institutions as the Council of the Empire, the Committee of Ministers, and the governing Senate. It was not they who impelled him to make the monarchy ridiculous by seeking wisdom in the evocation of spirits and strength in the canonisation of saints. It was not they who urged him to break up the Finnish nation by a series of iniquitous measures worthy of an oriental despot of ancient Babylon or Persia; on the contrary, they assured him in clear and not always courtly phraseology that justice and statesmanship required him to stay his hand. It was not his official advisers who suggested that he should despoil the Armenian Church of its property and endowments, while leaving all other religious communities in the possession of theirs, and should punish with bullets and cold steel the zealous members of that Church who protested in the name of their religion and conscience. Almost all his ministers united for once in warning him that this was an act of wanton spoliation, and in conjuring him to abandon or modify his scheme. But, deaf to their arguments, he insisted on having his own way.

The Tsar's reign has therefore brought everything into a state of flux; nothing is stable with us as in other countries. No traditions, no rights, no laws are respected; there are only ever-increasing burdens, severer punishments, and never dwindling misery and suffering. The Tsar's meddling unsettles the whole nation and disquiets even the obscure individual, because nobody is sure that *his turn* will not come to-morrow. Thus, on the one

hand, a whole county council in Tver, with its members, its officials, its schools, doctors, teachers, and statisticians, was lately annihilated by a stroke of the imperial pen; while, on the other hand, a general here, a journalist there, lawyers, physicians, officials, have been seized in various parts of the country and imprisoned or banished. Under Paul I only those who were in the neighbourhood of the Emperor had reason to apprehend his outbursts of eccentricity; but Nicholas II has sent genuine pashas like Prince Galitzin and General Bobrikoff* to govern the provinces; and these men are as arbitrary as himself.

What strange and unpleasant mishaps may befall private persons can be inferred from a few examples. A short time ago a journalist of the capital, who writes with considerable verve, was packed off to Siberia—not in a day or an hour, but in a twinkling. His crime? The Tsar's imagination worked upon by an over-zealous priest. One day early in 1902 M. Amphitheatroff published a moderately interesting article describing the home circle of a landed proprietor, whom he depicted as very firm and strict with his family, and so scrupulous in his dealings with the other sex that he boiled with indignation if his wife's chamber-maid flirted with any male relative or stranger. He had a sympathetic son, with eyes like a gazelle's—a well-meaning youth who wished everybody to be happy, but possessed no ideas on practical matters. The kind-hearted mother sat between father and son, tenderly loving both. It was an idyllic picture of Russian life at its best—and nothing more. The censor read it and saw nothing wrong. The minister, Sipyaghin, glanced at it and passed on cheerfully to his hot pancakes and cold caviare. The Tsar himself perused it and liked it, it was 'such a pleasing picture of the serene life of a Russian squire.' But the Emperor's chaplain, Yanisheff, descried high treason between the lines. According to him, the landed proprietor, who struck the table with his fist whenever he heard of a little flirtation on the part of his wife's maid, was no other than the Emperor Alexander III; the son with the sympathetic eyes and vacillating character was Nicholas II.

* Since this article was written, General Bobrikoff, Governor of Finland, was assassinated at Helsingfors, June 16.

As the portrait, if intended as such, was not flattering, it needed audacity on the part of the priest to say, 'Sire, the ingenuous youth of limited ideas is obviously your Majesty'; and the Tsar must be credited with a large dose of naïveté to have been persuaded that the cap fitted the imperial head. He at once summoned and questioned Sipyaghin. 'Yes, I read the feuilleton, your Majesty, but noticed nothing offensive in it.' 'Well,' replied the Emperor, 'you may take it from me that it is a treasonable skit on my never-to-be-forgotten father and myself. Send the scoundrel to Siberia.' And to Siberia he was whisked away, without a chance to buy warm clothing for the journey or to get money for his needs. It was not much consolation to M. Amphitheatroff that he was subsequently pardoned for a crime of which he was innocent, and then banished to Vologda, where he is now undergoing his punishment.

Under Nicholas I, when serfdom still prevailed in Russia, such arbitrary acts were not unknown. But even that autocrat treated the persons whom he exiled with a certain paternal kindness foreign to his namesake. Thus, in 1826, the poet Poleshayeff, who had written some verses to which the police took exception, was dispatched to the army as a common soldier. But the stern autocrat gave him an audience on the eve of his departure, spoke kindly to him, kissed him on the forehead, and said, 'Go and mend your ways.' And in those days of absolutism no Russian general was ever packed off to the Far East, by way of punishment for taking broad-minded views of the people's needs, as General Kuzmin-Karavayeff, professor at the Military Judicial Academy of St Petersburg, was a few weeks ago, by the express orders of the Tsar. MM. Falberg and Pereverzoff, two gentlemen who, at the Congress of Technical Education held in St Petersburg last January, hissed the instigators of the Kishineff massacres, were also seized by the police, and, without trial or question, without even time to put on warm clothing, were hurried off to Yakutsk, the very coldest part of the inhabited globe. 'Severity, served up cold, is the only way with empire-wreckers,' as M. de Plehve remarked. In like manner M. Annensky, an old man who lived at peace with all the world, was suddenly expelled by the police from his home and city becau

spy accused him in error of having pronounced a speech a few days before at the funeral of Mikhailovsky, the editor of a review. Everybody knew and knows that Annensky did not utter a word on that occasion. But a spy made a blunder; Annensky suffered for it; and there was no redress.

In all these measures, in their most trivial details, the Tsar takes an eager and personal interest, because he treats them as part of the defence of autocracy. He knows, therefore, what is being done in his name; he expressly, and in writing, approves coercion and the many novel forms of it brought into vogue by the *âme damnée* of autocracy, M. de Plehve. Thus he conferred a star upon Prince Obolensky for his energy in flogging the peasants of the Government of Kharkoff until some of them died; he even raised this zealous official to the unique rank of Lieutenant-general of the Admiralty—a post of which the Russian public had never heard before. He appointed M. Kleighels, one of the most corrupt of police officials, to be his general adjutant. At this the nation, and even the Court, murmured audibly, for no police officer had ever received this rank. But the Tsar set their dissatisfaction at naught, and made Kleighels Governor-general of Kieff. A minister timidly hinted to his Majesty that all Russia hated Kleighels, and that so unpopular an official would hardly succeed in administering so difficult a province as Kieff. But Nikolai Alexandrovitch answered, 'I care nothing for what they say. I know what I am doing.'

So far, one of the most salient results of his Majesty's return towards the epoch of serfdom has been the estrangement of almost every class from the dynasty and its chief. For a nation like Russia, which cannot yet dispense with the monarchical form of government, this is a calamity. The nobles are generally on the side of the people, which, unfortunately, is not that of their ruler. An example of this attitude was given by an ex-minister, Prince Vyazemsky, who publicly condemned the conduct of the police in flogging the students in the Nevsky Prospekt. The nobles of Tver have not only spoken but suffered for the popular cause, which the Tsar spurns as impious and punishes as treasonable. In order to stinguish this resistance, the Emperor has lately

signified his wish to confer such powers upon every governor of a province as will enable him to deport any person, without trial or accusation, not only for a political offence, but for disagreeing with the views of his Excellency the Governor on any local question. Arbitrary regulations have lately been issued by the Chief of the Police in St Petersburg, by the Governor-general of Moscow, and by the governors of other provinces, which supersede the laws of the Empire; and any infringement of them is visited with fines of R. 3000—and larger sums in Poland—and three months' imprisonment besides. Governors upon whom special powers have been conferred can now oblige a landed proprietor to do anything which they hold to be requisite for what they call public order. If such a governor wishes to fine and imprison the owner of an estate whom he dislikes he has but to send a policeman to seek and find a rubbish heap or a pool of water in the courtyard, and the end is attained.

The English reader, for whose admiration many fancy portraits of the Autocrat of All the Russias have been drawn, may ask how these things can be reconciled with the manifesto promulgated by his Majesty on March 11, 1903, which promised certain reforms to his people. The answer is that the manifesto was a mere display of fireworks. That document, which made a stir in Russia and abroad, was drawn up by M. de Plehve and altered again and again by the Tsar himself, until he had elaborated a statement of which the form was solemn and the contents trivial. Setting aside its mere frothy phraseology, the only tangible reforms it foreshadowed were the abolition of the joint responsibility of the peasants for taxation and the maintenance of religious tolerance. As foreigners understand religious tolerance better than the incidence of taxation, let us briefly compare the imperial promise touching religion with the imperial achievement.

Since he issued the manifesto, Nicholas II has done nothing for religious tolerance and very much against it. The Jews have been persecuted even more cruelly and more extensively than before his welcome words were uttered. The Emperor's uncle, the Grand Duke Sergius, who is Governor-general of Moscow, has made it a sort of sport to hunt out the Jews and drive them from the city.

Anti-semites who go further are safe from punishment, and would find many imitators if the pastime were less obnoxious to the people of the United States. Jewish surgeons and doctors have been gathered in large numbers and sent to meet danger or death in the Far East. Roman Catholics are ceaselessly worried in their work, insulted in their religious sentiments, and almost forcibly driven into Orthodoxy by spiteful orders unworthy of a Christian government. To belong to the Armenian Church is to be branded with the mark of Cain; and it is sometimes worse to be a Russian non-conformist than to worship idols or to poison one's neighbour.

A golden opportunity arose for the fulfilment of the Tsar's promise shortly after it had been made. The new Russian penal code was then being drawn up; and the section dealing with crimes against faith was under discussion. Here the Emperor's mild and tolerant spirit was expected to bring about great and desirable changes. But the hope was disappointed. One change was made for the better, but only one. An Orthodox believer who wishes to leave his denomination may henceforward go abroad and there change his religion without fear of punishment, whereas formerly he was liable to pains and penalties. That is all. But, even now, if such a man, being unable to go abroad, should ask a Russian Lutheran or Roman Catholic priest to receive him into his Church, the minister in question must refuse. To comply with the request would entail severe punishment.

There can be no mistake about the Emperor's personal action in hindering his subjects from serving God in their own way, for it was vigorous, personal, and direct. Whenever the existing institutions or the responsible ministers were inclined to loosen the grip of the law on the conscience of the individual, the Tsar's veto formed an insuperable impediment. Examples are numerous. The following is instructive. The laws dealing with religious misdemeanours being under discussion, a minority of the Council of the Empire steadily advocated toleration; but at every turn his Majesty sided with the majority. Once, and only once, the bulk of the members favoured a clause which was reasonable and humane; and then the Emperor quashed their decision.

without hesitation. The question was: If a Russian who is Orthodox only in name, and something else—say Lutheran—in reality, asks a clergyman of his adopted Church to administer the sacrament to him on his death-bed, should the minister be punishable if he complied? The Council of the Empire, by a considerable majority, answered 'no'; and their arguments were clear and forcible. So plain was the case that even the Grand Dukes took the side of the majority. But the Tsar, putting down his foot, said, 'A clergyman who shall administer the sacraments of his Church to such a man shall be treated as a law-breaker; it is a crime'; and his decision has received the force of law. As this declaration of the imperial will was made after the manifesto, to speak of the Emperor's tolerant views would be satirical.

Another instance took place, also after the promulgation of that 'Magna Carta' of Russian liberty. Baron Uexkull von Gildenband proposed that certain sections of the population, who had been forced several years ago to join the Orthodox Church, all of them against their will and some even without their knowledge, should now be permitted to return to their respective Churches if they chose. Some of these people had been Lutherans of the Baltic provinces; others had been Uniates of western Russia, i.e. Catholics who, with the liturgy of the Greek Church, hold the beliefs of the Latin, and are in communion with Rome. It was an act, not of magnanimity, but of common justice that was here suggested. But, when the general debate was about to begin, the Grand Duke Michael, acting in harmony with his Majesty's known dispositions, withdrew from the Baron his right to speak in favour of the proposal, which therefore dropped. By these and other like fruits the tree may be known.

What is most astonishing is that the head of Orthodoxy should cause the members of an important branch of his own Church to be harried as if they were public enemies. Here are a few specimens of the methods employed against the Old Believers in the present reign. One of their monasteries—the Nikolsky *Skeet* in the Kuban Government—was seized by an archimandrite named Kolokoloff, who, at the head of fifty Cossacks, drove out the monks and took possession of their dwelling. One of the

protested and was thrown into prison. Yet the archimandrite who had won this easy victory, not satisfied with his violence against the living, also wreaked his spite on the dead. Two Old Believers who had departed this life in the odour of sanctity, Bishop Job and Gregory the priest, were reputed to be in heaven; and their bodies were said to be immune from decomposition, a fact which pointed to their saintship. But the Old Believers cannot be permitted to have miracles or saints. The Orthodox archimandrite, therefore, violated the tombs and dug up the bodies. He found the latter really intact, and, breaking their coffins, he saturated the boards with petroleum and then burned the mortal remains of the holy men to ashes.*

To affirm that positive laws are broken in order to render religious persecution possible is but to assert a truism. The proofs are of frequent occurrence. The Senate, by one of its legislative decrees,† authorised the Old Believers to open a chapel in Uralsk. This permission had already been given by the ministry, so that it could not lawfully be called in question. Yet the governor of the province cancelled it; and there was no redress. On another occasion three children in the village of Simonoska, in the Government of Smolensk, were forcibly taken from the custody of their father, one Rodionoff, because he was a Dissenter, and were placed in charge of a complete stranger, who was a member of the Established Church. In many districts of the interior priests of the sect of the Old Believers are arrested and imprisoned because they let their hair grow long like the clergy of the State Church. This punishment is administered in violation of the decrees of the Senate and the circulars of the Minister of the Interior, which have laid it down over and over again that long-haired clergymen are not punishable for neglecting to use the scissors.‡ The Tsar has been told of all these grievances, but he has made no sign.

A tragic story, the hero of which was Bishop Methodius, one of the pillars of the Old Believers, will bring home the cruelty of the system to the minds of humane readers.

* This procedure was described in the 'Grashdanin,' 1896.

see N. 461, promulgated on February 27, 1900.

order of the Consistory of Novo-cherkassk, May 10, 1893,

It has lately been brought to the notice of his Majesty without eliciting even an expression of regret. Born in Cheliabinsk, Methodius was ordained a priest, and zealously discharged the duties of his office for fifteen years before he was raised to the episcopal see of Tomsk. One day the Bishop administered the sacraments to a man who, born in the State Church, had joined the community of Old Believers. This was precisely a case of the type discussed in the Council of the Empire, and so harshly provided for by the Emperor himself. Methodius was denounced, arrested, tried, found guilty, and condemned to banishment in Siberia; and the sentence was carried out with needless brutality. With irons on his feet, penned up together with murderers and other criminals of the worst type, he was sent by *étape* from prison to prison, to the Government of Yakutsk. Through the intercession of an influential co-religionist he was allowed to stay in the capital of that province; but soon afterwards, at the instigation of a dignitary of the State Church, Methodius was banished to Vilyuisk, in north-eastern Siberia, a place inhabited by savages. The aged Bishop—he was seventy-eight years old—was then set astride a horse and tied down to the animal, and told that he must ride thus to his new place of exile, about seven hundred miles distant. ‘This sentence is death by torture,’ said Methodius’s flock. And they were not mistaken. The old man gave up the ghost on the road (1898); but when, where, and how he died and was buried has never been made known.

If the repressive measures to which the Tsar thus attaches his name have little in common with true religion, his constructive action appears to be inspired by thinly-disguised superstition. In miracles and marvels he takes a childish delight, and is as ready to believe the messages from the invisible world which the spirits send through a M. Philippe in the Crimea as in the wonders wrought by the relics of Orthodox monks whose names he himself adds to the roll of Russian saints. His predecessors were more chary of peopling heaven than of colonising Siberia. Nicholas I assented to the canonisation of Mitrophan of Voronesh (1832), whose body was found intact after it had lain over a century in its coffin; but that was the only beatification made during the reign of Alexander II allowed the Holy Synod to enrich the

with one saint—Tikhon, Bishop of Voronesh (1861); his successor did not add even one. But the present Tsar has not only canonised two,* but he personally ordered one of the candidates, Seraphim of Saroff, to be proclaimed a saint, in spite of the disconcerting fact that his body, although buried for only seventy years, was decomposed. The Orthodox Bishop Dmitry of Tamboff protested on this ground against the beatification as contrary to Church traditions; but he was deprived of his see and sent to Vyatka for venturing to disagree with the Tsar. His Majesty holds that the preservation of the bones, the hair, and the teeth is a sufficient qualification for saintship; and he has been assured by prophetic monks that God will soon work a miracle and restore Seraphim's dead body in full.

But it would occupy too much space to enter fully into these details, or into the grounds of his Majesty's belief that an heir will soon be born to him through the mediation of his favourite saints, with whose image he lately blessed the Siberian and South Russian troops. The main point is that upon Church affairs, as upon every other branch of administration, the Emperor has brought his personal influence to bear, and made it prevail over the objections, the protests, and the sound advice of those who were best able to guide him.

Who then, it may be asked, influences the autocrat whose personal rule is thus absolute? If his ministers are but his organs and even his women-folk are powerless to move him, whose is the spirit that animates him? The answer lies on the surface. In the sweeping theories of autocracy, which he has made his own, M. Pobedonostseff and Prince Meshtshersky, the Torquemada and Cagliostro of contemporary Russia, were his teachers. Their abstract aphorisms and personal appeals engendered a faith and fervour in the spirit of their plastic pupil which have become second nature; and he now measures every new idea by its bearing upon autocracy. The teaching of these masters is backed by certain Grand Dukes, who form a sort of secret council like that which regulates the

* Theodosius, Archbishop of Chernigoff, canonised April 25, 1896; and Seraphim of Saroff, canonised July 31, 1903.

life of the great Lama of Tibet. Under Alexander III they had no part to play, for that monarch kept them in their places. Nicholas II, on the contrary, is easily swayed by these self-seeking members of his family. They paint their plans in the hues of his own dreams, present him with motives which appeal to his prejudices, and always open their attack by gross flattery. They are consequently more than a match for poor 'Nickie,' as they call him; and their influence over him is pernicious. One of them, who was for years the manager of the vast funds supplied by loyal Russia to build a church to the memory of Alexander II, has yet to account for enormous sums of money which disappeared mysteriously under his administration. The Grand Duke Sergius, Governor-general of Moscow, a man addicted to Jew-baiting and other unworthy sports, is the Tsar's mentor in questions of religion, whether abstruse or practical. It was he who proposed to abolish the Juridical Society of Moscow, which he suspected of liberal tendencies; and, when it was objected that the members were scrupulously observant of every law and regulation, he answered: 'That's my point—they are for this very reason all the more dangerous to the State!' The Grand Duke Constantine offers brilliant suggestions on questions of public instruction and military affairs. The Grand Duke Alexis, whose foreign mistress, a French actress, causes ministers to tremble, is the great palace oracle on the navy, of which, however, he expresses a very poor opinion in private. Perhaps the most influential of all is the Grand Duke Alexander Mikhailovitch, who has for a considerable time been the *alter ego* of his Majesty.

This grand-ducal ring is the Russian governing syndicate unlimited; and no minister could withstand it for a month. It is able to thwart his plans in their primary stage, to discredit them in the Tsar's eyes during the discussion, or to have them cancelled after the Emperor has sanctioned them. Obviously Russia has more autocrats than one.

Always in want or in debt, the Grand Dukes flock together wherever there is money to be had, like vultures over a battlefield; and, if they stand to win in any undertaking, they care little about the nationality of the losers. *and less about the ethics of the game.* Their late

venture was the Lumber Concession on the Yalu river in Corea, which had no little share in plunging our unfortunate country into the present sanguinary war. The scheme had been proposed on the strength of M. Bezobrazoff's assurances that it would bring millions to the pockets of the lucky investors, and add a kingdom to Russia's far-eastern possessions. At first his Majesty, dissuaded by his ministers, shrank from the thought of mixing shady speculations with imperial politics. Accordingly he issued a strict command to the Grand Dukes to keep aloof from the discreditable business. The ducal ring then sent M. Bezobrazoff to knead the imperial will; and so ingeniously was this done that the Tsar not only withdrew the prohibition, but himself joined the investors, and put some millions of his own into the concession. The Grand Dukes reasoned correctly that, if the Emperor had money in the undertaking, everything possible would be done to make it increase and multiply—and with it their own investments. And that is what happened.

Upon the mind of their simple relative the Grand Dukes work with consummate skill. Every candidate for imperial favour whom they present is a specialist who promises to realise the momentary desires of the Tsar. Thus M. Philippe, the spiritualist who appeared during the Emperor's illness in Yalta, promised him a son and heir, and was therefore received with open arms. As time passed, and the hopes which this adventurer raised were not fulfilled, the canonisation of St Séraphim was suggested by a pious Grand Duke and a sceptical abbot, because among the feats said to have been achieved by this holy man was the miraculous bestowal of children upon barren women.

Another of the Tsar's passing favourites was an eccentric idealist named Khlopoff, who occupied a small post in the Ministry of Ways and Communications. Through the Grand Duke Alexander Mikhailovitch, to whose children he gave lessons, he was brought to the notice of the Emperor, who conceived a liking for the honest, disinterested reformer. Khlopoff idealised the Russian people, enlarged poetically on their qualities, dramatised their actions, and prophesied the marvels they would accomplish after certain reforms had been effected. His Majesty hung upon his eloquent recitals of the possi-

hopefulness in sufferings, and asked his new friend to travel through the country and to report on the grievances of the people. But after a twelvemonth of Khlopoff's irresponsible activity the ministers grew restive; Pobedonostseff requested the Tsar to give his favourite a responsible position or else dismiss him; and, the novelty of his rhapsodies having worn off, his Majesty ceased to receive the reformer. As he continued, however, to read his reports, M. Pobedonostseff spoke earnestly to the Grand Duke; and Khlopoff was dismissed with a pension.

But the most dangerous of all the imperial favourites is M. Bezobrazoff, a cross between a clever company-promoter and an eccentric. This gentleman, who in his lucid intervals gives proofs of extraordinary shrewdness, began his career as an officer in the cavalry of the Guard, passed on to the post of Master of the Hounds, and in this capacity made the acquaintance of the members of the grand-ducal ring. In time he resigned, and, hoping to do a brilliant stroke of business *à l'Americaine*, went to the Far East, where he was to look after the financial interests of the Grand Dukes. The Yalu forests seemed to promise well as a speculation, and he returned with a proposal for exploiting them. The sharp criticism with which the project was received by M. de Witte, Count Lamsdorff, and others at first alarmed the Tsar. But M. Bezobrazoff, who was received by his Majesty at the request of the Grand Dukes, had no difficulty in winning over the wavering young monarch; and the Tsar, as has already been stated, himself became an investor. From that moment M. Bezobrazoff's ascendancy began. He returned to the Far East with plenipotentiary power such as no minister ever possessed. General Kuropatkin, Baron Rosen, Count Lamsdorff were subordinated to him; and his report on the Manchurian railway accelerated M. de Witte's fall. He caused Admiral Alexeyeff, a man of narrow outlook and vast ambitions, to be appointed viceroy; and between them they lured the unsteady monarch, and with him all the nation, into the present costly and disastrous war.

Thus the whole Russian Empire, with its peasantry, army, navy, clergy, universities, and ministries, is but the servant of an inexperienced prince who is not only deficient in the qualities requisite to a ruler, but even devoid of the tact necessary to enable him to keep up appearances. At

home the nation is suppressed; it cannot make its voice heard on the subject of war or peace, of taxation or education, of industry or finance; it cannot even save its soul in its own way. Abroad the policy of Russia is a policy of expansion without end, planned by officials without scruples, and executed by a Government without responsibility. It has brought things to such a pass that assurances given by ambassadors are not binding on the Foreign Minister; promises made by the Foreign Minister are disregarded by the heads of other departments and dishonoured by the Tsar; treaties ratified by the Tsar are not binding on the Government, which may plead a change of circumstances as a justification for breaking them. This theory, which to our shame is become as specifically Russian as the Monroe Doctrine is American, has been firmly established by Nicholas II, who may truly say that the Empire is himself and that his ways are inscrutable.

It is no exaggeration to state that the domestic consequences of this system—if system it can be called—are calamitous. Two ministers have already been murdered; several governors and officials have been shot at and killed or wounded; numerous country-houses have been set on fire and burned to ashes; peasants are being flogged, noblemen banished, lawyers, schoolmasters and officials imprisoned, newspapers suppressed, working men fired upon by troops; while the whole nation is kept in ignorance and superstition in order that one man should be free to realise his ideals of autocracy. All that broad-minded monarchists like the present writer desire is to save our people without injuring our Tsar. Against monarchical institutions, without which our nation could not work out its high destinies, we have nothing to urge. Even the dynasty we accept as a fact. But we strongly hold that the affairs of the nation, which are not identical with the changing caprices of an individual or the insatiable greed of a ring, should be conducted by competent and moderately honest men independently of Court influence and on ordinary business principles.

Art. X.—INDIA UNDER LORD CURZON.

1. *Speeches of Lord Curzon of Kedleston, 1898-1901.* Calcutta: Government Printing Office, 1901.
2. *The India of the Queen; and other Essays.* By the late Sir W. W. Hunter, K.C.S.I. London: Longmans, 1903.
3. *The Middle Eastern Question.* By Valentine Chirol. London: Murray, 1903.
4. *The Life of the Marquis of Dalhousie.* By Sir W. Lee-Warner, K.C.S.I. Two vols. London: Macmillan, 1904.
5. *Report of the Indian Universities Commission.* Simla: Government Printing Office, 1902.
6. *Parliamentary Papers relating to Tibet, 1904.* (Cd. 1920.)
7. *The Supplements to 'The Gazette of India.'* Calcutta: Government Printing Office, 1899-1904.

THE pause in Lord Curzon's administration made by his visit to England suggests reflection on some points in the record of his work in India. No general survey of that large field can be attempted here, but attention may be called to a few striking achievements in a period of great and general activity in all branches of Indian government.

In no sphere of policy has Lord Curzon done more than in matters relating to the control and defence of the Indian frontier, especially that on the north-west. The Viceroy came to India an acknowledged expert in this branch of Indian politics. He had exhaustively studied Persia, he had travelled in Central Asia, he had visited Abdurrahman at Kabul, and had made himself acquainted with the frontier tribes. With the advantage of this large experience he had formed clear and decided views on frontier questions, in striking contrast to the weakness, rashness, and vacillation which had characterised so much of the Indian and home Government's frontier policy during the previous decade. There was need for a strong man to reorganise our position on the Indian frontier. The forward policy, as practised by the Governments of India during the last ten years of the nineteenth century, had erred not so much in its aims as in its methods; not in desiring extension of control, but in imagining that this could best be effected by *delimitation* of boundaries which could not be protected,

by costly punitive expeditions followed by ruinous withdrawals, and by exercising the authority of the supreme Government through the circuitous and encumbered channel of the provincial administration at Lahore. In fifty years there had been forty frontier expeditions, ending, in 1897, in the biggest frontier war which had ever been seen. The rising which led to this war might easily have been crushed at the outset but for the weakness of the supreme and the Punjab Governments in August 1897, when they abandoned the forts and garrisons in the Khyber to their fate.

From the first Lord Curzon determined to effect radical alterations in the system which was mainly responsible for this state of things. He began by largely increasing the number of tribal militias, and adopted the policy of gradually withdrawing regular troops from all advanced positions and concentrating them in cantonments in the plains. The trans-frontier posts were, and are being, one by one, taken over by the local levies under British officers; and measures were adopted to strengthen these positions by constructing light railways, running up to and skirting the base of the frontier hills. Finally the British districts beyond the Indus were severed from the Punjab, and united with the trans-frontier charges in a chief commissionership directly under the control of the central Government. The latter of these changes was carried through by the Viceroy, with the consent of his Majesty's Government, but not without the strenuous opposition of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, Sir W. Mackworth Young, who is understood not only to have dissented from the policy, but also to have protested against its adoption without official consultation with the local Government. The Viceroy, however, who recommended, and the British Government which authorised the procedure were not anxious to admit a further element of discussion and delay. With regard to the substantive measure, expert opinion has now rallied entirely to the side of the Viceroy; and all these changes are working smoothly and well.

So far as the dealings with the tribes are concerned, Lord Curzon's frontier policy has been an unmingled success; there has been only one operation of any magnitude, caused by difficulties bequeathed to the

Viceroy by his predecessors in the region of Waziristan; and to deal with these Lord Curzon had recourse, not to an expedition, but to one of the oldest forms of frontier coercion—a blockade. Tavernier describes the success of this operation when employed two hundred and fifty years ago by the Mogul against the King of Kashmir; and in its latest form, varied with sallies and reprisals very gallantly executed, it proved no less effective in the twentieth century, and produced important results at a small cost. If to this we add a very small movement against the Kabul Khel Waziris, and some petty operations in Mekran, we have the total of north-west frontier war during the last six years; a total much smaller, and very much cheaper, than that of any corresponding period during the past fifty years. The conclusion is irresistible that this better state of frontier relations is due to the adoption of a better frontier policy; that the new administration and the new militias are doing more to pacify the tribesmen than half a century of expeditions and all the efforts of viceroys and commanders-in-chief; in short, that the new policy has tamed

‘Quos neque Tydides nec Larissæus Achilles,
Non anni domuere decem, non mille carinæ.’

Unfortunately the tribes are but a part, and a small part, of the Indian frontier problem. Of far greater importance is the course of our relations with the ruler of Kabul; and of these it is unfortunately not possible to give a satisfactory account. Here are two countries bound to each other by solemn agreements, one of which could not maintain its independence or even its existence without the support of the other, while the defence of that other against a foreign aggressor is materially facilitated by securing its neighbour in strength and independence, and, above all, by binding it in bonds of friendship to itself. To this end were treaties negotiated, to this end was a large subsidy assigned, to this end have armaments been allowed to be imported through India on a gigantic scale. After this series of unwearying efforts on our part to promote a friendly connexion, with these overpowering motives of self-interest urging the Afghans in the same direction, they remain, ruler and people,

only less unfriendly to, and suspicious of, England than they are of Russia and the rest of the non-Afghan world. Not only is it impossible to discern any improvement of late years in Anglo-Afghan relations, but in some respects a distinct deterioration has taken place. In 1894 an English traveller (Mr Curzon, as he then was) could visit Kabul with the cordial welcome of its ruler; in 1903 a British officer, straying a few hundred yards across the border in search of sport, was actually seized by Afghan soldiers and detained for three weeks in custody, within sight of British cantonments, until the indignant remonstrances of the Viceroy procured tardy orders for the release of the prisoner and the punishment of the authors of the offence. In 1891-2 the total trade between India and Afghanistan amounted to 1,446,000*l.*; in 1900 it had fallen to some 900,000*l.*, a decrease of more than 37 per cent. Although the British communications have been greatly improved on almost every section of the frontier, nothing whatever has been done to facilitate intercourse on the Afghan side. The present ruler even continues to this day his father's orders prohibiting Afghan merchants from using the trans-Khojak section of the Chaman railway line.

Probably the chief cause of the evil must be sought in the proud and difficult character of the Afghan rulers themselves. The last years of Abdurrahman were years of ever increasing severity of government and inveterate suspicion of all foreign influence; the first years of Habibullah have served to reveal a nature which conforms to the familiar Afghan type. Habibullah took a false step at the outset by raising the pay of his army; he went on to exhibit an imperfect sense of loyalty to the British Government by attempting to recruit Afridi sepoys from beyond the Indian side of the Durand boundary line. His devotion to the memory of his father, in itself a praiseworthy feature of his character, impels him to set his face against the slightest alteration in the arrangements made by his father with the Indian Government, and to forbid all forms of dealing with the foreigner which were not sanctioned by the practice of the late Amir. The Government of India is naturally anxious to improve the state of our relations; but, although nearly three years have elapsed since his

accession, the young ruler of Kabul has not yet brought himself to accept the Viceroy's invitation to a meeting in the plains. Meanwhile, as though to mark their disapproval of his attitude, the Government has for some time detained at Peshawar a large consignment of ordnance imported from Europe by the Amir.

The one satisfactory element in the situation is that Habibullah is believed throughout to have exhibited that negative but important form of loyalty to the British Government which consists in taking up a still more unfriendly attitude towards Russia than he does to ourselves. It is believed that as yet, in spite of great temptation, he has done nothing to assist or encourage the dangerous Russian intention of opening up relations with Kabul; and this is, after all, by far the most important point of Afghan policy on which we have a right to be reassured. And yet, though this be so, no government of India ought to be satisfied with such a measure of support; no government of India but ought to work without intermission for that much firmer and more substantial connexion which Mr Curzon, writing at the time of his visit, believed that he foresaw.

There is no doubt that, with a firm policy, that forecast may still be realised. No one who has noted the immense annual influx of Afghan traders into India, who has marked the countless journeyings of the men of Ghazni as they scatter themselves into the farthest parts of India and wander even into the remotest corners of the Australian bush, who has watched this amazing exhibition of enterprise, of self-reliance, of aptitude for scientific commerce, unsurpassed by any class of Orientals in any quarter of the eastern globe—no one who has seen all this can doubt that there exists in the Afghan people a capacity for development, for civilisation, and for fruitful alliance with the British power which is repressed only by the political system prevailing in Afghanistan to-day. The strength of India against foreign aggression would be enhanced by nothing so much as by a strong, prosperous, and contented Afghanistan. At the present day, and through the policy of her rulers, which English critics have visited with such exaggerated praise, Afghanistan is neither contented, nor prosperous, nor strong. She is governed by a military tyranny; and the

revenues wrung from her impoverished people are devoted to the support of a large army which knows nothing of modern warfare, and to the accumulation of armaments which will be little better than useless in the hands of ignorant men. Her trade is stifled by heavy taxes and by crushing duties at the frontiers and in transit between the provinces. Her feudal manhood has been broken by the wholesale executions of nobles, and by the policy of supplanting the ancient chiefs as leaders of the people by a class of turbulent priests. Such was the policy of Abdurrahman, who united his country, and left her exhausted by the act.

We do not for a moment deny that Afghanistan needs to be governed by a strong ruler, or that the late Amir was a vigorous and patriotic prince; but we say that the policy of an enlightened ruler of Kabul would differ from the policy of Abdurrahman as widely as the policy of Akbar differed from the policy of Aurangzebe. Something more than strength of purpose is needed in an oriental ruler to secure the happiness of his people and the stability of his rule. Abdurrahman's purpose was strong, but it was unenlightened; his system of government was firm, but was it stable or buttressed on the happiness of the ruled? If Habibullah wishes not only to revere his father's memory and to profit by his lessons, but also slavishly to adhere to every principle of his diplomacy and government, then he is imitating a model which, for all its grandeur, is essentially imperfect, and pursuing a course of which the Government of India is bound frankly to disapprove. Abdurrahman saw clearly the precarious position of the surviving independent states of Asia, but he failed to understand the special conditions which distinguish from their fellows those states which border on the Indian Empire. We can wish Habibullah no better fortune than that he should some day come to realise more fully the sincerity of India's friendship for Afghanistan. That friendship has many times been expressed by us in words and deeds. Nothing more is required but that the Afghans should be converted to believe in our good faith. The task of the Government of India is not one of forming a policy; that has long ago been settled beyond all probability of change. To-day the task is one of overcoming suspicion, of inducing co-operation, of

making fertile an alliance which has long been sterilised by jealousy and mistrust.

We turn now to examine Lord Curzon's policy on other sections of the frontier, and especially his handling of the critical problems of Persia and Tibet. If any one will study the whole subject of Lord Curzon's foreign policy in an area defined by him as extending from Arabia to Siam, and described by him as constituting the glacis of the Indian fortress, he will find it to be animated throughout with the same spirit of ceaseless endeavour to maintain and establish our predominance in this area, and to prevent any 'rival,' 'unfriendly,' or 'hostile' influence from encroaching on any part of this domain. That the mainspring of this policy is a rooted distrust of Russian objects and Russian methods is not only obvious on its face, but is openly avowed in a remarkable paper by Sir Walter Lawrence, until lately Lord Curzon's private secretary, in the April number of the 'National Review.' That this distrust is well founded, and that this policy is an urgent necessity, has been made plain to the public, in the case of Tibet, by the parliamentary papers; and in the case of Persia, by Mr Valentine Chirol's profoundly interesting book.

Mr Chirol tells the story of recent events in Persia with a moderation, an accuracy, and a self-restraint which enhances tenfold its very disquieting and humiliating effect upon the minds of those to whom the security of India is a care. Mr Chirol explains the importance to India of maintaining her influence, and of excluding the influence of foreign Powers from southern and eastern Persia and from the Persian Gulf. He shows the failure of British statesmanship to grasp the necessity of a course of action in conformity with this object, or the fact that another Power was pursuing a calculated scheme of policy directly conflicting with what should have been our own. From this cause, from a total absence of superior direction, a series of British ministers at Teheran, individually competent and respectable public servants, have sat still in peaceful contemplation of the process by which Russia has reduced the Persian Government to complete subjection to herself. Mr Chirol *out* in detail the lamentable list of military,

commercial, and other measures by which Russia has been permitted virtually to enslave the wretched and degraded ruler and the corrupt Government of Teheran. The series of large loans made by the Russians to Muzaffer-ed-din; the agreements between the same parties in restraint of outside borrowings and of foreign railway enterprise; the organisation of a brigade of Persian Cossacks, officered by Russians, as the single efficient unit in the Persian army; the making over of the collection of the customs revenue to a staff of Belgians, who play the part of jackals to the Russians; the secret revision of the Persian tariff in the interests of Russia, with consequences disastrous to British-Indian trade; the multiplication of Russian consulates; the employment of Russian officers to check the overland trade with India under the pretext of enforcing quarantine—all this is but a part of the list of audacious enterprises by which the Government of the Tsar is compassing the complete Russification of Iran.

What is there to show on the British side? Practically nothing until the opening by Lord Curzon of a policy which may yet be destined to restore the balance and to push back a terrible danger from India's least protected flank. That policy has not yet, with one exception, produced any very large or substantial results; it must be pressed to its conclusion by years of further effort before our legitimate position in Persia can be re-established by its means. The exception referred to is Lord Lansdowne's recent declaration with regard to the Persian Gulf. On May 5, 1903, Lord Lansdowne, from his place in the House of Lords, declared that 'we [i.e. his Majesty's Government] should regard the establishment of a naval base or of a fortified port in the Persian Gulf by any other Power as a very grave menace to British interests, which we should certainly resist with all the means at our disposal.' This announcement may probably be attributed to the pressure brought to bear by the Viceroy of India upon a Government which, up to that time, had shown no sign of having any policy in Persia at all.

Lord Lansdowne's declaration, it is to be hoped, marks the turning-point in the Persian crisis. It marks the moment at which, when Russian influence in Persia was

at its highest, and British influence at its lowest point, the British Government took stock of its position and pointed out the limits beyond which the encroachment of a rival would be treated as a hostile act. So far as it extends, the value of this declaration is great. But it by no means covers the whole of the policy which it is essential to the interests of India that we should pursue. Taken by itself, the prohibition of encroachment in the Persian Gulf might be construed as implying a toleration of encroachment in any other province of the Empire of the Shah. It is precisely against such encroachments that Lord Curzon's policy contends. There is no doubt that, in the view of the Government of India, the shore of the Persian Gulf is not merely regarded as the irreducible minimum to be retained when every other province of Persia shall have passed under Russian control; it is the point of departure from which British predominant influence should once more expand over a section of Persia large enough to form a broad glacis before the Indian fortress-walls. No Indian government will be disposed to grudge to Russia her ascendancy over those provinces of Persia which march with Russian frontiers, if only that ascendancy can be prevented from expanding into a far-reaching dominion over the Persian Empire as a whole. British trade will acquiesce the more readily in its inevitable extrusion from the northern markets if only it can gain security from disturbance, and freedom from the more galling of existing restrictions, in the cities of the south and east. Our interest in Persia may therefore be summed up in the problem, What are to be the limits of the area of British influence, and what are the means by which the exclusion therefrom of Russian influence is to be secured?

Towards the solution of this problem the measures which have already been adopted take us but a little way. They include an increase of our consular representatives in Persia, both British and Indian, some expansion of British telegraphs, the despatch of some small missions, the opening up of a new trade-route by Nushki to Seistan and Meshed, the construction of a railway from Quetta, covering the first short section of this road, and the considerable but transitory effect produced by the viceregal *tour* and naval demonstration in the Persian Gulf. These

things are satisfactory; but no one sees more clearly than the Viceroy how much more is required before the lost ground can be regained. It would be rash to prophesy the exact form of future measures, but it is evident that three things at least will be required. A sphere of influence coterminous with the Russian sphere will have to be marked out in Persia as in Central Asia. The principle must be laid down that within those limits not only will no official foreign enterprises be permitted, but also that existing arrangements based on foreign intervention are liable to revision. The control of the customs by the Belgians and the new Persian tariff are instances to which this principle would properly be applied. Besides these negative precautions, the policy will be concerned with various sorts of active measures, and especially with commercial development, including the construction of railways by British enterprise. Those are the broad lines on which the problem we have stated must be solved. It is thus, and only thus, that India's interest in the Persian question can be secured once for all.

Each section of the frontier has its serious problems. On one section only is the crisis acute. As soon as he arrived in India Lord Curzon addressed himself with vigour to the task of solving the difficulties with Tibet. Those difficulties had been allowed to drag on, and had become greatly aggravated by years of inaction. The Anglo-Chinese Convention relating to Sikkim and Tibet was signed at Calcutta in March 1890. The general articles and regulations under the same instrument were signed at Darjeeling in December 1893. In both agreements the subsequent course of events disclosed a capital defect. The Tibetans obeyed, violated, or evaded their provisions as it pleased them; and, when the Indian authorities remonstrated, they replied that Tibet did not recognise the agreements, on the ground that they had been made over her head by third parties without her consent. At the beginning of 1899 the situation was as follows. The Convention of 1890 was violated by the Tibetans, who had occupied a tract of grazing land in Sikkim, on the Indian side of the boundary line, and had destroyed certain boundary pillars. The agreement of 1893 for the improvement of trade was nullified by

Tibetan obstruction, and especially by three acts inconsistent with its stipulations: (1) Yatung, the agreed mart, had been completely isolated from the rest of Tibet by a wall built immediately above it in the Chumbi valley; (2) Tibetan traders were not allowed to come to Yatung; (3) Indian goods, admitted free into Tibet in accordance with the stipulations, were subjected to a duty of 10 per cent. at Phari, the first important town on the road into Tibet. The result was that there was no trade at Yatung, and the agreement of 1893 was a complete failure.

Less than three months after his arrival in India Lord Curzon wrote to the Chinese Amban at Lhasa offering to make a frontier concession in return for the moving of the mart from Yatung to Phari. The Amban returned a most evasive reply. On the failure of this proposal the Viceroy attempted to get into direct communication with the rulers of Tibet. This attempt was persisted in for more than two years; it was completely unsuccessful, and the Viceroy's letters were returned unanswered. At the beginning of 1902 no improvement whatever had been achieved; and the patience of the Government of India was being sorely tried.

Not only was there no improvement, but a new and very serious danger was discovered to be threatening. At the very time when the Dalai Lama was returning without ceremony the Viceroy's letter, he was openly corresponding and negotiating with another European Power. Tibet was throwing herself into the arms of Russia; and her Government was committing that last kind of folly which alone is fatal to rulers within the range of India's power. The folly which, in the eighteenth century, brought ruin to Tipu Sultan, and, in the nineteenth century, caused the fall of Shere Ali and of Theebaw, was being re-enacted in the twentieth century by the infatuated Lamas of Tibet.

For nearly a generation, by means of scientific expeditions, and more recently by means of the Mongolian Buriats, Russia had been pursuing the policy of penetration in Tibet. For many years these efforts were not followed by any visible results; but at last, in 1900 and in 1901, the Tsar and his Government had the satisfaction of receiving two missions from Lhasa, headed by the Buriat Lama, Dorjief, who was the bearer of autograph letters

from the Dalai Lama to the Emperor and to his Foreign Minister. Following on these events rumours were current in Peking, in St Petersburg, in Sikkim, in Nepal, and in Tibet itself, that advantage had been taken of this exchange of civilities to conclude an agreement in a practical form. News was also brought to Simla that attempts were being made to drill the Tibetan troops at Lhasa, and that breechloaders and other munitions of war had already been secretly imported into the capital.

The Government of India was seriously concerned with this new state of things. They did not spring to the conclusion that Russia contemplated an immediate invasion of India by the north-east; but they saw clearly that certain definite evils must follow from the establishment of Russian influence in Lhasa, or even from the growth of a belief, however groundless, in the minds of the Tibetans that Russia would support them in their dealings with the southern Power. It was easy to foresee three principal evils which would follow from this cause. Firstly, the Tibetans would be encouraged to resist the attempt of the Indian Government to place Indo-Tibetan relations on a better footing. Secondly, the reorganisation of the Tibetan army would lay a heavy burden on Nepal, which had already once before been successfully invaded through the passes, and might seriously curtail the supply of Gurkhas for our Indian regiments. Thirdly, the establishment of the influence of a foreign rival and the exclusion of Indian influence in a country immediately bordering on the Indian Empire must exercise a very disquieting effect on the minds of the native population, and especially on a somewhat susceptible material, the minds of the population of Bengal.

Between July 1901 and November 1903 discussions of importance took place between Simla, London, and St Petersburg. Count Lamsdorff declared that the Tibetan mission to Russia 'was chiefly concerned with matters of religion, and had no political or diplomatic object or character.' The Russian ambassador was authorised to deny the existence of any convention about Tibet, either with Tibet itself or with China, or with any one else, and to disclaim all desire to interfere in that country's affairs. But he was also repeatedly instructed to express his Government's concern at any similar interference on the

part of the Indian authorities. The question was regarded by Russia as one of the integrity of China; and she stated that she might be compelled to take steps to safeguard her interests elsewhere in the event of any alteration in the *status quo*. On our part assurances were given to Russia that we had no desire to annex Tibetan territory, and, after the advance of the mission, that our sole object was to obtain satisfaction for affronts.

The Russian assurances have been accepted as satisfactory by the British Government, and it is certainly not the intention of this article to suggest that they were not given in good faith. But it is necessary to remember three things. In the first place, Russia has not denied the formation of a religious connexion. In the Buddhism of the Lamas, as often in the history of Islam, religion is politics, and politics are religion. The entire national life of the Tibetans is centred in the observance of a ritual; and he who patronises their religion patronises also their existence as a state. In the second place, although we may be satisfied with Russia's attitude, that satisfaction cannot be extended to the effect which her encouragement has produced in the minds of the rulers of Tibet. In the official and journalistic letters from the mission there is overwhelming proof that the fixed idea of the support of Russia has been the mainspring of the Tibetan resistance to our claims. And in the third place, as we know to our cost, the promises given by one member of the Russian Government are not regarded as binding by other members.

These, then, were the factors at work when, in 1902, in consequence of the altered circumstances, the Government of India began a more vigorous course of action. Mr White, the political officer in Sikkim, was sent with a small escort to the violated section of the frontier, and caused the Tibetan intruders to withdraw. An attempt was made to continue negotiations on the disputed topics; but, owing to the more than usually obstinate obstruction of both the Amban and the Lamas, this year's diplomacy was as completely fruitless as its predecessors had been. The patience of the Viceroy's Council was exhausted; and in a despatch to Lord George Hamilton, dated from Delhi, January 8, 1903, after setting out at length the *circumstances* and reasons, they proposed to accept and

act upon a suggestion of the Chinese Government for a conference, subject to the conditions that the meeting should take place at Lhasa, that a British mission with an armed escort should proceed to that city, and that a representative of the Tibetan Government should take part in the proceedings.

The Cabinet declined to sanction this proposal, on the ground of deference to Russian feelings while discussions were proceeding. In April a modified proposal was accepted for the despatch of a mission a few miles into Tibetan territory to negotiate at Khambajong. The Amban and the Dalai Lama accepted this arrangement; and Colonel Younghusband, the British commissioner, with other officials and a small escort, reached the place of meeting in July 1903. The Tibetans declined to negotiate, and demanded that the mission should withdraw. After several months had been wasted, a further advance to Gyangtse, with a largely increased escort, was finally sanctioned on November 6. After further delays, pauses, attempts at negotiation, and finally sharp fighting, this move was accomplished by April 12, 1904. At this point the Tibetans began to make war upon us in earnest. Reinforcements were sent from India, bringing the total strength of the mission up to some 4500; and on May 12 Mr Brodrick announced in the House of Commons that 'unless the Tibetans consent to negotiate at Gyangtse the mission must advance to Lhasa.' Colonel Younghusband sought to forward a communication to the Amban, naming June 25 as the last day for the appearance of competent negotiators; but the Tibetan general at Gyangtse returned the letter to the British camp. The advance to Lhasa will, therefore, take place; though what is to happen when we get there, especially if the Lamas still prove obdurate, it is not easy to say.

Looking back over the history of the mission during the last twelve months we see a series of long halts, reiterated ultimatums, and the offering of repeated opportunities for repentance to opponents who as repeatedly refuse to treat, and call upon us to retire. We see the mission moving on from stage to stage with a consumption of time far greater than even the unprecedented difficulties of transport could require, always forbidden to advance further until compelled to do so by the resist-

less force of circumstances. We see the natives encouraged by this air of indecision, the openings for resistance multiplied, and a move which might have been a swift and decisive enterprise transformed into a long and exasperating campaign. For the unnecessary expense, danger, and delay of this method of proceeding the responsibility lies clearly on the Cabinet at home. Had they consented eighteen months ago to the proposal of the Indian Government to advance to Lhasa, the probability is that the Tibetan problem would have been solved ere now. Not only did they veto this proposal, but, as the papers show, they more than once imposed restrictions and delays on the subsequent plans which were submitted; and, instead of giving a free hand to the Viceroy in Council, they evidently led the latter to believe that no proceedings would be viewed with satisfaction which were not conducted on the lines indicated above. With this experience behind us, is it too much to hope that the remaining work of the mission—the march to Lhasa and the conclusion of a settlement—will be left in the hands of the Indian Government with a minimum of interference from home?

What form that settlement will take is a question into which it would be useless to enter now. The 'Times' correspondent has already suggested the division of Tibet into parts, and the recognition of the Grand Lama of Tashi-Lhumpo, near Shigatse, as ruler of the south. Another suggestion of a less promising character is the introduction of a member of the Nepalese reigning house. The putting forward of these schemes is premature. We do not know what government the British commissioner will find at Lhasa; still less can we conjecture what government he will leave behind. Nothing can yet be said of the treaty to be imposed upon the Tibetans, or of the guarantees by which it may be enforced. But that the settlement, when it is effected, will be nearer to the original proposals of the Indian Government than to the milk-and-water suggestions of the British Cabinet, may already be taken as certain. The capital aim of these proceedings is to cry a permanent halt to Russian ambitions for a protectorate over Tibet, with all its consequences of unrest and apprehension on that one secluded part of India's frontier to which rival European influences

have not yet crept close. When this has been accomplished, a boon will have been conferred upon India not inferior to any of the long list of services which the British power has rendered to its ward.

When we turn to Lord Curzon's achievements in internal progress, it is evident that these pages would not suffice even for the barest catalogue of the items of his work. If any one is anxious to read in summary the record of a great administration, he may turn to the series of six long speeches, delivered by the Viceroy at Calcutta in the course of the annual Budget debates. For us it must suffice to select two or three examples of an activity which has been surpassed by no other ruler of India, and has left no branch of public work untouched. In a remarkable passage in the last of those speeches (March 1904), Lord Curzon dwells upon the motives which have led him to concentrate so vast a power of energy upon the task of administrative reform.

'When I came out to India every public body or society without exception that addressed me urged me to pursue a policy of administrative reform. Spare us, they said, adventure on the North-West Frontier, extend railways and irrigation, give us a sound currency, develop the internal resources of the country, promote educational and industrial advancement, manage plague and famine with a due regard to the feelings of the community, free the government machinery from the many impediments to its proper working. I took these authorities at their word, and I have ever since pursued administrative reform—though not, I hope, to the exclusion of other and equally important objects—with an ardour that has never slackened. . . .

'I say in no spirit of pride, but as a statement of fact, that reform has been carried through every branch and department of the administration, that abuses have been swept away, anomalies remedied, the pace quickened, and the standards raised. It has not always been a popular policy, but, if I am at liberty to say so, it has been whole-hearted and sincere. And yet what criticism is now more familiar to me than that no one in India desires administrative reform at all, and that the only benefactor of the people is he who gives them political concessions? Those are not my views. I sympathise most deeply with the aspirations of Indians towards greater national unity, and with their desire to play a part in the

public life of the country. But I do not think that the salvation of India is to be sought on the field of politics at the present stage of her development; and it is not my conception of statesmanship to earn a cheap applause by offering so-called boons for which the country is not ready, and for which my successors, and not I, would have to pay the price. The country and its educated classes are in my view making a steady advance on the path of intellectual and moral progress, and they have every reason to be proud of what they have achieved. That progress will be continued so long as they listen to the wise voices among their own leaders, but it will be imperilled and thrown back if it is associated with a perpetual clamour for constitutional change, and with unreasoning abuse of those who do not grant it.' ('Gazette of India.')

This passage strikes the keynote of Lord Curzon's administration. It explains why there has never been a Viceroy more generally respected by the whole community, or more thoroughly unpopular with so many particular sects. It explains why he has been so furiously accused of partiality by sections as alien from each other as the English military and the Bengali Babus; why many Europeans have condemned him as 'pro-native,' and many natives as 'pro-European'; and why his Government has been denounced for revolution and sneered at for reaction by newspapers appearing in the same city on the same day. There is perhaps no incident which illustrates more vividly the violence of Indian controversy and the strength of purpose of Lord Curzon's Government than the story of the reform of higher education which that body is now engaged in carrying out. And because this story exhibits most completely the progress of a measure of reform through all its stages—the preliminary inquiry, the report of a commission, the public discussion, and finally the legislation—it may be chosen here for treatment as a typical instance of this department of Lord Curzon's work.

Some account of the abuses which had grown up with, and were threatening to choke, the Indian universities, as well as of the remedies which were proposed for the mischief, appeared in this Review in January 1903. The root of the evil lies in this, that the chief stimulus to the *growth* of the colleges has been the commercial struggle

for degrees; with the result that education has been sacrificed to examination, and knowledge to 'cram.' A fierce competition for pupils has arisen between the colleges; and many of the weaker institutions are miserably ill equipped with money, with teaching staff, with buildings, with educational instruments, with everything that a college ought to possess. The highest product of the system, the winner of a degree, owes his success, not to intelligent study, but to mnemonic exercise; he is untrained and undeveloped alike in intellect and character, and in a few months or years he is wont to forget everything that he has learnt.

Lord Curzon was more impressed than had been any of his predecessors with the seriousness of the evil; and he gave early intimation in his speeches, as Chancellor of the Calcutta University, that he intended to do what could be done by government intervention to remedy this state of things. In 1901 he called a conference of experts at Simla, and early in 1902 he appointed a commission, with Mr (now Sir Thomas) Raleigh for its chairman, to inquire into the subject of university reform. In the summer of the same year the Commission reported in favour of several drastic changes, including the conferring upon the universities of teaching in addition to examining functions, the reduction of the numbers of the senates or governing bodies, the conversion of fellowships from life-appointments to appointments for five years, the exercise of a much more stringent control by the universities over the colleges by means of the process of affiliation and disaffiliation, and the prescribing for the latter of a minimum scale of fees.

The report of the Commission was received with a storm of protest by the native press and by the leaders of the educated classes. The issue between the Government and the Babus was a simple one. Quality, not quantity, was the object of the reformers; quantity, not quality, was the object of the father of the native youth. On this issue Babudom was shaken to its very foundations. The accusation was freely spread that the Government wished to root out higher education because of the spirit of disaffection to which the higher educated were supposed to be prone. Some faint colour was given to this suggestion by the unfortunate language used by the

Commission when they recommended that 'fees must not be fixed so low as to tempt a poor student of but ordinary ability to follow a university course which it is not to his real interest to undertake.' Of course the person aimed at was not a student at all, but a mere place-hunter with a definitely non-academic object, and with no studious quality or feeling except the parrot-like aptitude of his tribe. But the opening was too good to be lost. The Bengali member of the Commission, Mr Justice Banerjee, saw his opportunity and attacked this proposal and others in a vigorous and dignified 'note of dissent.' 'The poor student of but ordinary ability' became the hero of Bengal. The shades of Colet and Erasmus, the glories of Paris and Bologna, were invoked. Another line of onslaught was based on the personal history of the reformers. Both Lord Curzon and Sir Thomas Raleigh had been undergraduates of Balliol. Both had been fellows of All Souls. Was it not evident, to quote the words of the anonymous scribbler who wrote 'The Failure of Lord Curzon,' that they were pursuing the well-known 'Balliol-cum-Eton policy of restricting education to the rich, the good old Tory policy of keeping the people in ignorance?' Was not the Viceroy 'glowing with eagerness to raise the universities of the East to some distant approach to the "superior" culture and exclusiveness of his beloved Balliol'? Whatever the line of argument employed, the whole of Bengal, and the majority of the educated classes in the rest of India, were agreed in expressing the opinion that the changes indicated by the Commission would be nothing short of a disaster to their cause.

The Government took time for its decision. There was the usual consultation of authorities, and in the course of this long process the public excitement for the time died away. The local Governments advised in favour of certain sweeping changes. The universities, like their more famous western sisters, expressed themselves opposed to any project of constitutional reform. In November of last year Sir Thomas Raleigh introduced the government measure in the Council. The Bill provided for a large reduction in the membership of the senates, for the abolition of life-fellowships, and for some *improvements* in the constitution of the syndicate—

executive committees of the senates; but it proposed that the proportion of elected fellows should be considerably increased. It laid down the principles which were to regulate affiliation and disaffiliation, and shifted the responsibility for final action in this matter on to the shoulders of the Government. It provided for the issue of regulations by the senates, subject to some measure of government control. It contained, however, no proposal for a minimum limit of fees. A number of representatives of education were added to the Council; and the Bill was proceeded with at once. Mr Gokhale, the distinguished Mahratta, one of the heroes of the Fergusson College, led the attack. In December 1903 the Bill was referred to a select committee; in February 1904 the committee reported; and the final stage was reached in March. Some important, though not vital, concessions had been made by the Government; but a hundred and two amendments on the paper testified to the vigour of the little group of members who championed the Babu cause. Finally, after a debate of three days' duration, the Bill was passed into law.

The result was much more than an official triumph, a mere forcing of a government measure through the Council by the government vote. In the earlier stages of the controversy it had been matter for genuine distress to the reformers that, apart from all the factious and interested opposition, so many eminent and honest men had joined in offering a vehement resistance to the changes which were presently embodied in Sir Thomas Raleigh's Bill. But, as the discussion proceeded, the strength of the government case impressed itself upon the minds of even the native members of the Council; there were defections from ranks usually united in opposition; at the end only three or four members supported Mr Gokhale. If we may judge from the attitude of the native members, this Act is now accepted in India by moderate men of every party as a wise and well-considered effort to remedy a serious disorder in the social fabric. To quote the concluding words of the speech of Lord Curzon:—

‘I am not so sanguine as to think that because we pass this Bill a new heaven and a new earth will straightway dawn over our higher education in India. We shall still be confronted with conditions inseparable from Indian character, Indian

economics, and Indian life. Other reformers will be called for after us, and will, perhaps, do better work than we. But our efforts will mark a definite stage in the educational advancement of the country. It will check tendencies that were leading to demoralisation, if not to ruin; and it will provide opportunities which it will rest with others—Indian as well as European—to turn to good use when we have disappeared and are forgotten.' ('Gazette of India,' March 1904.)

We turn now to a fascinating chapter in the history of Lord Curzon's government. Opinions may differ widely as to what has been the best achievement of the period; the work of foreign policy, or the list of administrative reforms, or the body of legislation, or the improvement of the army, or the development of public works, or the conquest of famine, or the industrial expansion, or the currency measures and the series of successes in finance. For our part we hold almost more worthy of attention a piece of work less widely known or spoken of, which will nevertheless stand high in the history of the epoch as a work of statesmanlike foresight and fruitful in result. We refer to the dealings of the Government of India with the native chiefs.

Sir W. Lee-Warner, in his admirable 'Life of Lord Dalhousie,' takes us back to the days when very different doctrines underlay the British policy towards the native states—the doctrines of independence and international status, non-interference, classification by categories, and annexation by lapse. The great Viceroy of fifty years ago divided native states into three classes, independent, tributary, and created. The first-named were foreign countries. Treaties made with them were 'international contracts.' Their rulers received no protection from the British Government, and no interference in their internal affairs. They regulated their own successions; and the Government of India believed itself to have no more right to interfere with the successions of those princes than it had to meddle with the succession of France. The tributary states occupied an intermediate place. The British sanction was required for their adoptions; and that sanction might be given or withheld. In the third class, that of grantee princedoms, annexation followed automatically on failure of heirs. In the opinion of Sir W. Lee-Warner, Lord Dalhousie's annexations, seven in number, 'added

immensely to the strength of British rule.' In the general opinion of Indian historians, nothing strengthened the same institution more than the solemn reversal of that policy after the Mutiny. It is possible that both opinions may be correct. It is possible that the policy of annexation, inflexibly continued for half a century, might have resulted in such an accession of revenue to the Government, and of material prosperity to the governed, as might have enabled the former to continue to flourish without needing the support or fearing the hostility of the native chiefs. But, by the common consent of most authorities, Queen Victoria, when she reversed that system, chose a better way. The reward of that choice is seen on every page of fifty years of history—in the continuous growth of the loyalty of the princes and of the power and prosperity of their states.

Sir William Hunter, in his 'Life of Lord Mayo,' analysed the principles of the momentous change of policy towards the princes which was initiated by Lord Canning and pursued by Lord Mayo and his successors. The same writer, in his delightful collected essays, posthumously published, traced the growth of the new spirit of loyalty and voluntary service down to the burst of patriotism after Penjdeh and the formation of the Imperial Service Troops. The future historian of Lord Curzon's work in India will be able to point to a further great improvement, not only in the relations between the chiefs and the Government, but also in the standard of duty recognised by the native rulers and in the character of their rule.

Great indeed had been the advance in half a century, if we look back from 1899, the year after Lord Curzon's arrival, to 1849, when, in the words of Sir Charles Napier's striking minute, less than half true but none the less significant, every native prince regarded us with 'venomous hatred.' But greater still was the improvement which was called for if the native states of India were to remain worthy of their high place in the Empire, and if the standard of their government was to approximate to the standards of the day. The Government of India was out of touch with the native rulers. No doubt the Government believed in the importance of preserving native states; no doubt it felt an interest in the personal welfare

of the chiefs and their subjects, and wished to see the members of the aristocracy trained to responsible duties and employed in high careers. With excellent intentions, it had failed to impress those sentiments upon the minds of the rulers. There was not enough personal contact or stimulus to exertion; the system of education which had been devised for native chiefs was falling rapidly to pieces; and nothing had been done to remedy that lack of outlet for ambition which was the chief excuse for indolence and the chief cause of discontent. The result was that the native rulers as a body were infected with apathy. The 'advanced' section, who had adopted European habits, were wont to waste their time in prolonged tours of pleasure on the European continent, and not only neglected their duties during their absence, but viewed them with distaste on their return. The more old-fashioned princes were decaying also, but decaying in the good old-fashioned way. They had shut themselves up in their palaces, and the *purdah* lay heavy over what went on within. There were some bright exceptions. There were not a few good chiefs with high ideals, ruling well and wisely; but the general trend was towards decay. The whole administration was decaying with its rulers; and, amid the general hum of Indian progress, the native states alone were not advancing with the times.

To the task of stimulating the native princes to recognise higher standards of duty Lord Curzon addressed himself with a vigour which, since the great days of Lord Mayo, no Viceroy had displayed. Less than a year after his arrival in India, he was entertained by the Maharaja Sindhia at a banquet in Gwalior. In his speech on that occasion, a speech which deserves to be compared with the famous oration of Lord Mayo to the Rajput princes, Lord Curzon defined the native chief's position.

'The native chief has become, by our policy, an integral factor in the Imperial organisation of India. He is concerned not less than the Viceroy or the Lieutenant-Governor in the administration of the country. I claim him as my colleague and partner. He cannot remain *vis-à-vis* of the Empire a loyal subject of her Majesty the Queen-Empress, and *vis-à-vis* of his own people a frivolous or irresponsible despot. He must justify and not abuse the authority committed to him; *he must* be the servant as well as the master of his pec

He must learn that his revenues are not secured to him for his own selfish gratification, but for the good of his subjects; that his internal administration is only exempt from correction in proportion as it is honest; and that his *gadi* is not intended to be a divan of indulgence, but the stern seat of duty. His figure should not merely be known on the polo-ground, or on the racecourse, or in the European hotel. These may be his relaxations, and I do not say that they are not legitimate relaxations; but his real work, his princely duty, lies among his own people. By this standard shall I, at any rate, judge him; by this test will he in the long run, as a political institution, perish or survive.'

Two serious obstacles to the success of this policy required to be cleared away. The education provided for the princes under the system founded by Lord Mayo was not satisfactory; the chiefs' colleges were defectively organised, and had failed to conciliate the general support of the chiefs. When the youthful noble had received a training there was a lack of outlet for his talent; and he was apt to be especially discouraged by the barring of the higher openings in the hereditary calling of Indian nobles, the career of arms.

Lord Curzon embarked on a complete reform of the chiefs' colleges. The experiment of adapting an English institution to an Indian need had certainly not wholly failed. The colleges, four in number, had for years been managed by picked officers with that energy and devotion to duty which picked officers in India bring to their daily work. They had turned out many promising pupils; and that fine personal influence on character, which is the highest fruit of an English public school, had been stamped upon many a young Indian noble by men like Mr Chester Macnaghten at Rajkot and Colonel Loch at Ajmere. Nevertheless the results as a whole were disappointing. The colleges had failed to secure in a proper measure the confidence and support of the ruling chiefs. They needed more money and they needed more pupils. The Mayo College at Ajmere could accommodate one hundred pupils; in 1899 it had less than fifty on its rolls. The chiefs of Rajputana seemed unwilling to come forward; so did the chiefs of Central India and the chiefs of the Punjab. The main cause of failure lay in certain radical defects in the course of studies. Too

much attention was paid to English, and even to superfluous accomplishments such as playing on the piano; too little to vernacular training, on which every native's future usefulness depends.

Lord Curzon undertook to carry out the necessary reforms. Early in 1902 a conference was held in Calcutta at which representatives both of the chiefs and of the school authorities were present, and a committee was appointed which recommended a number of reforms. In March 1904 a further conference on the same subject was summoned to meet at Ajmere. In consequence of these discussions it appears to have been decided to close the college at Indore, to discard the stereotyped course of education, to strengthen the teaching staff, to remodel the examinations, and to transfer the control of the colleges to the Indian Foreign Office. Towards the cost of these measures the Government announced that it would make an annual grant. It should be added that, as the reports have not been published, it is difficult to distinguish between what has been proposed and what is being actually carried out.

In these reforms the Government asked for the co-operation of the princes; and it was given without stint. The native chiefs are very sensitive to comments from high quarters, and the Viceroy lost no occasion of stimulating them to help. At Alwar he praised the Maharaja for his fluent English, for his loyalty to the Mayo College, for the number of pupils who went thither from his state. At Ajmere he deplored the absence of pupils from the important state of Udaipur. At Lahore he urged the chiefs to greater liberality; at Rajkot he commended the Thakors for their consistent support. The appeal of the Viceroy met with a general response. Promises of money were forthcoming from nobles who had previously given little or nothing; pupils were sent from states which had sent none before. The roll of the Mayo College, which numbered only forty-four names in 1899, now numbers over ninety. Important chiefs flocked to the Ajmere conference; and included in their number were such names as Udaipur, Gwalior, Jaipur, Bikanir, Bahawalpur, Kotah, Kutch, Orcha, Sailana, and Gondal. The Maharaja of Udaipur, child of the Sun, conservative, retiring, old-fashioned, and formerly

helper of the college, actually came forward to preside over a committee, composed exclusively of princes, appointed to prepare a scheme for the religious education of the boys. Here was the fruit of the policy of co-operation. In the chiefs' committee, working on the reform of the colleges, was seen the living germ of a great institution, destined, perhaps, to spread out far beyond this early limit, and to gather up the chiefs of India in one great federation for Imperial ends.

But the Government of India was not satisfied with reforming the education of the nobles. It was necessary to take a wider survey, and to consider the prospects of the Indian aristocracy for leading useful and patriotic lives. For those who were already, or were about to become, rulers, there was no need to look about them. Their work in the fullest measure lay ready to their hands. For the rest—for the younger members of the ruling houses, for the non-ruling nobles, for the great landowners and their sons, there was indeed no lack of useful occupation, whether in the management of their own properties, or in the civil administration of native states, or in the native armies and the Imperial Service Troops. The Indian aristocracy were not satisfied with that. They were moved by a higher ambition, which they could not gratify. They cherished one supreme desire, and it was denied. The nobles of India wished to be allowed to serve their Emperor in the Indian army, and no amount of honours and distinctions could suffice to console them for their exclusion from its ranks.

From time to time the idea of admission had been put forward, agitated, even officially considered; one scheme, which came to nothing, of an Indian Sandhurst, had been associated with the Duke of Connaught's name. The fear of the unknown had always triumphed; the fear of sowing dragon's teeth, and those tremendous scruples which restrain British Governments in India from innovation and organic change. The Government of Lord Curzon was the first to realise in this matter that the danger of refusal was becoming greater than the danger of acceptance, and that even in the regular army, as well as in administration, the co-operation of the nobles would widen and strengthen the basis on which the Empire rests. In the first year of the present

reign, and with his Majesty's cordial approval, Lord Curzon founded the Imperial Cadet Corps.

The scheme was carried out as an experiment on a modest scale. In two years twenty-three cadets have been enrolled. The full course for a commission extends over three years. Seven cadets are now engaged upon their final year's training, and will, if they qualify, receive commissions and be employed on the staff, or on other extra-regimental duties. The 'Pioneer,' which speaks with great authority on military subjects, warns the cadets against forming false hopes of success in this career. It points out that the profession of arms is now one of the most arduous that can be adopted; that, in the light of Lord Kitchener's recent memorandum, the modern staff-officer must be the possessor of all the talents; and that a cadet's course of training affords but slender preparation for such a purely professional task. It may perhaps be wise to issue warnings against exaggerated hopes of easy and rapid success. But it would be most unwise and short-sighted to belittle the vast possibilities of the cadet-corps scheme. Natives have risen to positions of eminence in the civil service, with especial distinction on the judicial side. The same class of person has also shown a certain capacity for discharging with credit the duties of higher administrative posts. But the class which furnishes cadets is new material for the service of the Sirkar. It is not from this class that native magistrates or native judges are drawn. The highest class of Indian native is taking up anew its old hereditary calling; and all the resources of science are at its disposal to perfect itself under new conditions in a career in which it excelled for centuries before we conquered India. What ground is there for thinking that these men, with their feet on the first step of the ladder, will throw away their opportunity and be satisfied with an empty name? What ground is there for thinking that when Indian sepoy excel as sepoys, and Indian subadars excel as subadars, the new type of Indian Imperial officer will not also prove itself in the highest degree worthy of its rank? It seems to us more reasonable to expect the contrary; to predict the rise of a new class of skilful soldiers from the ancient *stock* of Rajput heroes and Mahratta leaders and Afghan

conquerors; and to see in Lord Curzon's scheme the small beginning of a larger movement in which an Empire, having opened to her sons an honourable career from which they were excluded, sees her strength increased by their responsive effort.

We have dealt now with three general measures affecting institutions; the reform of the chiefs' colleges, the beginning of a system of chiefs' conferences, and the formation of the Imperial Cadet Corps. It is possible that a fourth measure of this class may be attempted, affecting the scope and status of the Imperial Service Troops. These forces now number some 15,500; many of the contingents are in a high state of efficiency; since 1890 they have seen active service in Hunza Nagar, Chitral, Tirah, China, and Somaliland, and have acquitted themselves well. But it has always been felt that the system on its present basis is but a halfway house to some more solid form of military federation; and Lord Curzon, in a speech at Jodhpur, the home of two of the finest Imperial Service regiments, suggested a policy which has since been elaborated by the Aga Khan, and which may presently be taken up by the Government and the ruling chiefs.

So much for the reform of institutions. It is a class of measures which would lose the greater part of its value if it were not balanced by other elements of great importance in the policy of the Indian Government towards the native chiefs. Direct intimate personal relations between the Government and each individual ruler; direct stimulus to individual exertion; direct discouragement of individual idleness—these are the most essential conditions of success. The present Viceroy has paid a quite unprecedented number of visits to native states; he has kept up a private correspondence with their rulers with his own hand; he has continuously brought to bear, alike on the great ruling princes, on the wealthy Maharajas of Bengal, and on the wild chiefs of the frontier, both in east and west, that very powerful pressure which only the head of the Government in person can exert. The great test of the chiefs was furnished by the famine; in that crisis they were made to realise that their credit with the Government depended on the earnestness of their efforts to approximate in famine work to British standards; and it is gratifying to read, in the report of the last Famine

Commission, that the members were 'struck with the advance made in this famine by most of the Durbars towards bringing their relief into line with the humane policy of the British Government.'

The good results of this influence have been large and numerous; only one or two striking instances can be quoted here. The premier state of Hyderabad was first among the native states of India, not only in size and rank and dignity, but also in maladministration and torpor and decay. The Nizam, a prince of good abilities and a fine sense of honour, was averse from public business. His state was crammed full of abuses; his finances were decaying; his officials were notoriously obstructing the efforts of the British Residents. The great unsettled grievance of Berar had now lain in abeyance for more than twenty years; and the most experienced Residents had been wont to warn their Governments of the danger of touching on this ancient sore. Lord Curzon invited the Nizam to Calcutta, and paid him a return visit at Hyderabad. The Nizam made promises, and kept them with scrupulous fidelity. He renewed his interest in public business; he reduced his personal expenditure; he accepted the services of a British officer to reorganise his finance. The Nizam's famine administration was officially commended by the Secretary of State. Above all, the question of Berar was finally and honourably settled; and in the settlement the Nizam agreed also to make a large reduction in the number of his irregular troops. There are plenty of reforms left to accomplish; but no one will deny that, in the first few years of the new century, Hyderabad has made a substantial advance.

Another instance of awakening is the case of Jaipur. The Maharaja of Jaipur had been a recluse in his palace; the government was in a Babu's hands. Not only is the Maharaja now administering his own affairs, but he has filled the position of adviser to the Indian Government on points of ceremony, and has appeared before the English public as a model leader of orthodox Hindus. Emulating each other in the race for distinction by merit are two young princes of high qualities—the Maharaja of Gwalior and the Maharaja of Bikanir. The child of a race of turbulent forefathers, himself a model pupil of the Aitchison College, the young Nawab of Bahawal-

burns with zeal to show by hard work that he deserves the honour of his installation by the Viceroy. Everywhere among the ranks of the princes we see the awakening of conscience and the rise of new standards of Imperial duty and new conceptions of what loyalty means.

There is another side to the picture. Of course not all the princes have risen to the Viceroy's appeal. There have been, and are, some cases of persistent neglect of duty; and for these the Government has only stern discouragement in word and deed. There is a story that a Babu, who sat outside the Viceroy's tent during an interview which had been granted to an unruly and troublesome Nawab from beyond the border, reported that the chief had issued from the Lord Sahib's presence 'sweated and surprised.' The hand of the Government has fallen heavily on Central India. Two ruling chiefs, tried and convicted of capital offences, have been deposed. The bearer of the proud name of Holkar has been permitted to abdicate, and his son rules in his stead.

If we look round for a sign of the general adoption by the princes of the Imperial burden, we find it in the Delhi Durbar. Sixty-six chiefs attended the Durbar of 1877. One hundred and two chiefs attended the Durbar of 1903. In 1877 they attended as spectators of an Imperial pageant. In 1903 they attended as participators in an Imperial rite. Every important ruling chief, who was not either excused for poverty or prevented by an unavoidable reason, attended the last Durbar. In that great ceremony the chiefs of India signified their active acceptance of the policy of co-operation; and with that acceptance a new era in Indian history has begun.

Art. XI.—THE LIFE AND PHILOSOPHY OF HERBERT SPENCER.

1. *An Autobiography*. By Herbert Spencer. Two vols. London: Williams and Norgate, 1904.
 2. *Social Statics*. By Herbert Spencer. London: Chapman, 1850.
 3. *A System of Synthetic Philosophy*. By Herbert Spencer. Ten vols. London: Williams and Norgate, 1862-96.
- And other works by the same author.

It was eminently in accordance with the fitness of things that the philosopher of evolution should end by writing the evolution of himself; and in spite of its ponderous length and other palpable faults, the result is a very interesting human document. If Spinoza said that he would treat of God and the mind exactly as if he were concerned with lines, planes, and solids, Spencer analyses himself in these pages much as he might dissect a natural history specimen. If we add to the outspoken candour of its self-analysis the unconscious revelations of mind and character of which it is full, and the details which it furnishes of his early upbringing and the history of his ideas, it is manifest that the two volumes give us a much more intimate knowledge than we have hitherto possessed, both of the antecedents of the man and the *milieu* in which his work was produced. Consequently they must be an important aid to a better estimate of that work, both in its strength and its limitations. The history of an idea or a set of ideas is often the best criticism that can be offered. Of the 'Autobiography' itself, as a literary product, it would be easy to speak too harshly. Some allowance must be made for the circumstances of its composition. Dictated as a rough outline of facts so early as 1875, it was taken up again in 1886 after the last and most serious breakdown in Spencer's health, when more serious mental work was impossible. A little time was spent daily in putting the memoranda into shape; but even this was not done in chronological order. Haunted, as he was apt to be, by the thought that he might not survive to complete the record, he decided to take up first the sections which he deemed of *most* importance, passing thus freely back and forward

from one period of his life to another, and gradually filling up the gaps of the narrative as destiny proved kinder than his fears.

Such a desultory mode of composition explains many redundancies and repetitions; and the ebb-tide of mental energy during which much of it took shape may also explain the frequent slackness of style and the prolixity of non-significant detail through which the reader has often to plough his way. There is a lack of proportion in the narrative, especially as it advances in the second volume. Sometimes it is as if the writer were at the mercy of his memoranda; and we have a chronicle of journeys and incidents possessing no interest beyond the fact that they happened at a certain date, and help Spencer to block out the blank spaces of his memory. At other points an association of ideas betrays him into general reflections; and he airs for a page or two some of his favourite 'nonconformities,' with which readers of his works are already sufficiently familiar. It is at times—an unkind reader might say in the author's style—as if the centres of inhibition had temporarily abdicated their function. Shall we say that such causes as these help to explain the 1098 pages to which the volumes run? or must this damning fact be ascribed to an egotism so massive and unconscious that it loses all the pettiness of ordinary vanity? Spencer makes an excuse for the egotistic suggestion which the autobiographical form necessarily involves, but it does not seem to have occurred to him that the scale of his posthumous monument would be taken as the true measure of his self-absorption.

Still, after all these grave deductions have been made, the 'Autobiography' somehow succeeds in holding the reader's interest and even engaging his sympathy. It lies in the nature of the man who is its subject that we find in it neither the beautiful simplicity of character which charms us in Darwin, nor the vivid personality which gives light and animation to Huxley's 'Life.' Spencer's story owes its attraction chiefly to its frankness, to the transparent honesty of the narrator, and the absence of all affectation or pose. Paradoxical as the statement may seem in view of Spencer's achievement, the mind here portrayed, save for the command of scientific facts and the wonderful faculty of generalisation, is common-

place in the range of its ideas; neither intellectually nor morally is the nature sensitive to the finest issues. Almost uneducated except for a fair acquaintance with mathematics and the scientific knowledge which his own tastes led him to acquire, with the prejudices and limitations of middle-class English Nonconformity, but untouched by its religion, Spencer appears in the early part of his life as a somewhat ordinary young man. His ideals and habits did not differ perceptibly from those of hundreds of intelligent and straight-living Englishmen of his class. And to the end, in spite of his cosmic outlook, there remains this strong admixture of the British Philistine, giving a touch almost of banality to some of his sayings and doings. But, just because the picture is so faithfully drawn, giving us the man in his habit as he lived, with all his limitations and prejudices (and his own consciousness of these limitations, expressed sometimes with a passing regret, but oftener with a childish pride), with all his irritating pedantries and the shallowness of his emotional nature, we can balance against these defects his high integrity and unflinching moral courage, his boundless faith in knowledge and his power of conceiving a great ideal and carrying it through countless difficulties to ultimate realisation, and a certain boyish simplicity of character as well as other gentler human traits, such as his fondness for children, his dependence upon the society of his kind, and his capacity to form and maintain some life-long friendships. A kindly feeling for the narrator grows as we proceed; and most unprejudiced readers will close the book with a genuine respect and esteem for the philosopher in his human aspect.

For the student of Spencer's personality and ideas the opening chapters of his 'natural history,' in which he depicts the stock of which he came and the social surroundings in which his early years were passed, are probably the most valuable. This account of his ancestry—in particular the picture of his father and of the uncle who superintended his education—gives us already, 'in large letters,' some of the most striking intellectual and moral features which we associate with the philosopher. Spencer sums up the outstanding characteristics of the race as 'independence, self-asserting judgment, the tendency to nonconformity, and the unrestrained displ

their sentiments and opinions, more especially in respect of political, social, and ethical matters.' 'A general absence of reticence' and 'a tendency to disagree' are perhaps simpler and more illuminative phrases. Wesleyanism was traditional in the family; but 'they dissented more or less from that form of dissent.' In the case of Spencer's father, 'his repugnance to all living authority' led him to the Quakers' meeting-house—not, according to his son, because he had adopted any of their special tenets, but because 'the system was congruous to his nature in respect of its complete individualism and absence of ecclesiastical government.' Among negative traits of the family Spencer instances

'a comparatively small interest in gossip. Their conversation ever tended towards the impersonal. . . . There was no considerable leaning towards literature. Their discussions never referred to poetry or fiction or the drama. Nor was the reading of history carried to any extent by them. And though in early life they were all musical, the æsthetic in general had no great attractions. It was rather the scientific interpretations and moral aspects of things which occupied their thoughts.'

Ethical and political discussion were the very breath of their nostrils, and they were all reformers of a radical type.

The notes we get of Spencer's desultory and fragmentary education are also instructive. He had a boy's taste for natural history; and through helping his father to prepare experiments for his pupils he gained some acquaintance with physics and chemistry, and interest sufficient to carry him through a popular manual of the latter subject. In a skipping way he read a good deal in the medical and scientific periodicals lying about the house, besides books of travel and history from the various libraries of the town. During the years of his more systematic education under his uncle the chief feature of the boy was his repugnance to language-study and his leaky memory in that direction. To mathematics he took more kindly. The sum of his acquirements when he returned home at the age of sixteen was meagre enough.

'A fair amount of mathematics had been acquired; and accompanying discipline had strengthened my reasoning

powers. In the acquisition of languages but trifling success had been achieved; in French nothing beyond the early part of the grammar and a few pages of a phrase-book; in Greek a little grammar, I suppose, and such knowledge as resulted from rendering into English a few chapters of the New Testament; and in Latin some small ability to translate the easy books given to beginners—always, however, with more or less of blundering. Education at Hinton was not wide in its range. No history was read; there was no culture in general literature; nor had the concrete sciences any place in our course. Poetry and fiction were left out entirely.'

For the three and a half years following this, up till his twenty-first birthday, he was learning his profession as an engineer, and actively engaged on the London and Birmingham and other railways then in course of construction. During these important years his mental development continued in the same course. His mathematical studies were carried further; and his letters to his father at this time were filled with geometrical problems and solutions. He did not, however, proceed to the higher developments of the subject, for at a later period we hear of his succumbing to his 'constitutional idleness' in an attempt to master the differential calculus. The letters also discuss mechanical problems, and contain speculations on various questions in physics. Some lectures on chemistry in the town where he was placed prompted a resumption of that study; and the collection of the fossils disclosed by the railway cuttings through the blue lias clay led to some study of geology and to the purchase of Lyell's 'Principles,' then recently published. But beyond these scientific and practical interests there is no record of those stirrings of the higher life of the imagination or those impulses towards the deeper problems of philosophy and religion which commonly visit thoughtful youth in early years. Spencer, indeed, makes at this time the impression of a matter-of-fact young Englishman of an inventive turn of mind and with a distinct bent towards reflection on physical problems, but without much emotional depth of nature or delicacy of feeling, and with an almost singular absence in his composition of what Carlyle used to call the 'mystical' element, that is to say, the specifically religious and metaphysical impulse. The religious beliefs in which he had been

brought up were slowly losing their hold upon him without any sense of mental crisis, obviously because they had never been held with any emotional tenacity, had never, indeed, satisfied in his case any personal need. The creed of Christendom, he says in a passage which, by the shallowness of its analysis, sufficiently exemplifies his own defective endowment, was

'evidently alien to my nature, both emotional and intellectual. To many, and apparently to most, religious worship yields a species of pleasure. To me it never did so; unless, indeed, I count as such the emotion produced by sacred music. . . . But the expressions of adoration of a personal being, the utterance of laudations and the humble professions of obedience never found in me any echoes.'

At the age of twenty-one he gave up his engineering appointment in order to devote himself to working out the idea of an electro-magnetic engine which his father had conceived. But within a month it became apparent that the idea could not be practically applied. The next seven years of his life were of an unsettled and desultory character. More than once he was glad to accept temporary engineering engagements; but, with the exception of about eighteen months thus occupied, the time was passed in 'speculating and experimenting, leading to no practical results.' The idea underlying his restless intellectual activity was the hope of making some discovery or perfecting some mechanical device which might yield a commercial return. But, though some of the ideas looked promising enough, and one contrivance was actually patented, the labour was in vain so far as its immediate purpose was concerned. The range of these speculations and experiments, however, gives a vivid impression of the mental 'discursiveness' on which Spencer dwells with some complacency as a characteristic trait. In addition to these scientific interests there also persisted in the young man the family bias towards social and political reflection; and his first appearance as an author in 1842 was in the department of political ethics. A visit to Hinton in that year, and a renewal of political conversations with his uncle, suggested a series of letters to 'The Nonconformist' newspaper embodying their common views. His uncle gave him a letter of introduction to

Mr Edward Miall, under whose editorship the paper had recently been established as an organ of the advanced dissenters; and a series of twelve 'Letters on the Proper Sphere of Government' appeared in the same year.

These 'Letters,' republished as a pamphlet in 1843, are not to be taken, perhaps, as expressing more than what he calls 'the mental attitude of the Spencers.' The principles expounded were those which he drew in with the air he breathed; in the language of his own philosophy, they might almost be styled connate. The 'Letters' elaborate the definition of the State which he had volunteered to a friend the year before—'a national institution for preventing one man from infringing upon the rights of another'; and they apply the theory of individualism with the rigour and vigour of two-and-twenty. Even war is excluded from the sphere of government interference, and is to be conducted as a private enterprise on joint-stock principles. Spencer is fain to confess, in the light of later reflection, that here he has gone too far, though, as he characteristically adds, he might have cited in support of his argument 'the case of the Iroquois league.' But, although modified in particulars, the 'Letters' give us in their first form ideas which controlled the whole course of Spencer's political philosophy; and to the writing of them he traces himself, in a natural development, the successive stages of his subsequent authorship—

'Had they never been written, "Social Statics," which originated from them, would not even have been thought of. Had there been no "Social Statics," those lines of inquiry which led to the "Principles of Psychology" would have remained unexplored. And without that study of life in general, initiated by the writing of these works, leading, presently, to the study of the relations between its phenomena and those of the inorganic world, there would have been no "System of Synthetic Philosophy"' (i, 212).

The train of thought initiated in the 'Letters' was followed out at intervals during the years that followed, and latterly became Spencer's chief intellectual interest. Thus in 1843 he writes: 'I have been reading Bentham's works, and mean to attack his principles shortly'—a purpose executed in 1850 in the opening pages of 'Social

Statics.' As he explains the matter himself, he had become dissatisfied with the 'Letters';

'not so much with the conclusions set forth as with the foundations on which they stood. The analytical tendency had begun to show itself. What was the common principle involved in these conclusions? Whence was derived their ultimate justification? Answers to these questions had become clear to me; and it was the desire to publish them which moved me to write' (i, 305).

Accordingly, in the early months of 1846, we find him beginning a course of reading with a view to his projected book. Characteristically, however, he 'paid little attention to what had been written either upon ethics or politics. The books I did read were those which promised to furnish illustrative material.' By April 1847 he had collected a large mass of matter for his 'Moral Philosophy, and it was 'beginning to ferment violently.' By September of the same year he was able to send thirty written pages of the introduction to his father; and during 1848, while his future hung in suspense, he was thinking out other chapters as he rambled through the fields round Derby, his thinking being done then, as always, he tells us, mainly while walking. So uncertain did the future seem in the beginning of 1848 that there was talk of emigration to New Zealand. Another scheme ventilated was that he should join his father in starting a school to be conducted on enlightened educational principles. But before the end of the year his appointment as sub-editor of the 'Economist' relieved him from the necessity of considering such alternatives. The record of his life henceforth is one of steady progress towards a goal which gradually took definite shape in the ten years which followed his settling in London. The first step towards it was taken by the publication of 'Social Statics.' Many of his evenings were devoted to it during his first year in London. Great pains were taken with the style; and it was the end of 1850 before the book saw the light.

Before considering its contents more carefully it will be well, at the point now reached, to ask what the seven years just reviewed may be regarded as having added to Spencer's mental equipment and outlook, and what general

characteristics of the man may be gleaned from his narrative. It is clear that his multifarious activities had given him a considerable knowledge of men and business affairs, while his studies and experiments had increased his acquaintance with physical science and natural history. Besides novels, he also read some of the books which were impressing his contemporaries, such as 'Sartor Resartus,' Emerson's 'Essays,' and Ruskin's 'Modern Painters.' The last-mentioned he seems to have valued chiefly because it gratified his spirit of dissent by daring to express unfavourable opinions about some of Raphael's works. There are several references of an antagonistic nature to Carlyle's doctrine of hero-worship in 'Social Statics'; and Carlyle appears from time to time in the 'Autobiography' as the incorporation of retrogressive ideals. In one passage 'some months in a dark dungeon on bread and water' are suggested as a cure for his anti-utilitarianism and his 'ridiculous notion that happiness is of no consequence.' But, though unaffected by alien ideas, Spencer was not insensible to vigour and charm of style; and his reading at this time extended to the poets. Shelley's 'Prometheus Unbound' he pronounces, in a letter of 1845, to be 'the most beautiful thing I ever read by far'; and he rates Shelley about that time as 'by far the finest poet of his era.' The mature philosopher is rather at a loss to explain this early enthusiasm, and can only surmise that the poem satisfied one of his organic needs, variety. He finds the same trait in connexion with food. 'Monotony of diet is not simply repugnant; it very soon produces indigestion.' The reader will probably conclude more justly that the Spencer of the forties was more of a human being than the dyspeptic analyst of the 'Autobiography.' A letter to his intimate friend, Lott, in 1844, describing a journey through South Wales, reveals a vivacity of unsophisticated feeling which goes much farther to explain the phenomenon than the laboured hypothesis referred to.

As regards his philosophical equipment, it is to be remarked that there continues the same singular absence of the metaphysical, and even of the psychological interest. 'All through my life,' he says, 'Locke's "Essay" had been before me on my father's shelves, but I had never taken it down; or at any rate I have no recollection of having

read a page of it.' Mill's 'Logic' he glanced at when it came out, but did not carry the study far. When he came across a translation of Kant's 'Critique of Pure Reason' in a friend's house, he stumbled at the outset over the doctrine that time and space are subjective forms, and went no further.

'It has always been out of the question,' he explains, 'for me to go on reading a book the fundamental principles of which I entirely dissent from. Tacitly giving an author credit for consistency, I, without thinking much about the matter, take it for granted that if the fundamental principles are wrong, the rest cannot be right, and thereupon cease reading—being, I suspect, rather glad of an excuse for doing so.'

Acting on this highly dangerous principle, he tells us that whenever, in later years, he took up the 'Critique,' he similarly stopped short after rejecting its primary proposition. Spencer's interests during the period under review continued, in fact, to be those of physical science on the one hand and of socio-political theory on the other. But although he had no traffic with the philosophers, a certain amount of reflection on what may be called natural theology was inevitable as his belief in historical Christianity dropped from him. The older natural theology summed itself up in the doctrine that the world had its origin in the creative act of a personal God. A letter to his father in 1848 shows that Spencer had considered this theory and definitely set it aside as incapable of proof, taking up for himself a purely agnostic position.

'As regards "the ultimate nature of things or origin of them," my position is simply that I know nothing about it, and never can know anything about it, and must be content in my ignorance. I deny nothing and I affirm nothing, and to any one who says that the current theory *is not* true, I say just as I say to those who assert its truth—you have no evidence' (i, 346).

The turn given to the argument and the phraseology in which it is expressed anticipate very closely, as he claims, the doctrine set forth in 'First Principles' twelve years later. In truth, beyond the new name given to it by its baptist Huxley, there is nothing recondite in this easy method of shelving the question. It is the daily practice

of millions. Besides, the cosmological problem, isolated thus and treated as a quasi-scientific question, ceases to have a properly religious interest. 'Men have fought for the doctrine that God made the world,' says Mr Mallock, in his recent philosophical novel, 'The Veil of the Temple,' 'merely because they considered it essentially bound up with the doctrine that a God exists who has dealings with the human soul.' It was because Spencer's religious emotions were so little engaged that the agnostic position seemed to him so simple, and apparently satisfied him so completely.

The choice of a satisfactory title for his volume caused considerable difficulty; and the one eventually fixed upon led to misapprehensions of a kind to which Spencer was all his life peculiarly sensitive. The title he originally had in view, 'A System of Social and Political Morality,' comes much nearer a simple and intelligible description of the contents than the scientific metaphor which he afterwards pressed into his service; a friend, however, whom he consulted thought it too bald and threadbare. 'Demostatics,' a word used in the introduction (but suppressed before publication) was the next idea. Spencer considered that it accurately described the subject-matter of the book, namely, the maintenance of social equilibrium through conformity to the law of equal freedom, and suggested the strictly scientific character of the treatment. But the publisher was decisive against this pedantic neologism; and the term 'Social Statics' was eventually determined on as expressing the same idea, though his uncle warned him that it would be taken by many people for 'Social Statistics.' The sub-title in the original form, 'a system of equity synthetically developed,' is perhaps more accurately descriptive than that which finally appeared—'the conditions essential to human happiness specified, and the first of them developed'—though the second has the advantage of indicating a relation between the new work and the general utilitarian doctrine of contemporary English thought. The title, 'Social Statics,' if it was not productive of the confusion which his uncle feared, produced, not unnaturally, a wide-spread impression that the ideas promulgated in the book were inspired by the social philosophy of Comte, who had *actually* employed the same term for one of the divisions

of his system. It is true that a perusal of the book would have disclosed fundamental differences between the two thinkers; but it was difficult for the ordinarily constituted man to conceive that any one should undertake a treatise on social philosophy without making himself acquainted with Comte's work, a knowledge of which, through Mill and others, had been spreading in England for ten years previously; still less that he should use a technical title of that thinker's coinage without intending to indicate some relationship between their views. But we have seen how, when he set about systematic reading for his book, Spencer consistently eschewed his predecessors in the same field; and, incredible as it may seem, we have no reason to doubt his assertion that he 'then knew nothing more of Auguste Comte than that he was a French philosopher; did not even know that he had promulgated a system having a distinctive title, still less that one of its divisions was called "Social Statics."' The misunderstanding thus originated continued to haunt and waylay Spencer through the greater part of his life, much to his annoyance, and was the occasion of emphatic and repeated disclaimers.

When we turn to the work itself, the source of its inspiration is found to be much nearer home. The conclusions, as we have seen, are, with very slight modifications, those of the 'Letters on the Proper Sphere of Government.' With the practical doctrines he remained entirely satisfied; it was with their theoretical basis that he was concerned. He desired, in accordance with the synthetic bent of his mind, to exhibit the various conclusions as so many applications of a single principle, from which, when formulated, they might be deductively derived. The principles of 'the Spencer family,' in short, had to be philosophised; and the principles of the Spencer family were an exceptionally clear and logical expression of the principles of the English political dissenters, and of contemporary Radicalism generally. Spencer began his systematic reading for the book in the year of the abolition of the corn laws. The philosophical Radicals had given place, in popular influence, to the Manchester school; but both were at one in their devotion to the principle of *laissez-faire*. By both the laws of political

economy were interpreted, not in the modern scientific sense as statements of what would happen under certain given conditions—statements therefore necessarily abstract, and in no sense preceptive as to what ought to happen in the concrete—but as ordinances of nature divinely instituted, with which it would be impiety as well as folly to interfere. Those who were not in the habit of speaking theistically shared the current optimism as to the beneficent operation of these great impersonal forces. The old Liberalism also, fresh from its campaign against privilege, still occupied the field with its purely negative ideal of freedom from restriction.

Such was the contemporary English world in which Spencer's political thinking grew to maturity; by temperament 'radical all over,' he absorbed the principles of political individualism and economic optimism so completely that they assumed for him the guise of intuitions of the moral sense. When he proceeds to formulate the 'true fundamental intuition which can be logically unfolded into a scientific (or, as he elsewhere calls it, a purely synthetic) morality,' what we get is the famous doctrine of Natural Rights, deriving in England from John Locke, exported to France and receiving there world-wide expression from Rousseau and the Declarations, which embody 'the principles of 1789,' reimported for English political use by Tom Paine and the earlier Radicals, and practically animating the Benthamite reformers, in spite of the fact that Bentham wrote a treatise on 'Anarchic Fallacies' to expose the French Declaration. 'The law of equal freedom,' or 'the liberty of each, limited alone by the like liberty of all,' is the first law, says Spencer; and 'we may almost say that the first law is the sole law' on which scientific morality and the organisation of society depend. Or, as he states it later in italics, 'Every man has freedom to do all that he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man.' He cites it himself in one place as the doctrine that 'all men are naturally equal,' and expressly refers, in illustrative vindication, to Locke's 'Treatise on Civil Government,' the Declaration of American Independence, 'the late European revolutions and the preambles to the new constitutions that have sprung out of them,' 'the political agitations that have run a successful course

within these few years,' and even to 'the maxim of the Complete Suffrage movement.' This principle being laid down, it follows that government is a necessary evil; is, indeed, 'essentially immoral' (p. 207). It is necessary because man, now compelled by the increase of population to live in the social state, retains the predatory instincts of his primitive life, and therefore does not uniformly respect the rights of others. But it is a transitional phase of human development, not essential but incidental. Progress is in all cases towards less government; and, 'as amongst the Bushmen we find a state antecedent to government, so may there be one in which it shall have become extinct.' Indeed, such extinction is inevitable, because the process of civilisation means the adaptation of man to his new conditions. Man possesses indefinite adaptability, and 'humanity must in the end become completely adapted to its conditions.'

'Progress, therefore, is not an accident, but a necessity. Instead of civilisation being artificial, it is a part of nature; all of a piece with the development of the embryo or the unfolding of a flower. The modifications mankind have undergone, and are still undergoing, result from a law underlying the whole organic creation; and, provided the human race continues, and the constitution of things remains the same, these modifications must end in completeness. As surely as the tree becomes bulky when it stands alone, and slender if one of a group; as surely as the same creature assumes the different forms of cart-horse and race-horse, according as its habits demand strength or speed . . . so surely must the human faculties be moulded into complete fitness for the social state; so surely must the things we call evil and immorality disappear; so surely must man become perfect' (p. 65).

In the meantime, till this consummation is arrived at, the State has its function. It may be defined as 'men voluntarily associated for mutual protection' (p. 275). There is 'nothing to distinguish it in the abstract from any other incorporated society.' Citizenship is 'willingly assumed'; and one of the indefeasible natural rights enumerated is 'the right to ignore the State,' that is, to 'secede from' it, 'to relinquish its protection, and to refuse paying towards its support' (p. 250). Police protection (and, he now adds with a grudge, protection

against external enemies) being the purpose for which the State is instituted, its duty must be rigorously limited to this function. When it seeks to 'interfere' in any other way, whether it be by trying to regulate commerce or by maintaining a religious establishment, by instituting poor-laws or providing for national education, by imposing sanitation or maintaining the currency and the postal arrangements, it is transgressing its proper sphere and displaying, indeed (p. 295), 'an absurd and even impious presumption' by taking into its own hands 'matters that God seems to be mismanaging,' and undertaking to set them right. Those in whom the power of self-restraint needs educating

'must be left to the discipline of nature, and allowed to bear the pains attendant on their own defect of character. The only cure for imprudence is the suffering which imprudence entails. . . . All interposing between humanity and the conditions of its existence—cushioning off consequences by poor-laws or the like—serves but to neutralise the remedy and prolong the evil. Let us never forget that the law is adaptation to circumstances, be they what they may' (p. 353). Again: 'Inconvenience, suffering, and death are the penalties attached by nature to ignorance as well as to incompetence—are also the means of remedying these. And whoso thinks he can mend matters by dissociating ignorance and its penalties lays claim to more than divine wisdom and more than divine benevolence' (p. 378).

To guard ignorant men against the evils of their ignorance by protecting them, for example, against quack prescriptions is 'to divorce a cause and consequence which God has joined together.' What a contrast there is, he exclaims, between the 'futile contrivances of men and the admirable silent-working mechanisms of nature' (p. 355).

'Always towards perfection is the mighty movement—towards a complete development and a more unmixed good; subordinating in its universality all petty irregularities and fallings-back, as the curvature of the earth subordinates mountains and valleys. Even in evils the student learns to recognise only a struggling beneficence. But above all he is struck with the inherent sufficingness of things, and with the complex simplicity of those principles by which every defect is being remedied—principles that show themselves alike in the self-adjustment of planetary perturbations and in the

healing of a scratched finger, in the balancing of social systems and in the increased sensitiveness of a blind man's ear, in the adaptation of price to produce and in the acclimatisation of a plant. Day by day he sees a further beauty . . . contemplation thus perpetually discovering to him a higher harmony and cherishing in him a deeper faith. And now, in the midst of his admiration and his awe, the student shall suddenly see some flippant red-tapist get upon his legs and tell the world that he is going to put a patch upon nature. Here is a man who, in the presence of all the wonders that encompass him, dares to announce that he and certain of his colleagues have laid their heads together and found out a way to improve upon the divine arrangements. . . . These meddlers, these self-appointed nurses to the universe, have so little faith in the laws of things and so much faith in themselves that, were it possible, they would chain earth and sun together lest centripetal force should fail! Nothing but a parliament-made agency can be depended on. . . . Such, in essence, is the astounding creed of these creation-menders.'

Astounding is the word which most readers will be inclined to apply to these and many similar passages of Spencer's by reason both of their apparent heartlessness and of their colossal optimism. It will be observed how, along with the doctrines already referred to, Spencer reproduces in his argument the deification of nature's arrangements, which plays so great a part in eighteenth-century thought. He talks freely of 'the creative purpose' and 'the divine idea' (which is, indeed, the title of one of his chapters), and, as we have seen, of the resistless march of progress carrying this idea to its realisation. This deeply-rooted optimism, a relic of the 'natural religion' of the preceding century, Spencer carries over into his later philosophy of evolution, after he has dropped the theistic setting; and though he broke it down at points, as he proceeded, by inconsequent admissions, he was unaware—and probably many of his readers are equally unaware—how much his original espousal of the theory was due to the working of this optimistic teleology, and how insensibly it influenced his reading of the evolutionary process. Progress as a beneficent necessity, complete adaptation as the goal—these are the original inspiring thoughts, even although they be crossed in the end by the paralysing thought of 'Dissolution,' which

reduces the cosmos to an aimless cycle of alternate building up and pulling down.

It is obviously impossible in the present context to criticise Spencer's political individualism. It has been pointed out times without number that the theory which he carries to its apotheosis is as unhistorical as it is unphilosophical. The pre-social unit with his natural rights never existed; the free individual is the goal of social evolution, not its starting-point. We can only note, therefore, that, however salutary Spencer's later protests may have been in his '*Man versus the State*,' as a counterpoise to crudely conceived socialistic schemes, or as an invigorating discourse upon the virtues of self-help, his social theory in its totality is no more than a survival in the modern world. An organic theory of society and the State, derived more or less remotely from Hegel or from Comte, has definitely superseded the older individualism, though, as time goes on, incorporating more fully into itself the truths and ideals of the earlier view; for Hegel also, it may be remembered, defines the history of the world as 'none other than the progress of the consciousness of freedom.' Save for a few anarchists and the new individualists who range themselves under Nietzsche's banner—individualists strangely unlike the old, for their profoundest belief is in the inequality of man and the right or duty of the stronger to subjugate and exploit his neighbour—the conception of man as essentially social, and of the State as the organ of the general will, has so firmly established itself that Spencer's pamphlets during the last twenty years sounded like a belated echo, and he had the air, even to himself, of one crying in the wilderness. The remarkable thing is that while Spencer wrote a special essay on 'the social organism' so far back as 1860, and greatly contributed to popularise the phrase, his own political thinking remained to the end dominated by the conceptions of an abstract and unhistoric individualism, an essentially pre-evolutional phase of thought.

The importance assigned to 'Social Statics,' and the space devoted to tracing the education and life-circumstances, of which it was the outcome, are justified by Spencer's own statement in 1879 when he interrupted the regular course of his publications to write '*The Data of Ethics*.' He had begun to fear, as he says in the preface

to that book, that health might not permit him to reach 'The Principles of Ethics,' the last part of the task he had marked out for himself.

'This last part of the task it is' (he continues) 'to which I regard all the preceding parts as subsidiary. Written as far back as 1842, my first essay, consisting of letters on "The Proper Sphere of Government," vaguely indicated what I conceived to be certain general principles of right and wrong in political conduct; and from that time onwards my ultimate purpose, lying behind all proximate purposes, has been that of finding for the principles of right and wrong in conduct at large a scientific basis.'

He uses similar language in a letter of February 1878, in which he declares that 'the whole system was at the outset, and has ever continued to be, a basis for a right rule of life, individual and social.' Besides this estimate of the place which his ethical and political doctrine held in its author's scheme of thought, it has already been pointed out that the principles and assumptions which he elaborated in 1850 were of decisive influence in shaping his statement of the philosophy of evolution. A closer consideration of the steps by which his cosmic doctrine was reached yields proof of this assertion.

The chief interest of the decade between 1850 and 1860 lies in the gradual evolution in his mind of the idea of a system of philosophy. In the series of articles published during these years, supplemented by Spencer's comments in the 'Autobiography,' we can follow the stages of his thought with some minuteness. To these years belong his intimacy with George Eliot and the formation of lasting friendships with Lewes, Huxley, and Tyndall. It was in a ramble with Lewes, in the autumn of 1851, that he first met the expression, 'the physiological division of labour,' which stamped firmly upon his mind the analogy between biological and social evolution, of which we already find traces in the 'Social Statics.' His friendship with G. H. Lewes led him to read not only his friend's novels, but also his 'Biographical History of Philosophy,' from which he derived his first acquaintance with the general course of philosophical thought. 'Up to that time,' he says significantly, 'questions of philosophy had not

attracted my attention.' And although, by his theory of benevolence and justice in 'Social Statics,' he had shown his aptitude for psychological reflection, psychology likewise (apart from some phrenological speculations) had remained outside his interests. 'I had not, up to 1851, made the phenomena of mind a subject of deliberate study.'

The next step in the organisation of his ideas, and one to which Spencer consistently attributed decisive importance, was his coming across the formula in which Von Baer summed up the development through which every plant and animal passes—the change from homogeneity to heterogeneity. It obviously expresses in a more generalised form the aspect of organic growth already described by the economic metaphor of division of labour. Formulating the nature of the transformation in a purely structural instead of a functional way, and presenting, as Spencer says, 'a more graphic image' of the change, it naturally suggested the transference of the conception to the inorganic world. But, before this idea definitely took shape in his mind, Spencer's newly awakened psychological interest led him to extend the idea of development to the mental sphere. He had long before given in his adhesion to the Lamarckian doctrine of the transmutation of species, moved rather by a sort of anti-supernatural instinct than by adequate evidence in support of it; and in 1852, in a short essay on 'The Development Hypothesis,' he had publicly professed his faith in the theory, basing it upon the cumulative effect of functionally produced modifications. In the 'Principles of Psychology' (which occupied him during 1854 and 1855) mind, animal and human, is treated in close connexion with its bodily conditions; and the biological idea of adaptation is transferred to the mental sphere, progressive adaptation being defined as increasing adjustment of inner subjective relations to outer objective relations; while the correspondence between the two is described as advancing from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous, and as increasing in speciality and complexity. It is significant that the closing paragraph of the 'Psychology' emphatically repeats the belief of 'Social Statics' in the 'beneficent necessity displayed in the progressive evolution of the correspondence between the organism and its environment.' This correspondence 'must become more

and more complete'; 'the life must become higher and the happiness greater.' The admission of free-will, it is argued, would interrupt this 'advance to a higher harmony.' 'There would be an arrest of that grand progression which is now bearing humanity onwards to perfection.'

The same inspiration is revealed in the title of his next important piece of work, an essay on 'Progress, its Law and Cause,' which he agreed to write for the 'Westminster Review' in the autumn of 1854. This article, which states the law of evolution for the first time as a law of universal application, had its origin in the stir and enlargement of his ideas which accompanied the writing of the 'Psychology'; but, owing to the breakdown which followed the publication of that work, it did not appear till 1857. It may be regarded, he says, as 'the initial instalment of the "Synthetic Philosophy."' Beginning with the nebular hypothesis, Spencer carries the law with a wealth of illustration through cosmic, geologic, organic, and social phenomena, and concludes, exactly in Von Baer's terminology, that, 'from the remotest fact which science can fathom, up to the novelties of yesterday, that in which progress essentially consists is the transformation of the homogeneous into the heterogeneous.' He next proceeds to ask whether the universality of the law does not imply a universal cause; and this cause he finds in what he calls the multiplication of effects. Every cause produces more than one effect, and hence 'it is an inevitable corollary that through all time there has been an ever-increasing complication of things.' 'Should the nebular hypothesis ever be established, then it will become manifest that the universe at large, like every organism, was once homogeneous; that, as a whole, and in every detail, it has increasingly advanced towards greater heterogeneity.' And 'thus,' he concludes on the old note, 'progress is not an accident, not a thing within human control, but a beneficent necessity' (Essays, i, 52).

Scarcely had he finished this essay, however, before he seemed to discover a more ultimate cause of evolution in the instability of the homogeneous.

'The several parts of any homogeneous aggregation are necessarily exposed to different forces—forces that differ either in

kind or amount; and, as a corollary from the law of "the conservation of force," it follows that unlike changes will be produced in the parts thus dissimilarly acted upon.' (Ib. 281.)

At the same time he took occasion to supplement his account of the evolutionary process by calling attention to certain features which had been overlooked in the previous essay. 'As usual, Herbert, thinking only of one thing at a time,' was a frequent reproach of his father's in his boyhood; and, in his preoccupation with the advance towards greater heterogeneity, he had overlooked or temporarily forgotten the fact that it is not an advance towards mere heterogeneity, but is characterised by what he here calls 'subordinate integrations.' In the living being, for example, the parts become consolidated into definite organs with distinct functions, which are at the same time closely united as members of one whole. And so we arrive at the definition of the law which appears in the first edition of 'First Principles' (1862):—

'Evolution is a change from an indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to a definite coherent heterogeneity, through continuous differentiations and integrations' (p. 216).

The formula had not even yet, however, reached its final stage of elaboration. In 1864, while working at the 'Classification of the Sciences,' he awoke to the fact that, in making differentiation the primary trait, he had been, as it were, putting the cart before the horse. Aggregates of matter must first be formed before the growth of complexity in their structure can be profitably considered. Hence the primary phase of the process is the integration of matter, a process which necessarily implies a concomitant dissipation of motion. Accordingly, in 1867, 'First Principles' was largely recast; and the evolution formula appeared in its final shape:—

'Evolution is an integration of matter and concomitant dissipation of motion, during which the matter passes from an indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to a definite coherent heterogeneity, and during which the retained motion undergoes a parallel transformation.'

For our present purpose, however, the subsequent elaboration of the formula is of subordinate interest;

the important step was taken by Spencer in the two essays referred to above. This is shown by the fact that, within three months of the publication of the second, he had drafted the scheme of a system in which 'the concrete sciences at large should have their various classes of facts presented in subordination to these universal principles.' Commenting in the 'Autobiography' on the nature of the advance made, Spencer characterises it as a transition of the theory in his own mind from the inductive to the deductive stage.

'With this change from the empirical to the rational, the theorem passed into the region of physical science. It became now a question of causes and effects reduced to their simple forms—a question of molar and molecular forces and energies; a question of the never-ending redistribution of matter and motion considered under its most general aspects.'

At the same time, he adds,

'the indefinite idea of progress passed into the definite idea of evolution when there was recognised the essential nature of the change as a physically determined transformation conforming to ultimate laws of force.' ('Autobiography,' ii, 12.)

Both these statements are true, though in both cases their implications are different from what Spencer imagined. By progressively generalising the statement of what happens in development so as to arrive at a 'graphic image' of the process, Spencer has at length reduced it to a problem in mechanics. Now any event or fact may unquestionably be described as a phase in 'the never-ending redistribution of matter and motion'; but it is quite another thing to suppose that, when we look at the process or the product in that abstract way, we have 'recognised the essential nature of the change.' On the contrary, that is the least we can say of it, the most abstract description we can give of it, a description, moreover, which leaves out, as we shall see, all that we ordinarily understand by evolution. And that leads to Spencer's second statement regarding the substitution of the idea of evolution for that of progress. There seems no reason to doubt, from the whole history of the idea in Spencer's mind, and from his first mode of stating it, that the statement of evolution was originally intended

to apply to the universe as a whole. 'The universe at large,' he had said, 'like every organism, was once homogeneous; as a whole, and in every detail, it has unceasingly advanced towards greater heterogeneity.' It was this conception of one vast cosmic process irresistibly advancing towards a great consummation which inspired his imagination—a consummation which might not inaptly be styled, in language used by himself in 'Social Statics,' the realisation of a divine idea. In particular, this beneficent necessity was carrying mankind onwards to the goal of a perfectly adjusted human life. But it soon became evident that, if the cosmic process be regarded simply as redistribution of matter and motion, the series of changes which we have described as evolution is no more characteristic of it than the opposite series of changes which may be called dissolution.

Accordingly, in 'First Principles,' this counter-process is for the first time introduced, towards the close, in a chapter on equilibration, in which it is pointed out that, in every case, the process of evolution has its impassable limit. Spencer is now driven, accordingly, to relegate his goal, 'the establishment of the greatest perfection and the most complete happiness,' to the penultimate stage (that of what he calls 'the moving equilibrium'), the last stage of all being that complete equilibration which, in the case of an organism, we call death. Unable, however, to acquiesce in 'universal death' as the final goal, he finds refuge in the idea of 'alternate eras of evolution and dissolution'—'an alternation of evolution and dissolution in the totality of things.' But it is perfectly illegitimate to deal with 'the totality of things' as a finite evolving object; and, if it were possible, then no such resurrection as Spencer anticipates from the clash of systems would be possible, for there would be only *one* dead mass left. But, in point of fact, the two processes are always going on simultaneously; and, if we are to be quite strict, neither notion has any application to the ceaseless shiftings of the cosmic dust. One organism, society, or system is growing towards its perfection while another has entered upon the downward path. Moreover, when we speak of such individuals, and of their perfection and evolution, we are introducing conceptions *which* are quite irrelevant and quite unintelligible at the

purely mechanical standpoint. Nor can the process of evolution, so regarded, be deduced from any laws of matter or energy known to physicists. The hopeless ambiguity of Spencer's law of the persistence of force, and of his use of physical conceptions generally, has often been criticised, but never so conclusively—one might almost say so remorselessly—exposed as in Professor Ward's 'Agnosticism and Naturalism.'

The projected interpretation of 'the detailed phenomena of life and mind and society in terms of matter, motion, and force,' and the consequent 'development of science into an organised aggregate of direct and indirect deductions from the persistence of force,' was thus, *ab initio*, foredoomed to failure. In the case of life, there is the belated but none the less significant and courageous confession of Spencer himself in the chapter on 'The Dynamic Element in Life,' added to the revised edition of the 'Principles of Biology' in 1898.

'We are obliged to confess' (he says) 'that life in its essence cannot be conceived in physico-chemical terms. The processes which go on in living things are incomprehensible as results of any physical actions known to us' (pp. 117, 120).

Of his own previous definition of life he does not hesitate to say that, while it gives due attention to the connexions among the manifestations, 'no attention has been made to that which is manifested. Its value is comparable to that of a cheque on which no amount is written.' We are forced, therefore, to conclude that 'that which gives the substance to our idea of life is a certain unspecified principle of activity. The dynamic element in life is its essential element.' A similar difficulty met him in the case of mind or consciousness, the specific nature of which was clearly irreducible to material terms. In this case Spencer sought to evade the difficulty by falling back upon the modern principle of psycho-physical parallelism, but at the cost of importing into his system a dualism quite inconsistent with the promises held out in 'First Principles' of a deduction from the persistence of force. To note these inevitable failures implies no desire to vindicate a supposed miraculous creation of certain life-germs as an appendix to the material world at some given moment in the past. Creation in such a sense does not

enter into science, and it forms no part of modern philosophy. What is meant is simply that, if we attempt to 'interpret the phenomena of life and mind and society in terms of matter, motion, and force,' instead of reaching, as Spencer contended, 'the essential nature' of the phenomena, we leave that nature out altogether. And this he ultimately confessed.

It may seem a strange thing to say, that the ideas of the apostle of evolution were, philosophically speaking, of a pre-evolutional type. But, after all, it is not more of a paradox than what so many commentators have demonstrated of Kant, that the author of the critical philosophy was still, on many points, in bondage to the dogmas of pre-critical thought. Spencer's idea of explaining all phenomena in terms of molar and molecular forces is akin to his treatment of religion; or rather the latter is a special case of the general point of view. Religion is a phenomenon in which a historical development towards worthier conceptions and nobler feelings is certainly demonstrable; but, although recognising this development, Spencer discovers the essence of religion in the acknowledgment of an unknowable power—a residuary belief which he finds common to all forms of the religious consciousness. To some extent, it may be said, Spencer emancipates himself from his own logic and seeks a law of development; but the tendency thus exemplified, to find 'the essential nature' in rudimentary abstractions like matter and motion, or in some feature which remains the same through all the stages of a process, is really to thrust us always back upon a bare beginning or an identical element, and so, in effect, to deny the reality of evolution altogether. Spencer congratulated himself, as we have seen, upon the substitution of the definite idea of evolution for the indefinite idea of progress. But few self-congratulations have ever been more premature; and already, in the second edition of 'First Principles' (p. 286), there is a paragraph intimating that the term is 'open to grave objections,' and is only used, *faute de mieux*, because it is 'now so widely recognised as signifying sundry of the most conspicuous varieties' of the process that it would be impossible to substitute another word. What he professed to seek was 'a word which has no teleological implications'

(Autob. i, 100). Perhaps he meant by that phrase adaptation by an external designer; in any case he failed to see that his own cosmic conception, at least up to its penultimate stage, was thoroughly teleological; and that, without a teleology of some sort, there can be no development, but only indifferent and meaningless change.

It was undoubtedly, as we have seen, the teleological implications of the process, especially in their ethical and social aspect, which from the beginning cast their glamour over Spencer himself. So late as 1882, in a postscript to his speech in New York, he speaks of Nature as leading men unknowingly or in spite of themselves to fulfil her ends; 'Nature being one of our expressions for the ultimate cause of things, and the end, remote when not proximate, being the highest form of human life.' And only in the edition of 1900 was a sentence withdrawn from the 'First Principles' which stated that, after deducing from the persistence of force all the various characteristics of evolution, 'we finally draw from it a warrant for the belief that evolution can end only in the establishment of the greatest perfection and the most complete happiness' (ed. 4, p. 517). He had explained in a controversial essay that the fittest who survive are not necessarily, or indeed most frequently, the best; yet, so late as 1893, in the preface to the second volume of his 'Principles of Ethics,' while expressing his disappointment that in this part of the subject he has derived no direct aid from the general doctrine of evolution, he says that indirectly it sanctions certain modes of conduct by showing that they 'fall within the lines of an evolving humanity, are conducive to a higher life, and are for this reason obligatory.' So impossible is it to exorcise the teleological implications of the word, so meaningless would the word be without them.

And if Spencer himself was to the last unconsciously swayed by these implications, it was certainly, in part, to the comforting suggestions of the word that the theory owed its prestige in uncritical circles. Another factor which helps to explain the extraordinary vogue of Spencer's philosophy was its coincidence in point of time with Darwin's discovery. But for the inductions by which biological evolution was established as a fact, it
whether a speculative theory like that of

Spencer's would have commanded, in scientific and general circles, the attention and acceptance which, as a matter of fact, it gained. Spencer became the philosopher of the new movement; and if many of the ardent fighters of its battles were probably in Darwin's case, who confessed that he 'did not even understand Spencer's general doctrine,'* they were equally ready to 'suspect that hereafter he will be looked at as by far the greatest living philosopher in England, perhaps equal to any that have lived.'† And as the protagonists were men of distinguished ability, men to whose ideas the future belonged, Spencerianism became the creed to which every one naturally gravitated who desired to take part against obscurantism. Similar motives operated to spread his fame on the Continent, where the feud between 'enlightenment' and 'clericalism' is bitter and constant. Partly, also, continental thinkers who stood above such animosities—a historian like Höffding for example‡—were impressed by the fact that here at last was an English thinker who had given to the world a *Weltanschauung*—a complete system of philosophy; a philosophy also which realised their expectations by carrying out consistently the realistic traditions of English thought.

But these more or less adventitious aids are not sufficient to explain Spencer's reputation. It is more deeply based. Although his philosophical interpretation of the process was radically at fault, and although he has, of course, no property in the idea of evolution as such, still his early and independent espousal of the idea, and his consistent advocacy of its universal extension at a time when such views were very far from being triumphant, made him an intellectual force of very great importance. So completely has the idea passed into the fibre of our thinking that it is difficult for the men of the present generation to estimate the full extent of our debt to Spencer's work. And especially is this the case as the philosophical defects of his own imposing structure become more and more evident. The absence of the metaphysico-religious element in his constitution and his ignorance of preceding philosophy, both of which the 'Auto-

* 'Life and Letters,' iii, 193.

† Ib. 120.

‡ 'Die Englische Philosophie,' p. 241.

biography' so strikingly confirms, explain what a critic so fair and temperate as Henry Sidgwick was fain to call 'the mazy inconsistency of his metaphysical results.' Dominated by an exclusively physical imagination, he accepted as dogmas the practical assumptions of common sense. Hence, when attacked by thinkers like Green and Professor Ward, although sensitive in points of detail, he completely failed to appreciate the fundamental defects or inconsistencies against which their criticisms were directed. But it was impossible for a mind so active as Spencer's, so fertile in hypotheses, and so full of apt illustration, to marshal the sciences of life and man under the guidance of a great idea without enriching them by a wealth of luminous suggestion. In the very context of the stricture quoted above, Sidgwick speaks of 'the originality of his treatment and leading generalisations, the sustained vigour of his scientific imagination, the patient, precise ingenuity with which he develops definite hypotheses where other thinkers offer loose suggestions.'

What is here said of the 'Psychology' is no less true of the 'Biology' and of his important contributions to sociological theory. But, besides such departmental work, it was much to hold aloft in an age of specialism the banner of completely unified knowledge; and this is, perhaps, after all, Spencer's chief claim to gratitude and remembrance. He brought home the idea of philosophic synthesis to a greater number of the Anglo-Saxon race than had ever conceived the idea before. His own synthesis, in the particular form he gave it, will necessarily crumble away. He speaks of it himself, indeed, at the close of 'First Principles' (ed. 1), modestly enough as a more or less rude attempt to accomplish a task which can be achieved only in the remote future and by the combined efforts of many, which cannot be completely achieved even then. But the idea of knowledge as a coherent whole, worked out on purely natural (though not, therefore, naturalistic) principles—a whole in which all the facts of human experience should be included—was a great idea with which to familiarise the minds of his contemporaries. It is the living germ of philosophy itself.

A. S. PRINGLE-PATTISON.

Art. XII.—THE JAPANESE REVOLUTION.

1. *Japan nach Reisen und Studien*. Im Auftrage der Königl. Preuss. Regierung dargestellt, von J. J. Rein. Two vols. Leipzig: Engelmann, 1881-6. (English translation of vol. i. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1884.)
 2. *Japans Volkswirtschaft und Staatsaushalt*. By Karl Rathgen. In Schmoller's *Staats- und social-wissenschaftliche Forschungen*, Bd. x. Leipzig: Duncker and Humblot, 1891.
 3. *The Constitutional Development of Japan, 1853-1881*. By Toyokichi Iyenaga, Ph.D. (Johns Hopkins University Studies). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1891.
 4. *History of the Empire of Japan*. Compiled for the Japanese Commission of the Exhibition of Chicago, 1893, and published by order of the Department of Education. Translated by Captain Brinkley. Tokio: *n.d.*
 5. *Correspondence respecting the revision of the Treaty arrangements between Great Britain and Japan*. London: Spottiswoode, 1894. (C. 7548.)
 6. *Der Eintritt Japans in das Europäische Völkerrecht*. By Alexander Freiherr von Siebold. Berlin: Kiseki Tamai, 1900. (English translation. Kegan Paul, 1901).
 7. *Things Japanese*. By Basil Hall Chamberlain. Fourth edition. London: Murray, 1902.
 8. *Okoubo*. By Maurice Courant. Paris: F. Alcan, 1904.
 9. *Japan and China. Their History, Arts, and Literature*. By Captain F. Brinkley. London and Edinburgh: Jack, 1903-4.
- And other works.

MUCH as has been written about the art, the commerce and industry, the habits and social life of Japan, hardly sufficient attention has hitherto been bestowed, at least in this country, upon its political development. Even Captain Brinkley's great work, admirable as it is in many respects, is distinctly defective on this side. Yet it is on the political changes, which, in the short space of little more than one generation, transformed Japan from an oriental despotism to a constitutional state—on the Japanese Revolution, in short—that the present commanding position of Japan depends. In the follow pages an attempt will be made to present this instr

episode of modern history in an intelligible and connected form.*

Several efforts had been made to penetrate the barriers erected against foreign intercourse by the Shoguns of the Tokugawa family since their elevation to power early in the seventeenth century; but until just fifty years ago these attempts had all been made in vain. During the century which witnessed the Reformation in Europe, Japan was neither exclusive nor intolerant; and Western religion, hand in hand with Western trade, had obtained what seemed to be a firm footing in these islands of the Far East. But religion, in those days, was too often used as the wedge of empire; and the restless ambitions of the Jesuit missionaries alarmed the rulers, who had but recently built up their power on the basis of internal unity and domestic peace. To close the way to conquests like those of Mexico and Peru, they resolved to shut their doors on all foreigners alike. Traders and teachers were driven out; Christianity was violently suppressed, and, for upwards of two centuries, the little Dutch factory, imprisoned in the islet of Deshima, was all that reminded Japan of the existence of the Western world.

With the visits of the American Commodore Perry, in 1853-4, and the commercial treaties which followed, this state of things came to an end. We need not trace the steps by which, during the comparatively short space of fifteen years, the admission of foreigners to the Japanese Empire was brought about, beyond noting the fact—a most important one, as will appear—that the treaties which admitted them were made, not by or with the legitimate sovereign of Japan, the Mikado or Emperor, but by and with the actual ruler, the Shogun. But the opening of Japanese ports to foreign trade was not the most important result which ensued from the visits of Commodore Perry and his successors. The whole social

* It should be stated at the outset that this article makes no pretence to draw on works in the Japanese language; but it is believed that such few Japanese works of authority as have not yet been translated have been practically exhausted by one European writer or another. So far, there is an almost entire lack of memoirs or other records by the principal actors in the Revolution. Unless such works are in existence, and some day set on the light, it is to be feared that a history of the Revolution, at once trustworthy, will never be written.

and political system of the island Empire was profoundly modified; and the Japanese nation entered upon an astounding course of development, as radical as it has been rapid, the far-reaching effects of which the world at large is only now beginning to comprehend. The Japanese Revolution, of which the first act was accomplished in 1868, may be regarded as unique in history, perhaps in its results, certainly in its nature; for it was, in the main, by a voluntary act of abdication, inspired by an enlightened feeling of patriotism, that the ancient feudal system of Japan was abolished; and the ruling classes, which for centuries had held undisputed sway, resigned their powers into the hands of the sovereign in order that the country, by becoming united and centralised, might be enabled to hold its own in the face of the world.

For some time previously the ideas of thoughtful men in Japan had been tending in this direction. Several causes contributed to this change. The first of these was the revival of learning. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries witnessed in Japan a great growth of intellectual activity. Learning was encouraged by the Tokugawa Shoguns, unconscious of its future results. Iyeyasu himself, the founder of the line, and his grandson, Mitsukuni, were great patrons of literature. The study of national history was actively pursued. In 1715 Komon, Prince of Mito, had completed, with the help of a band of scholars, the famous 'Dai-Nihon-Shi,' or History of Japan. This work was not printed till 1751; but many copies of it passed from hand to hand, and gradually permeated the thought of the country. Its chief result was to bring to light the true nature of the Shogunate, to show that the Mikado was the legitimate sovereign, and to prove the power of the Shogun to be an usurpation. Its influence was such that its composer has been styled by Sir Ernest Satow, 'the real author of the movement which culminated in the Revolution of 1868.' Half a century later the great scholar, Rai Sanyo, in his 'Nihon-quai-shi,' developed and drove home these lessons; and in his 'Sei-ki,' or political history, attacked the Shogunate and deplored the decadence of Imperial power.

The growth of learning was accompanied by a revival of the ancient Shinto religion, which, as involving the

worship or at least the veneration of ancestors, was closely connected with respect for the divinely descended Imperial family. Buddhism, introduced into Japan in the sixth century of our era, had gradually pushed aside the earlier faith, and, favoured by the Shoguns of the Tokugawa race, had become a sort of State religion. The establishment of the Shogunate, in alliance with the Buddhist priesthood, was accompanied by the forcible extinction of Christianity and the decay of Confucianism; and, since the early part of the seventeenth century, Buddhism had reigned supreme. Now, however, with the revival of learning and the growing attachment to the Imperial family, Buddhism rapidly lost ground; men reverted to the creed of their ancestors; and the restoration of the Mikado to power was signalled by the complete dethronement of the Buddhistic religion.

Personal and family ambition added force to these more general and popular motives. Several of the greater noble families, originally of equal rank with that of the Tokugawa Shoguns, resented, more and more, the concentration of power in the hands of their former rivals. The only chance of recovering their lost influence in the State was to set up another power against that of the Shogun; and this power could only be that of the Mikado. The feudal system had resulted in the elevation of a subordinate to independent control; the mere overthrow of that subordinate, without the provision of an efficient substitute, would have meant disunion, anarchy, and consequent national weakness. The revival of Imperialism offered the only satisfactory solution of these difficulties.

Meanwhile the Shogunate itself was experiencing a natural decay similar to that which had undermined the power of the Mikado. The theory established by Iyeyasu was that the Mikado, being of divine descent and therefore unable to do wrong, could do nothing at all. He was shorn of all executive authority, which fell entirely into the hands of the Shoguns. But after the lapse of some two centuries the Shoguns, like the Emperors whom they had displaced, withdrew more and more from the active exercise of authority, and gave up the control to their subordinates. As they had become practically independent of the sovereign, so the great Daimios gradually became

independent of his representative. Justice was neglected. The finances fell into confusion. Certain Shoguns, notably Iyenari (1787-1837), wasted their substance in profuse display. The population increased; privation and its consequence, political discontent, began to be felt. Bands of masterless and therefore lawless Samurai, called ronin, wandered about the country; and the anarchy which Iyeyasu and Iyemitsu had sternly suppressed again raised its head. Nevertheless, impervious to new ideas and roused by no danger from abroad, these princes slumbered on, believing their power to be eternal, while in fact it was slipping from their hands.

But it was the new conditions which arose in the middle of the nineteenth century, above all, the question of foreign relations, which combined the great majority of the influential classes in one overpowering movement, and gave a deathblow to the power of the Shogun. Animated at first by an instinctive repulsion for the foreigner, the opponents of the Shogun seized upon his foreign proclivities as the point of attack, and declared his assumption of the right to make treaties with the Western Powers a treasonable usurpation. Subsequently comprehending that, however unconstitutional the action of the Shogun might have been, his foreign policy was, from the national point of view, not only enlightened but inevitable, the leaders of opinion, with the young Mikado at their head, adopted a new attitude towards the foreigner, and welcomed the influences which they had formerly repelled. But, seeing that these influences would, if passively accepted, be destructive of national individuality and even of national independence, they immediately applied themselves to the reorganisation of the national forces and the introduction of a new system, military, financial, educational, legal, and economic, which would enable the country to resist Western pressure with all the methods and the science of the West. Finally, perceiving with an insight unique among Eastern peoples, the scope of the national struggle on which they were entering, and the influence of representative government on national cohesion and strength, they resolved to take the people into partnership, and, while scrupulously maintaining the vigour of the executive power, to place the nation, at least partially, in control of its own destinies. The courage, persistency, and wisdom

with which they carried out these aims have rightly won the admiration of the world.

We must pass rapidly over the events which preceded the fall of the Shogunate in 1867. The early treaties with the United States and with the European Powers had been the work of the Shogun Iyesada (who had succeeded to power in the winter of 1853-4), or at least of his advisers—for the Shogun himself appears to have been of feeble intellect. The Court of Yedo was sufficiently acquainted with the outer world to know that it was hopeless, in the existing conditions of Japan, to reject the advances of the foreigner. The Imperial Court at Kioto, still secluded and ill-informed, resented this intrusion, and declined to countenance the measures of the Shogun. The country was speedily divided into two factions—the Jo-i party, which demanded exclusion, and the Kai-Koku, or party of admission. The exclusive party a little later developed differences of opinion; one section, at the head of which stood the Prince of Satsuma, adopted moderate views and a more or less Fabian policy; while the other, led by the Prince of Choshu (or Nagato), was extremist, and demanded immediate and violent measures against the barbarian intruders. In this conjuncture all depended on the attitude to be adopted by the great feudal lords, hitherto supporters of the Shogun, but unwillingly bending under his yoke. How far these leaders understood the situation, or foresaw what was to come, existing evidence does not permit us to say. But it is clear that they perceived in the foreign complications and in the concessions of the Yedo Government an opportunity of overthrowing the Shogun and recovering dominant influence in the State. In this attempt they were aided not only by the nobles attached to the Court of Kioto, and hitherto rigorously excluded from power, but by the general body of *literati*, who enthusiastically demanded the restoration of the Mikado and the revival of antique Japan.

The mental and physical weakness of the Shogun Iyesada added to the complications of the time. As he had no child, it became necessary to provide an heir. A violent dispute broke out on this point; and the Shogun was constrained to place the conduct of affairs in the hands of Ii Kamon-no-Kami, chief of Kamon, who became Tairo (regent or prime minister). By his influence—for he was

a man of great force of character—the young Iyemochi, of the Tokugawa family, was nominated heir to the Shogunate, in the face of strong opposition from most of the leading Daimios, who supported the claim of Yoshinobu Hitotosubashi (generally called Keiki), son of the Prince of Mito. On Iyesada's death, in August 1858, Iyemochi succeeded; but his power was from the outset impaired by the quarrel about his succession.

The Tairo Ii, acting in the name of the young Shogun—he was but a lad of thirteen—made strenuous efforts to secure control, going so far as to inflict severe punishment on several chiefs of the opposition, now led by Nariakiri, Prince of Mito. Passions ran high; private resentment and family feuds mingled with political principles; and the detested foreigner was at the gates, while the country was torn by intestine strife. If it be true that the development of the French Revolution was altered and violence introduced by ill-timed foreign intervention, it is equally true that the Japanese Revolution would have run a very different course—if, indeed, it had ever occurred at all—but for the pressure which danger from abroad exercised on both parties in the State. The first result of this foreign pressure, in Japan as in France, was an outbreak of lawlessness and violence. The feelings of the exclusive party found vent in several murderous attacks on foreigners, and in the assassination of the regent Ii (March 1860) by a band of Samurai, most of whom belonged to the following of the Prince of Mito.

The young and inexperienced Shogun was now left alone to cope with the growing difficulties of the situation. These were rendered not less but greater by the death, late in 1860, of the old Prince of Mito; for his influence, though opposed to the policy of Yedo, was, on the whole, a moderating one, and had tended to the preservation of order. On his disappearance anarchy raised its head; and the general confusion was aggravated by the divergence between the Daimios of Satsuma and Choshu. The heads of these great clans, though subsequently united, were long separated by mutual jealousy, and in their foreign policy, while pursuing the same end, pursued it by different means. Mori of Choshu advocated the strongest measures, both against the Shogun and the foreign Powers; while Shimazu Saburo of Satsuma at

his principal advisers, Saigo and Okubo, two of the most notable figures of the Revolution, were generally anxious to bring about a political readjustment based upon a reconciliation between the Mikado and the Shogun.

It was under the influence of this conciliatory spirit that, in the year 1861, a marriage was arranged between the young Shogun and the Mikado's sister, which it was hoped would tend to establish amicable relations between the two parties and enable Japan to maintain a united front against the barbarians. Such a result would have attained both the objects which the leading party at Kioto at this time had in view—the restoration of the Mikado's sovereignty, though in a limited form, and the expulsion of the foreigner. But the project of conciliation failed. Though the Shogun appeared willing to adopt the anti-foreign policy of Kioto—he went so far, indeed, as to render his conduct suspicious to the foreign residents—he quailed when it came to action, and proved incapable of adopting heartily either line. His vacillation discredited his Government and emboldened the opposition; and when, in 1862, he received an order to attend the Imperial Court at Kioto, and to confer the office of prime minister on his former rival Yoshinobu, he practically threw up the game. It may, indeed, be maintained that the Shogunate really fell, not in 1867, when the formal resignation took place, but in 1862, when Iyemochi yielded to the Imperial commands.

The influence of Yoshinobu and other imperialists, now holding office at Yedo, further enfeebled his control and forced him to make other concessions. A notable symptom of his waning power was to be found in the falling away of attendance at his Court. It had for centuries been part of the political system that the Daimios and their families should reside in Yedo for a certain part of the year. This regulation was now abolished; and the capital of the Shogun was thus deprived of the pomp and circumstance of state. The reality of power was soon to follow. In 1863 the Shogun paid his promised visit to Kioto, and was detained there for some time against his will. Meanwhile, in the temporary absence of the Prince of Satsuma, the extremist party, headed by Mori of Choshu, gained the upper hand and decreed the adoption of violent measures against the

foreigner—a policy which the Shogun, ill and deserted in his enemies' camp, was constrained to accept.

But, almost immediately afterwards, an event took place which tended, perhaps more than any other, to produce a change in the policy of Kioto. The murder of Mr Richardson,* in the autumn of 1862, by some followers of Satsuma, had led to a demand for an indemnity and for the punishment of the guilty Samurai. The demand was presented, as usual, to the Shogun, who was still regarded by the foreign Powers as the actual ruler of Japan. The Court of Yedo paid the fine, but Shimazu refused to give up his clansmen; whereupon a British squadron attacked and destroyed the forts at Kagoshima in the Satsuma country (August 1863). This event convinced the Prince of Satsuma that it was hopeless to think of war with the European Powers; and, imbued as he already was with moderate views, he now resolved to oppose the extremists with all his strength. But the Prince of Choshu, who had not enjoyed a similar experience, thought otherwise, and, in the violence of his animosity, carried out the edict already mentioned by firing upon the ships of various Powers as they passed through the Straits of Shimonoseki. The dangers of this course were obvious; the moderate party at Kioto again obtained the lead; and Mori, remaining obdurate, was banished from Court. Left alone to face the punishment which his hostility had provoked, he soon learnt by bitter experience the lesson that had already been taught to Shimazu. A composite fleet of foreign ships of war bombarded and captured the forts of Shimonoseki (September 1864); and Mori accepted the inevitable. He did not, however, recover favour at Court; and the unexpected consequences of his exile eventually proved fatal to the Shogun.

Iyemochi had paid a second visit to Kioto in the year 1864, at a time when the conciliatory influence of Satsuma prevailed. The Shogun was well received; and harmony between the two Courts seemed to be restored. At this juncture the quarrel with Choshu reached a head. Indignant at the forced withdrawal of their chief from Kioto, the retainers of Choshu demanded permission for

* The crime seems to have had no political motive, but was due to an ignorant violation of Japanese etiquette on the part of the foreigners.

him to return. Being refused, they attacked the capital, but were defeated. The Mikado thereupon issued an edict deposing the Prince of Choshu, and bidding the Shogun to carry out his command by force of arms. Attacked at the same moment by the foreign ships, the clan leaders gave way for the moment; but subsequently, the warlike party among them getting the upper hand, they raised the standard of rebellion and openly defied the Shogun. In this crisis the attitude of the Satsuma clan determined the issue. Had its leaders joined the Shogun, Choshu must have been crushed, and the prestige of the Shogun would have been revived. But such an outcome would not have suited Shimazu and Saigo, whose policy aimed at the reduction, if not at the abolition, of the Shogunate. Satsuma, therefore, stood aloof; and the result was that Iyemochi's forces, led by himself in person, suffered a disastrous defeat.

Already his position had become so intolerable that he had attempted to resign. While the earlier operations against Choshu were impending, the foreign representatives, headed by Sir Harry Parkes, had put forward a demand for a reduction of the import duties, and for the immediate opening of new treaty ports at Hiogo and Osaka. The demand was supported by the appearance of a strong naval force off Hiogo in November 1866. The Shogun, unable to resist the pressure, gave way, but subsequently found that he could not obtain the Mikado's consent. The mere fact that his consent was now requested, and refused, shows how far things had travelled during the decade since the earlier treaties were made by 'His Sovereign Majesty the Tycoon.' Reverting for a moment to the anti-foreign policy from which the counsels of Satsuma and the force of events were gradually weaning it, the Imperial Government suddenly turned against the Shogun, repudiated his treaties, and even dismissed his ministers. The insult broke the spirit of Iyemochi; but he was in no position to retaliate; he humbly offered to resign. The time was, however, not quite ripe. His offer was declined; the treaty was even ratified; but the incident showed that the end of the Shogunate was near.

Soon after these disastrous occurrences the Shogun Iyemochi died (Sept. 1866), worn out in early youth by illness and distress. His successor was that Yoshinobu (commonly called Keiki who had been Iyemochi's rival

ten years before. He was the last of the Shoguns. His accession nearly coincided with the death (January 1867) of the Emperor Komei, and the advent of the present Emperor, Mutushito, to power. It is not to be supposed that the new Mikado, a boy of fifteen, exercised as yet any influence in the State; but the change of sovereign undoubtedly facilitated the completion of the revolution which had been gradually creeping over the policy of Kioto. The Jo-i party, the exclusives, though not extinct, had fallen quite into the background. New men were coming forward. Ito, Inouye, and Kido, members of the Choshu clan; Okubo Toshimitsu and Saigo Takamori, both of Satsuma; Okuma and Itagaki, and others of the progressive party, were making their influence felt. Most of the great feudatories—Shimazu, Mori, Yodo of Tosa, and others—had been converted; Iwakura and Sanjo had brought over the Court nobles. These men accepted the inevitable, resolving to turn the foreigner to account if they could not expel him; and progress on new lines became the order of the day. It is true that great changes had yet to pass over public opinion, and much had to be learnt by bitter experience before Japan worked out her salvation; but a beginning had been made, and the spirit to learn was there. The strong men who ruled at Kioto were at least united in their determination to restore the authority of the Mikado, and they were now in a position to combine this restoration with a welcome to the foreigner.

Yoshinobu had succeeded to an office which no longer possessed either significance or power. There was nothing left for him but to follow the example already set by his predecessor, and to resign. Several reasons combined to force this step upon him. Satsuma was now in secret alliance with Choshu; the rebellious chief was pardoned, and the expedition against him abandoned; and the Shogun was thus compelled to accept defeat at the hands of his former vassal. Among the greater Daimios he had none on whom he could rely. On the other hand, the foreign policy with which his office had been identified for thirteen years was now, as it appeared, accepted by his sovereign; the foreign Powers had therefore no longer any reason to countenance the dual system on which the Shogunate reposed. The position had thus become untenable; and on October 14, 1867, under pressure from

the Prince of Tosa, acting in conjunction with other great lords, Yoshinobu resigned into the hands of his sovereign the powers which the family of Tokugawa had enjoyed for more than two hundred and fifty years. His only stipulations were that the unity of the government should be maintained, and that an assembly of Daimios should meet to consider the political changes necessitated by his effacement. The Shogun's resignation was formally accepted by the Mikado, in a decree issued two months later, in which it was simply stated that 'It has pleased the Emperor to dismiss the present Shogun, at his own request, from office.' Thus the first stage in the Japanese Revolution was accomplished; and the era of Meiji—the era of 'enlightened rule'—began with the year 1868.

But, before the new system was able to establish itself on a firm basis, it became clear that the Revolution would not be allowed to take place unopposed. The Shogun, while renouncing his claim to equality with the sovereign, seems to have had no intention to strip himself of all his prerogatives, or, in particular, to surrender his wide territorial authority, based partly on usurpation and Imperial grants, partly on ancient feudal right, which he shared with other great Daimios of the State. Moreover, his many followers, whose fortunes were linked with those of their chief, deeply resented his degradation and the transfer of power to those who had been once his rivals and recently his subordinates. His resistance to such degradation was foreseen by his opponents, who acted without hesitation. On January 3, 1868, a *coup d'état* was carried out, by which the Lords of Satsuma, Tosa, Hizen, and others of their party, made themselves masters of the palace and, with it, of the person of the young sovereign. Acting by his authority, they straightway established a provisional government, and ordered the ex-Shogun to surrender his fiefs, and submit entirely to the Emperor. It appears that some at least of his opponents formed a secret plan for his personal destruction. Thereupon the ex-Shogun retired humbly from Kyoto, and withdrew to his castle of Osaka. Under the influence of friendly negotiators he was on the point of yielding, when a violent outbreak between his followers and those of Satsuma forced his hand, and drove him to take up a hostile attitude towards the new government.

In the civil war which followed the troops of the Shogun were repeatedly defeated. Driven back upon his ancient capital of Yedo, and besieged by an overpowering force, the Shogun made overtures for surrender. His offer was amicably received, and the surrender took place. Severe punishment was dealt out to Yoshinobu's supporters, but the Shogun himself was pardoned. Stripped of office and of his hereditary dignities, he retired into private life, receiving a grant of lands sufficient for his maintenance, but not such as to endanger the quiet of the State (May 1868). The resistance of his supporters, however, was not yet quelled. The keen sense of honour which animated the Japanese Samurai prevented them from yielding, even when they had lost their chief. When the Shogun shut himself up in Yedo, the bulk of his followers withdrew into more remote districts and there continued a fruitless struggle. At Hakodate they even attempted to establish an independent republic. It was not till the summer of 1869 that the revolt was put down. Large confiscations followed; and the Mikado's authority was recognised throughout Japan.

Meanwhile the assembly of Daimios, stipulated for by the Shogun at the time of his resignation, had met; and a form of government was established. At the head of the government a Council of State was instituted under the presidency of a chancellor and two vice-chancellors. Several administrative departments were created for the control of the Imperial household, religion, foreign affairs, finance, army and navy, education, justice, etc. At the head of each of these stood a departmental chief or minister. The Council of State consisted of influential men, mostly leaders of the reform party—Saigo of Satsuma, Kido of Choshu, Itagaki of Tosa, Okuma of Hizen, and others. Prince Sanjo was the first chancellor; Iwakura Tomomi, representing the Court nobility, was one vice-chancellor; the other was the feudal Prince of Satsuma.* At first the Council of State was separate from the council of ministers or heads

* It is said that this dual arrangement was made to appease Shimazu, whose annoyance at the apparent neglect of his clan threatened to upset the new system. In consequence of a similar feeling elsewhere, the ministry was soon afterwards reconstituted so as to give equal representation to the four great clans of Satsuma, Choshu, Hizen, and Tosa.

of departments; but this arrangement, subject to obvious inconveniences, was subsequently dropped (1885), and the two councils were fused into one body, closely resembling a Western cabinet.

At the same time the Mikado's Government had formally adopted the foreign policy of the rival whom it had supplanted. The necessity of taking this step was partially recognised in the creation of a department of foreign affairs already mentioned. Shortly afterwards a notable memorial was presented to the Government by a number of high officers of State, in which, after bidding the rulers of Japan to take warning from the fate of China, the memorialists urged the necessity of learning from the hitherto despised barbarians all that they could teach, so as to secure the safety and independence of the State.

'In order to restore the fallen fortunes of the Empire and to make the Imperial dignity respected abroad, it is necessary to take a firm resolution, and to get rid of the narrow-minded ideas which have prevailed hitherto. . . . Let the foolish argument which has hitherto styled foreigners, dogs and goats and barbarians be abandoned; let the Court ceremonies, hitherto imitated from the Chinese, be reformed; and let the foreign representatives be bidden to Court in the manner prescribed by the rules current amongst all nations.' (Iyenaga.)

It was on this advice that the Mikado acted in personally receiving Sir Harry Parkes and other foreign representatives in March 1868.

But the advice of these bold and far-seeing statesmen went beyond the reception of foreign envoys and the opening of trade. It aimed at wide domestic reforms.

'The most important duty' (they declared) 'that we have at present is for high and low to unite harmoniously in understanding the condition of the age, in effecting a national reformation, and commencing a great work. . . . By travelling to foreign countries and observing what good there is in them, and by comparing their daily progress, the universality of enlightened government, the sufficiency of military defences and of abundant food for the people, with our present condition, the causes of prosperity and degeneracy may be plainly traced.' (Iyenaga, 'Constit. Development of Japan.')

In this enlightened spirit the statesmen of J: to work and inaugurated an era of reform.

One of the first steps was to sweep away the abuses of the Imperial Court and to put an end to the obscurantist influences which had hitherto kept the Emperor in sloth and impotent seclusion. With this object the long-standing distinction between the Court nobility and the feudal chiefs—an invention of the Tokugawas—was abolished. With a similar intention the Court was removed from Kyoto to Yedo, which henceforth, under the name of Tokio, was to be the capital of the country. Accompanied as it was by public appearances of the sovereign before the eyes of his astonished people, this change—carried out, it would appear, on the special advice of Okubo Toshimitsu—made it clear to all that the substitution of the Mikado for the Shogun as a visible and actual head was to be no mere change of persons, but the symptom of far-reaching reform.

What was in prospect was more clearly indicated by the solemn oath which was taken by the restored sovereign before the assembly of Daimios, in the second year of the Meiji period (April 1869). This oath promised the creation of a deliberative assembly for the discussion of public affairs, the security of personal freedom, the abolition of evil customs, and the adoption of a new system, including measures of national defence, based on careful study and the experience of foreign nations. A deliberative assembly, the Kogisho, was soon afterwards called into being. It met in April 1869. In its composition it more closely resembled a French assembly of notables under the *ancien régime* than a parliament of the modern kind. Its members were mostly retainers of the great Daimios; for there was as yet no machinery for popular election, nor is it likely that, in these early stages of the Revolution, the Samurai would have consented to meet their inferiors, the trading classes, in council. Feudal feeling was still strong, and the feudal system was in full force in most parts of the country. It was therefore not to be expected that the Kogisho should display much independence or originality; but it met, and deliberated, and thus paved the way for the advent of a more popular assembly; while the combination of representatives from many clans tended to substitute a sense of nationality for the disintegrating influences of the clan spirit.

In one respect, at all events, the Kogisho, if it did not exercise any very potent influence on political development, testified to a great change of feeling, and familiarised the important class of the Samurai with the idea of a great reform. The Kogisho, an assembly of feudal vassals, discussed the abolition of feudalism. Its president, Prince Akidzuki, presented a memorial in which, after pointing to the revolt of the Tokugawa party, not yet suppressed, as an example of the evils arising from the present state of things, he urged the great lords to 'restore the territories which they have received from the Emperor, and to return to a constitutional and undivided country.' 'Let them' (he continued) 'abandon their titles . . . and call themselves officers of the Emperor, receiving property equal to that which they have hitherto held.' In other words, feudal dignities and powers were to be surrendered, but the rights of property were to be respected.

A first attempt at reforming the local administration brought to light the disadvantages and even dangers of the existing system. The different provinces of the Empire were divided (1869) for the purposes of administration into smaller districts, called Fu, Ken, and Han. The two former classes were ruled by Imperial officers, the last-named by officials appointed by the great Daimios in virtue of ancient feudal authority. There were eighteen of these great nobles, called Kokushu, who were practically independent within their provinces. Below them, a second class of nobles, called Tozama, possessed theoretically the same rights as the Kokushu, but practically, for the most part, were not strong enough to emancipate themselves in similar fashion. A third noble class, the Fudai, consisted of immediate vassals of the Tokugawa family—quasi-nobles through personal service to the Shogun. The great lords exercised, within their districts, full rights of jurisdiction and administration. Some even possessed the right of coining money. They were personally invested with these rights by writ of the Shogun until his abdication in 1867.

Out of more than three hundred districts, those directly subject to Imperial authority numbered less than fifty. Out of the total public revenue raised from these districts only about one sixth passed into

Imperial exchequer. The scanty resources of the Government naturally proved inadequate to the strain already placed upon them; and the voluntary contributions of the nobles afforded but an insufficient and precarious relief. Such a situation, it was clear, could not long continue.

In this dilemma two distinguished members of the Samurai class came forward with a radical proposal. Kido Takatoto, a retainer of Choshu, and Okubo Toshimitsu, of the Satsuma clan, persuaded their respective chiefs to unite in a great measure of self-abnegation, and, as they had forced the Shogun to surrender his powers to the Mikado, so to follow his example by yielding up their feudal rights. The Lords of Hizen, Kago, and Tosa joined with those of Satsuma and Choshu; and these great nobles, with some other Daimios, laid their ancestral privileges at the foot of the throne. It was the '4th of August' of the Japanese Revolution; but the rights surrendered by the Japanese nobles went far beyond those abandoned in that famous sitting at Versailles.

In the memorial with which the Daimios accompanied their gift, after confessing that their feudal rights, like the power of the Shoguns, originated for the most part in force or usurpation, they proceeded:—

'The country where we live is the Emperor's land; the food which we eat is grown by the Emperor's men. How can we make it our own? We now reverently offer up the lists of our possessions and men, with the prayer that the Emperor will take good measures for rewarding those to whom reward is due, and for taking from those to whom punishment is due. Let the Imperial orders be issued for altering and remodelling the territories of the various clans. Let the civil and penal codes, the military laws . . . all proceed from the Emperor. Let all the affairs of the Empire, great and small, be referred to him.' (Iyenaga.)

The example of the leading Daimios was soon followed by most of the lesser men; and in July 1871 the era of feudalism, which had lasted for over eight centuries in Japan, was brought to a close by a laconic Imperial decree in the words: 'The clans are abolished; and prefectures are established in their place.' The Han (*feudal districts*) were reduced in number and remodelled

so as to bring them into harmony with the Fu and Ken. The feudal lords were at first retained in their position as governors, but subject to Imperial control. One tenth of the revenue arising from their former fiefs was apportioned to the governors in the form of salaries; the rest passed into the Imperial treasury. Their retainers, the old Samurai, received the honourable title of Shizoku, with pensions more or less befitting their rank. Subsequently the feudal governors handed over their functions to Imperial officials, receiving annuities in lieu of their salaries; and the pensions of the Samurai were commuted (1873).^{*} Nothing, probably, in the whole course of this remarkable Revolution is more striking than the unselfish patriotism which led the bulk of these men—there were four hundred thousand of them—warriors by birth and tradition, sensitive to anything like dishonour, to give up their swords and their class privileges and to become ordinary citizens. The nobles retained high positions and ample incomes; but their retainers surrendered almost all that hitherto had seemed to make life worth living.

The abolition of feudalism completed the second stage in the Revolution. One of the first measures which resulted from it was the emancipation of the peasants. Before the restoration the peasant had been merely a tenant of the land which he tilled. To the feudal lord he did suit and service, performed onerous tasks, and paid taxes limited merely by the goodwill of his superior or the length of his own purse. By a series of laws passed between 1868 and 1874 the peasant was freed from these oppressive ties, without compensation to his landlord, and became absolute owner of his former tenancy. Instead of the feudal dues a land-tax was now levied, which, though by no means light, was a sensible alleviation in comparison with the burdens that the peasantry had hitherto endured.

The next step consisted in the remodelling of the military system. Hitherto the duty and distinction of military service had belonged to the Samurai alone. It

^{*} The money required for this purpose was provided by a loan of 1,000,000*l.* raised in England.

was obvious that, if the abolition of feudalism were to be more than an empty phrase, military power must pass into the hands of the State; while it was equally clear that the old system was inadequate to provide satisfactorily for the national defence. Accordingly the duty of universal military service was laid upon all classes of the nation alike (December 28, 1872), the army being divided, in the German fashion, into troops of the line, a reserve or *Landwehr*, and a national levy or *Landsturm*. Military service begins at the age of twenty. Three years are passed under the flag, four years in the reserve; while all men capable of bearing arms between the ages of seventeen and forty are liable to be called out in time of national danger. The national forces were placed on a modern basis, and were drilled and organised according to European methods.* European officers were imported for this purpose; but, as was also the case in their universities, the Japanese had no sooner mastered the military science of the West than they dispensed with such foreign assistance. The feudal fortresses were, for the most part, dismantled; the rest passed into the hands of the State. Two separate departments for the army and the navy were created. Dockyards and arsenals were established, together with colleges for instruction in the art of war. The supreme command of the national forces was declared to reside in the sovereign alone.

While the military forces of the country were thus being Europeanised, the greatest activity was displayed in the introduction of all that machinery of Western civilisation which tends to strengthen, unite, and enrich the State. In 1870 the first railroad in Japan, that between Tokio and Yokohama, was commenced. It was opened in 1872. Hiogo and Kioto were next united; then Kioto and Otsu. The progress of railways was slow at first: ten years after their commencement they only attained a total of 78 miles. But with the increasing wealth of the country the pace quickened. In 1881 the railway system had grown to 1200 miles; and at the end of the last century it reached the astonishing total of 3640 miles. Steamers also multiplied rapidly, those of

* The present organisation of the army rests upon an *Imperial Decree* issued in 1896, the execution of which was completed in the n

foreign build being quintupled in number between 1870 and 1878. Japanese steamship companies were also established in and after 1875.

A system of telegraphs was commenced so early as 1868, and made rapid progress. At the outset the people cut down the telegraph poles; but within ten years all the important towns had telegraphic communication with each other; and in 1879 Japan joined the International Telegraph Convention and thus linked herself telegraphically with the outer world. The postal system followed a similar course. A general postal service was established immediately after the Restoration on the basis of an equal charge for any distance; and so early as 1877 Japan entered the International Postal Convention. In these circumstances trade and industry made great advances. A bourse and a chamber of commerce were established at Tokio in 1878. The total of imports and exports increased from about 3,500,000*l.* in 1869 to 6,500,000*l.* in 1879. By the end of the century it had grown to over 50,000,000*l.**

Education was at the same time stimulated and organised. Colleges of an academic type had been established at Yedo (now Tokio) in 1857, under the government of the Shogun, for the study of foreign languages and science. In 1858 a school of European medicine was founded. The Imperial Government took over the patronage of these institutions and gradually created out of them the present flourishing University of Tokio. Another university was subsequently founded in Kioto. The professors in these colleges were at first largely foreign; the scholars showed an almost excessive ardour for imbibing the learning of the West. It was when students at college that the two friends Ito and Inouye smuggled themselves on board a homeward-bound ship, and thus, as Mr Chamberlain says, 'entered on the career which led them at last to preside over the destinies of their country.' Nor was elementary education neglected. In 1871 the Ministry of Education was reorganised, and began to make its beneficent activity felt all over the country. Schools spread rapidly; and during the twelve years following on the overthrow of feudalism the public

* Reckoning the *yen* at two shillings.

and private schools increased to some 30,000, with upwards of 97,000 teachers and about 3,300,000 pupils. In 1884 the study of English began to form part of the curriculum of the public schools.

The social and political influence of these schools was incalculable. Not only did they instil a new idea of the State, and of the duties and responsibilities of the citizen, but they exercised a levelling tendency. They helped to eradicate the prejudices of class and to obliterate the social distinctions which had hitherto split up the community. The superiority of the Daimios and the Samurai was undermined; and, if it be too much to say that noble, tradesman, and peasant were placed on an equality, at least an avenue was opened by which the humblest lad might hope to reach a dignified position. A sort of democracy of letters and education was substituted for aristocracy and privilege. Individual teachers, such as Fukuzawa, inculcated democratic maxims and taught that 'government exists for the people, not the people for the government'; and in this progressive country they were allowed to teach. 'The Ministry of Education and the system of universal military service,' says Von Siebold, 'have, between them, contributed more than any other institutions to weld Japan into a political whole.'

Closely connected with the spread of education were the changes in religious policy which followed on the Restoration. The former intolerant attitude was gradually abandoned. Buddhism lost its privileged position. The possessions of the temples were secularised; the financial support of the State was withdrawn; the temples fell into ruin; and the priests wandered about in poverty. Shintoism again became fashionable, but was not allowed to claim exclusive rights. In 1876 the Ministry of Public Worship, established after the Restoration, was abolished; and religious freedom was eventually adopted as a principle of state in the Constitution of 1890. The growing enlightenment both of the authorities and the people showed itself in the practice of vaccination, and the introduction of the European calendar (1873). Of still greater importance for the political education of the masses was the rapid spread of newspapers, first sanctioned in 1869. Within thirteen years of that date *their* numbers had attained to over 100, with a total

circulation of some 350,000. Books and translations from foreign works were published in constantly increasing quantity.

It is not surprising that these rapid and sweeping changes should have led to a demand for the extension of political rights and for some form of constitutional government, vaguely promised by the Emperor in his famous oath of April 1869. A powerful impulse in this direction was given by the reports of the commission or embassy sent to Europe shortly after the overthrow of feudalism (1871). This commission was presided over by Iwakura Tomomi, who was accompanied by four statesmen, Kido Takakoto, Okubo Toshimitsu, Ito Hirobumi, and Yamaguchi Naoyoshi, all of whom held high offices of state and had been active in the cause of reform. They were attended by a large staff of secretaries from the various departments of the ministry. The ostensible object of this embassy was to announce and explain to foreign governments the changes that had taken place, and to endeavour to obtain a revision of the treaties which placed Japan in a sort of tutelage under the European Powers. But their still more important function was to collect information about European institutions, laws, and methods of government, and to examine, at first hand, the working of the state-machine in the most enlightened countries of the West.

A revision of the treaties proved as yet impracticable; and many years were to elapse before Japan freed herself from the bonds which her weakness had allowed foreign nations to impose. But the results of the embassy upon the internal progress of Japan were immense. Some of the envoys, like Ito, had already adopted, from personal acquaintance with Europe and Europeans, a belief in representative government; others became convinced of its superiority through their visit to the West. But, while willing to free the people, they shrank from giving it supreme control. They refused to copy slavishly the institutions of any State. From those of England, France, Germany, and the United States, they culled what they thought likely to be beneficial to their own country; they took time to consider; and they produced eventually, in the Constitution of 1890, a system which, though not

without defects, aims, and so far has aimed successfully, at combining popular influence with centralised control, efficiency with public discussion, power with liberty.

But to speak of this is to anticipate events. Much was yet to happen before the ideals of Okubo and Ito and their friends could be realised. It was not to be expected that all the former possessors of power or influence should look with favour on a revolution which deprived them of their privileges and merged them in the masses of their fellow-countrymen. It is true that most of the leaders in the Revolution belonged to the ranks of the Samurai, and that some of these men had risen to the highest positions in the State. But the bulk of this formerly influential class could not expect equal good fortune; and to them the Revolution meant social degradation and the loss of political prestige. To these sentimental sources of discontent were added others of a material nature. Many of the Samurai, deprived of their monopoly in the calling of arms and cut off from their adherence to their former chiefs, took to agriculture or commercial pursuits. Unaccustomed to the methods of business, they wasted their savings and the funds produced by the commutation of their pensions, and, thus cast adrift in poverty and distress, were exposed to the ridicule of the commercial and industrial classes, whom in better days they had despised. They naturally fell back on their ancient ways, became disturbers of the public peace, and sought to recover by force of arms what they had lost by policy. A lawless class of swashbucklers—the ronin or masterless Samurai—had long existed; and their numbers were now largely increased by the break-up of the old order, till they became a serious danger to society and the State.

Moreover, among the leaders themselves threatening dissensions arose. Such dissensions had, as we have seen, been rife before the Revolution took place; the rapid progress of events since 1868 brought forward new causes of divergence. To what extent personal jealousies and political disputes contributed, respectively, to the troubles of 1874–77 it is difficult, from the want of published evidence, to say. But about the earlier of these dates a question of foreign policy occurred which brought them to a head.

The Korean difficulty had already emerged. The

connexion of Japan with Korea had always been intimate. Through Korea Japan had imbibed from China arts, letters, and religion. The importance of Japanese influence in Korea, as an area of commercial expansion and a source of food-supply, was already apparent to the minds of Japanese statesmen. Moreover, the southward advance of Russia had begun to inspire alarm. The Crimean War, which synchronised with the visit of Commodore Perry to Japan, had forced Russia to seek compensation in the Far East. The Amur was found to supply a useful means of communication with the Pacific; and the Anglo-French expeditions of 1857-60 enabled Russia to pose as the friend of China, and to extort from her the treaty of Aigun, by which the eastern coast of Manchuria down to the northern boundary of Korea, and including the harbour of Vladivostok, was ceded to Russia. That Power soon settled itself firmly in the ceded districts; and a year later a Russian ship attempted the annexation of the island of Tsushima, commanding the Straits of Korea, but was warned off by the British admiral commanding in those parts.

Nor was this the only threatening line of Russian advance. Half a century earlier the Russians had begun to lay hands on the island of Saghalien, which extends for a great distance along the eastern coast of Manchuria. The island was claimed by the Japanese, who had fishing colonies there; and collisions with the Russians took place. The Russians advanced even as far south as the island of Yezo, and plundered villages there in 1806. Then, for some time, nothing more was heard of Saghalien; but nearly half a century later the cessions to Russia on the Amur brought forward the question again. An attempt was now made to divide the island by an imaginary line drawn along the parallel of the fiftieth degree of latitude. But it was soon found that the Russian colonies had extended far south of that line; and, though the disturbed state of Japan for a time prevented the Japanese from opening negotiations on the subject, it was determined, when in 1867 political matters had to some extent quieted down, to send a mission to St Petersburg to bring about a more satisfactory arrangement. The course of the negotiations was instructive. When the envoys produced their copy

of the treaty of 1862, by which the island was divided between the two Powers, the Russians feigned ignorance of it, and offered certain of the Kurile islands in exchange for the whole of Saghalien. To this the Japanese objected on the ground that the Kurile islands belonged to Japan; and it was finally arranged that the subjects of the two Powers should occupy Saghalien in common; which meant, as the Japanese subsequently found out, its complete occupation by Russia. The arrangement offered by Russia had to be accepted a few years later; and Japan recognised Russia's right to Saghalien, in consideration of the recognition by that Power of the Japanese claim to the Kurile islands (1875).

Two years before this date the Iwakura embassy had returned from Europe, deeply impressed by the power and activity of the Western world, and especially by the aggressive designs of Russia. A memorandum drawn up by Okubo Toshimitsu declared that 'Russia, always pressing southwards, is the chief peril' for Japan. It is not surprising, then, that the safeguarding of Japanese interests in Korea became the first aim of Japanese policy. But as to the best way of gaining this end a grave difference of opinion manifested itself. A strong party in the Government urged immediate war; and plans for the conquest of Korea were formed in 1873. But the majority of the ministry displayed that spirit of caution and self-restraint which, combined with singular audacity, has recently marked the counsels of Japan. Okubo and Iwakura, clearly as they perceived the danger, perceived as clearly that, in the existing conditions of Japan, war with such a Power as Russia would be disastrous. The peace party carried the day; the struggle for Korea was deferred, as it turned out, for twenty years; and the ministerial advocates of a forward policy, Saigo Takamori, Soyeshima, Yeto Shimpei, Itagaki Taisuke, and others, resigned.

One of the first results of this schism was to give a fresh impulse to the cause of constitutional reform. So early as 1873 Itagaki had sent in a memorial to the Government praying for the establishment of a representative assembly. On his resignation he formed a political society, known as the Rishisha, which pressed his views on the nation and ultimately became the

nucleus of a powerful liberal party. The Government rejected the memorial as premature, but nevertheless made some cautious advances towards the end in view. The local governors were summoned to a conclave in Tokio, not to discuss high politics, but to advise on matters of local interest, the improvement of communications, the regulation of public meetings, and the like. In 1875 a senate, called Genro-in, composed of prominent officials and leading men, was instituted for purposes of legislation. This senate continued to sit until superseded by the full Parliament in 1890.

But the more ardent spirits were dissatisfied with the progress of affairs, rapid as it was. Others appear to have been influenced by personal motives, and saw with bitter jealousy the concentration of power in the hands of former rivals or colleagues, many of whom were 'new men,' sprung from what they regarded as an inferior class. But conservative and reactionary elements were the main factors in the disturbances that were at hand. The old feudal and clannish spirit was not dead; the old family ties were still strong; and the causes of discontent already described continued to increase. Grievous disappointment was felt by the *literati* and others who had welcomed the changes of 1868 as a step towards the long dreamt-of restoration of old Japan, now so rapidly passing away before their eyes. The learned classes, brought up in the old Chinese school, resented the introduction of the Western learning which they still despised. Meanwhile, the spread of newspapers and education, the introduction of Western inventions and institutions, and a variety of social changes, excited and disturbed the public mind. Thus, conservatives and reformers, feudalists and centralists, business men and politicians, were alike discontented, though from different motives, and anxious as to the ultimate tendency of things. The result was a general condition of agitation and unrest, which led to local disturbances and deeds of violence, and eventually culminated in a rebellion that seriously threatened the safety and cohesion of the State.

In 1874 Yeto Shimpei, formerly Minister of Justice, who had resigned office on the Korean question, retired to the district of Saga, and, gathering round him a body of his discontented followers and like-minded politicians,

raised the standard of revolt. Defeated by the local forces, the rebels crossed the sea to Kagoshima, where they hoped for assistance from Saigo Takamori. But their revolt had been premature; Saigo was not ready; and in a short time the leaders paid the penalty of their rashness with their lives.

Two years later similar outbreaks took place in Kumamoto and Hagi. In the former place the movement was distinctly reactionary; its leaders detested the new order of things. In the latter, the leader, Mayebara Issei, was a Samurai who had played a distinguished part in the Restoration. He had subsequently risen to high office, but, like Yeto Shimpei, had differed from his colleagues and resigned. In both cases the rising was suppressed without difficulty; and the leaders committed suicide or were captured and put to death. Meanwhile the Korean difficulty was settled in a peaceable manner—very annoying to the war party, but satisfactory to the Government—by a treaty which opened Korea to foreign trade (1875).

These events strengthened the hands of the Government and enabled them to meet, with experience and prestige, the far more dangerous Satsuma rebellion of 1877, which, had it coincided with, instead of following, the other revolts, might have had a different result. Saigo Takamori, who had been commander-in-chief of the army, had withdrawn, on his resignation, to Kagoshima, the capital of Satsuma, where he gradually collected a large body of malcontents, and trained them carefully in a private military school. The remoteness of his place of refuge, at the extreme south of the island of Kiushiu, facilitated this process. In Kagoshima he was joined by Kirimo Toshiaki and Shinowara Kunitomo, officers of high rank, and by warlike followers from several other prefectures; and Satsuma became a focus of militant reactionism. Alarmed at these signs of defection, the Government took precautionary measures, which hastened the outbreak. The insurgents seized the arsenal of Kagoshima; and Saigo, who appears for some time to have hesitated to take the final step, eventually put himself at the head of the rebel forces, on the pretext that it was necessary to remove the disloyal and insidious influences that surrounded the throne (February 1877). A desperate civil war ensued.

For some time success trembled in the balance. Sanguinary battles were fought; and the movement showed signs of spreading to the neighbouring provinces. The insurgents laid siege to the fortress of Kumamoto; and upon its relief the fortunes of the State appeared to depend. At this critical juncture the Government managed to dissuade Shimazu Saburo, the real chief of Satsuma, and his son Tadayoshi, from throwing in their lot with the rebels; and, aided by this division in the province, the Imperial troops were enabled to effect the relief of Kumamoto (April 14).^{*} The insurgent forces now broke up; but the struggle was maintained with great determination in various parts of the province. In July and August the chief strongholds of the rebellion were reduced, and the rebels were driven northward and hemmed in at Enotake; but, suddenly breaking out, they made a desperate dash upon Kagoshima. In that neighbourhood they were again surrounded, and were eventually overthrown, after a long and sanguinary conflict, at Shiroyama (September 24, 1877). Saigo Takamori ended his stirring and adventurous life by suicide; other chiefs fell on the field of battle; and the rebellion was finally stamped out. The struggle had been very severe, but its results were decisive. All the forces of the Empire had been called out in the effort against disunion; the expense in blood and treasure was enormous; and a heavy debt was incurred. But the new order of things had finally triumphed; henceforward the Government was secure; and though isolated outbreaks still occasionally occurred, notably the Saitama rebellion in 1884—the peace of the Empire was generally maintained, and the conflict of opinion was carried forward on constitutional lines.

It was not to be expected that, during this time of trial, much constitutional progress should have been made. The meetings of local governors were suspended for two or three years; but, when the forces of disorder were crushed, the political advance was renewed. Firm in their belief that national strength must in future

^{*} It is interesting to know that General Oku, now commanding in the Liaotung peninsula, was the officer who, as a major in command of a detachment, cut his way out of Kumamoto through the besieging force—an operation which contributed largely to the relief of the fortress.

depend on a wise trust in the people, the Emperor and his advisers showed no signs of reactionary tendencies, but held on their course of gradual reform. The murder of the great statesman, Okubo Toshimitsu (1878)—an act of vengeance perpetrated by former followers of Saigo—did not affect the progress of events. In 1878 the local governors again met—this time to discuss local taxation, the organisation of local assemblies, and other matters of political import. Edicts respecting local administration, based upon these discussions, were subsequently issued. In 1879 the important step was taken of establishing local assemblies in the prefectures and larger cities. These assemblies were representative bodies, elected by and from the people, on the basis of a wide but not unrestricted franchise.* Although their powers were confined to deliberation and petition, they formed useful channels for the discovery and organisation of public opinion, and trained the people for the responsibilities of government.

Meanwhile, Count Itagaki and his friends continued their constitutional agitation in favour of reform. In 1877 they presented a long and reasoned memorial to the sovereign, urging the Government to redeem the promise vaguely made in 1868.

‘Nothing’ (they said) ‘could tend more to the well-being of the country than for your Majesty to put an end to all despotic and oppressive measures, and to consult public opinion in the conduct of government. To this end a representative assembly should be established, so that the government may become constitutional in form. The people would then become more interested and zealous in looking after the affairs of the country; public opinion would find expression; and despotism and confusion would cease. The nation would advance in civilisation; wealth would accumulate; internal troubles and foreign contempt would be at an end; and the happiness of your Imperial Majesty and of your Majesty’s subjects would be secured.’ (Iyenaga.)

Under these and other influences public opinion rapidly consolidated itself in favour of reform. The *Rishisha* developed into a strong and organised Liberal party, the *Jiyu-to*, under the leadership of Itagaki. Within the

* The property qualification for electors was the payment of 1*l.*, for members that of 2*l.* in land tax.

circle of ministers Okuma Shigenobu strongly urged the claims of the reformers to attention; and he resigned in 1881 in order to forward them more freely.* Thus pressed on all hands, and having no longer the fear of rebellion before their eyes, the Government at length gave way and took the final step, which was, for the first time in history, to convert an Oriental State into one framed on the political model of the West. On October 12, 1881, the Emperor published an edict, the essential clauses of which run as follows:—

'We have long contemplated the gradual establishment of a constitutional form of government. . . . It was with this object in view that in the eighth year of Meiji we instituted the Senate, and in the eleventh year authorised the formation of local assemblies. . . . We therefore hereby declare that, in the twenty-third year of Meiji (1890), we shall establish a Parliament in order to carry into full effect the determination we have announced; and we charge our faithful subjects bearing our commissions to make, in the meantime, all necessary preparations to that end.'

The nation, thus assured of the future, waited patiently for the realisation of its hopes. A period of comparative political repose succeeded one of storm and stress which had lasted for nearly twenty years. But progress was steadily maintained. The local assemblies continued to meet, and gave valuable assistance to the Government in regard to provincial organisation, and the difficult work of local preparation for the introduction of a parliamentary system. Their powers were finally determined by a Local Government ordinance promulgated in 1888. In 1884 the aristocracy was reorganised on a Western basis. Henceforward honours were to derive solely from the sovereign. Titles of nobility were created—princes, marquises, counts, viscounts, and barons; and a brand-new peerage, composed partly of the old feudal or Court nobles, partly of distinguished officials of humbler origin, sprang into existence.

In 1885 a change of great political importance took place. The Cabinet system was fully introduced, the heads of the various departments of State taking their

* Itagaki is called by Captain Brinkley the Rousseau, and Okuma the Peel, of Japan.

places as the supreme council of the nation, under the leadership of a Minister-President or prime minister. The departments themselves were reorganised, and a system of competitive examinations for appointments in the civil service was substituted for the earlier methods, in which caprice and favouritism prevailed. Count Ito Hirobumi, the chief promoter of these reforms, became the first Minister-President. Three years later a Privy Council was created. Its members are chosen from old and distinguished officials, and its special function is to advise the sovereign whenever he consults it. Its importance may be gauged from the fact that, on its creation, Count Ito resigned his post as Minister-President to Count Kuroda, himself becoming President of the Privy Council. The relation of this body to the Cabinet does not seem very clear, but the difficulties which might have been expected to arise have not, so far, made themselves felt.

The most important work of this period, however, consisted in the revision and codification of law, the establishment of a judicial system, and the elaboration of a written constitution. The old Japanese law, both civil and criminal, was, like most things in Japan, based upon the Chinese, but had been modified, to the detriment of the lower orders, the peasantry, and the commercial and industrial classes, by the feudal system. There was no separation between justice and administration. No distinction was drawn between civil and criminal law. The lower classes had practically no rights, but were at the mercy of their superiors. The procedure was capricious and irregular; the very law-books were secret, known only to the judges. Torture was freely applied, and punishments were very severe. For this tyrannous system—if system it could be called—was substituted, within the space of about twenty years, a series of codes, an entirely new procedure, and equality before the law.

The Ministry of Justice, when established in 1876, at once set to work on the reform of the criminal law, which had been begun by the Legislative Department created in 1868. Shortly afterwards European jurists were invited to Japan to aid in the work; and the services of a Frenchman, M. Boissonade, were specially engaged to teach French and Roman law in a school founded by the *ministry*. Students were sent to Europe and America

to complete their studies, and subsequently took part in the reforms. The labours of the ministry and its foreign and native assistants culminated in the production of a code of criminal law and criminal procedure in 1878. The procedure was modified in 1880 and 1882, and completely remodelled eight years later. The law was revised in 1880, the new code coming into operation in 1882; but the work of revision was carried on, in the light of advanced knowledge and further experience, during the next decade; and considerable changes continued to be made. A radical revision of the code was laid before Parliament so late as 1901. Japanese criminal law is founded mainly on the French: the principles of Roman law consequently prevail. Trials are inquisitorial; the presumption is against the accused; but punishments and procedure have been humanised in accordance with Christian ideas. Death by hanging has taken the place of the hideous penalties inflicted under the old law; and torture is abolished. Justice and administration are completely separated.

Civil law was taken in hand along with criminal. The process of bringing it into accordance with European principles and practice was forced upon the Japanese Government as an indispensable preliminary to the abolition of the humiliating juridical rights which a series of treaties secured to subjects of the Western Powers. The earlier attempts at reform, made under the influence of M. Boissonade, followed the French model; subsequently German influence prevailed; and, especially in the department of commercial law, the admirable German code has been closely followed. In 1890 an ordinance reorganised and regulated the various courts of justice; and in the following year a code of civil procedure and a code of commercial law were published. These codes, having been approved by the Diet, came into operation in 1893. No one is admitted to practise at the bar without passing certain examinations. The independence of the judicature is secured by a clause of the Constitution; but, except in the highest posts, the smallness of the salaries subjects the probity of the judges to obvious temptations.

While this great work was in progress, the scheme of a constitution was slowly and laboriously taking shape.

Immediately after the issue of the Imperial edict (1881) promising a Parliament, Count Ito, with a staff of qualified assistants, left for Europe, charged with the mission of enquiring into the principles and the practical working of European constitutions. On his return a special bureau was established for the purpose of sifting the information gleaned, and drafting a constitution for Japan. It would be interesting to know by what steps the Japanese statesmen arrived at their conclusions, what plans were rejected, what arguments were employed; but detailed reports, such as enable us to trace every step in the process by which the constitution of the United States was framed, unfortunately fail us hitherto in the case of Japan. It must suffice to say that after eight years of deliberation the Constitution was solemnly proclaimed on February 11, 1889.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of this instrument is to be found in the safeguards by which the executive is protected from the encroachments of the representative bodies which it has called into existence. The statesmen of Japan, with all the political experience of the Western world to draw upon for their instruction, appear to have been impressed at least as much by the disadvantages and dangers as by the benefits of popular government. Foreseeing that, in order to maintain national independence and to fulfil what they regard as their mission in the East, unity of control and the unfettered power of employing all the forces of the nation would be indispensable conditions of success, they resolved, while enlisting the sympathies of the people, to secure the Crown against excessive popular interference. The Constitution of Japan, therefore, while drawing largely on such free polities as those of Great Britain and the United States, resembles, in essentials, the German system rather than any other of the Western world. There can be little doubt where Japanese sovereignty resides. Though limited in some noteworthy respects, it resides in the Crown.

It is the Emperor who, with many appeals to 'the glorious spirits of the Imperial Founder of our House and of our other Ancestors,' and 'by virtue of the supreme power inherited' from them, promulgates the 'immutable fundamental law' of the Constitution. The person of the

Emperor is 'sacred and inviolable.' He 'exercises the legislative power with the consent of the Imperial Diet.' He sanctions and promulgates laws. He convokes and prorogues the Diet, and dissolves the House of Representatives. When the Diet is not sitting he issues ordinances with the force of law, which, however, are valid only until the next session of the Diet. He appoints and dismisses all officials, civil and military; he 'confers titles of nobility and other marks of honour'; he has 'supreme command of the army and navy'; he 'declares war, makes peace, and concludes treaties'; and he may declare a state of siege.

The rights of the subject follow the rights of the sovereign. 'No Japanese subject shall be arrested, detained, tried, or punished, unless according to law.' Subject to the payment of legal taxes the rights of property are inviolable. The liberties of speech and publication, of public meeting and association, and of petition, 'within the limits of the law,' are secured. Similarly, 'within limits not prejudicial to peace and order,' religion is free.

The Imperial Diet consists of two Houses—a House of Peers, and a House of Representatives. Separate laws, not forming part of the Constitution, regulate the composition of the Houses, the method of election, etc.

The House of Peers consists of five classes, (1) members of the Imperial family; (2) princes and marquises; (3) counts, viscounts, and barons, elected as representatives of the several orders, the representatives of each order not exceeding one fifth of that order; (4) persons nominated, for life, by the Emperor on account of meritorious service to the State, or of erudition; (5) persons elected for seven years by and from the fifteen highest taxpayers in each city and prefecture, and subsequently nominated by the Emperor. The number of members from the two last classes is not to exceed the number of representatives of the hereditary nobility.

Members of the House of Representatives, numbering about 300 in all, are elected in every city and prefecture, one or more members from each. An elector must be twenty-five years of age; must have his permanent residence and have actually resided for the year preceding the election in the district for which he votes; and must

have paid direct national taxes to the amount of thirty shillings* in that year and district. A candidate for election must be thirty years of age; he need not have resided in the district for which he seeks election, but he must have paid thirty shillings in direct national taxes in that district during the previous year. Certain classes of persons, such as officers of the Imperial household, revenue and police officers, clergy and others, are ineligible. Persons actually serving in the army or navy can neither vote nor be elected. The same disability lies on certain classes of criminals, including convicted gamblers, for a specified period after completion of sentence. The heads of noble families cannot vote or sit in the Lower House; but other nobles, not being members of the House of Peers, enjoy both rights. The general election takes place on one day, normally July 1, throughout the country. Voting is by secret ballot. The term of membership is four years. Members receive a yearly allowance of 80*l*. When the House is dissolved a new House must be convoked within five months.

The Diet, thus constituted, is summoned every year. The session lasts three months, but may be prolonged by the Government, which may also convoke extraordinary sessions. Debates are public; but committees of each House—and a large proportion of the work, as in the United States, is done in committee—sit in secret. Members are free from arrest, except in cases of flagrant wrong-doing, and (a noteworthy exception) 'of offences connected with a state of internal commotion or foreign trouble.' Every law, except modifications of the Imperial House Law, requires the consent of the Diet. Bills may be submitted by the Government or initiated by either House. Both Houses have the right of presenting addresses to the Emperor, and of receiving petitions. 'Ministers of State and delegates of the Government may at any time sit and speak'—but not, apparently, vote—'in either House.' The Presidents and Vice-Presidents of both Houses are nominated by the Emperor: in the Upper House without restriction, in the Lower from among three candidates elected by the House for each office. An elaborate code, promulgated along with the Constitution,

* This was subsequently lowered to twenty shillings.

regulates the conduct of affairs in the Diet, the relations of the two Houses, etc.

The power of the purse is the lever by which Parliament, in all constitutional countries, has generally sought to bring pressure on the Government. To reduce this pressure within narrow limits has been a primary aim of Japanese statecraft. Under the Constitution the imposition of a new tax or the modification of an old one, and the raising of national loans, are subject to the consent of the Diet, which also controls the national revenue and expenditure by means of an annual budget. The budget is laid first before the House of Representatives; otherwise the Lower House possesses no advantage in this respect over the Upper. So far the power of the purse appears to reside in the Diet. But certain clauses of the Constitution point to a different conclusion.

In the first place, the expenditure of the Imperial House, though defrayed out of the Treasury, requires no consent of the Diet, unless an increase is contemplated. Secondly,

'Those already fixed expenditures based by the Constitution on the powers appertaining to the Emperor, and such expenditures as may have arisen by the effect of law or that appertain to the legal obligations of the Government, shall be neither rejected nor reduced by the Diet without consent of the Government.'

Thirdly,

'When the Diet cannot be convoked owing to the external or internal condition of the country, in case of urgent need for the maintenance of public safety, the Government may take all necessary financial measures by means of an Imperial ordinance.'

Lastly—and this power seems to be borrowed directly from that in the Prussian constitution, so dexterously used by Bismarck in the early sixties—

'When the Diet has not voted on the budget, or when the budget has not been brought into actual existence, the Government shall carry out the budget of the previous year.'

It should be borne in mind that these restrictions are not part of the ordinary law, but are inserted in the

Constitution; that no ordinary law can override the Constitution; and that no amendment to the Constitution can even be discussed in the Diet, save on the initiative of the Crown. Such enactments, when considered along with other Imperial powers, make it abundantly clear that a factious parliamentary majority, however numerous, would have little chance, in the last resort, of forcing its will upon the Government.

The Constitution of Japan is evidently what is called a 'rigid' constitution. The political system, though no longer autocratic, is far removed from a democracy. The storms of party have raged violently within and without the Diet during the thirteen years that have elapsed since its first meeting in November 1890, but they have not prevented the Government from holding on its course, or impaired the uniformity and firmness of its control.

Into the internal political history of Japan since 1890 it is not our business to enter. The meeting of the first Constitutional Parliament may be called the penultimate act of the Revolution which began with the visit of the American squadron thirty-seven years before. There remains but one part of our task, but a by no means unimportant one—to recount the steps by which Japan emancipated itself from the tutelage in which it was placed by its original treaty-relations with foreign Powers. It should never be forgotten that the spirit which animated the reformers at the outset of the Revolution, was an anti-foreign one; and, though their violent and outspoken hostility gave way to a wiser and more friendly policy, they never ceased to keep steadily in view, as the ultimate and dominant aim of their efforts, the liberation of their country from foreign control.

The situation in which Japan was placed by the treaties with foreign Powers executed in the time of her weakness, in the fifties and sixties of the last century, was not only humiliating but highly inconvenient. To begin with, at a date when money was badly wanted, Japan was precluded from raising more than an inconsiderable revenue from her growing industry and commerce. The convention of 1866 fixed the duties leviable on imports and exports, so far as the treaty-Powers were

concerned, at a maximum of 5 per cent. *ad valorem*. All the treaties included a 'most-favoured-nation' clause; consequently it was impossible to buy off, by special concessions, the opposition of any single Power, or to make a breach in the compact array of obligations under which the country lay. Each treaty-State—and there were some fifteen in all—had its own consular jurisdiction, its distinct system of law, civil and criminal. Diversity of language added to the difficulties experienced by Japanese subjects who had dealings with the consular courts. The legal education of the consuls was in many cases defective; and appeals were practically impossible, for the courts of appeal lay on the other side of the world—in London, for instance, or in Leipzig. Not only did civil and criminal cases, in which Europeans were concerned, come before the consular courts, but even matters of police and domestic administration. If a European insisted on travelling on a Japanese railway without a ticket, the Japanese authorities were left practically without redress. If regulations were issued for the exclusion of cholera infection, they could not be enforced against Europeans. It may easily be imagined that it required all the patience and self-restraint which a high-spirited and naturally exclusive people could command to put up with such a state of things.

The Japanese Government made repeated and persistent efforts to free the country from these intolerable obligations; but for a long time they strove in vain. A term for the revision of the treaties had been fixed; and the end of this term coincided roughly with the abolition of feudalism. A prime object of the Iwakura embassy (1871) was the revision of the treaties; but from this point of view the embassy completely failed. 'First amend your laws,' was the answer generally received. The laws were amended and codified, and that too, as we have seen, on European principles; but the treaties were not revised. It is to the credit of the United States that the first advance in this direction was made by that Power. In July 1878 a treaty was signed at Washington which, while leaving the question of jurisdiction where it was, made important concessions to Japan, especially in regard to the coasting-trade and the right of determining import and export dues. But these concessions

were rendered almost worthless by the stipulation that the treaty should not come into force until Japan had effected a similar revision with all the other treaty-Powers. Many years were to elapse before this took place.

In 1882 a conference of representatives of all the treaty-Powers met in Tokio to consider the question of revision. Japan was represented by one of her foremost statesmen, Kaoru Inouye, Minister of Foreign Affairs, who had fully grasped the necessity of breaking, once for all, with the old jealous and exclusive policy towards other States. He laid before the conference a proposal to throw the whole Empire open to foreign trade—an advantage to be met by the abolition of the consular jurisdictions. It was suggested that the treaties based on these proposals should be valid for twelve years, but that after eight years the tariffs and trade regulations should be subject to revision. This suggestion seems to have been unfavourably received by some of the foreign delegates; while, on the Japanese side, some opposition manifested itself to the opening of the whole country to foreign trade. Difficulties also arose in connexion with the length of the transitional period, and a proposal for the appointment of a certain number of foreign judges by Japan. In the end, after sitting for six months, the conference broke up without coming to an agreement.

A second conference met in May 1886. Count Inouye (as he now was) again represented Japan. The British and German delegates joined in a proposal to surrender the consular jurisdictions at once, without any transitional period. But difficulties of detail again arose, and certain safeguards were demanded which seemed to the Japanese Government to encroach upon the judicial independence of the State. Popular opposition to any such concessions ran high; and eventually, in July 1887, Count Inouye closed the conference, after it had sat for upwards of a year.

These repeated disappointments came near wearing out the patience of the Japanese people. The enthusiasm for foreign manners and institutions, which had risen to an almost absurd climax about 1885-6, now declined. A bitterness of feeling showed itself which led to several attacks on foreigners, the assassination of Count Okuma (who had succeeded Count Inouye at the Foreign Office)

on account of his foreign proclivities, and the attack on the Czarevitch in 1891. Nevertheless, the Government continued its patient efforts in the cause of treaty reform. In 1889 a treaty with Germany was signed at Berlin, which, while conceding the main demands on either side, involved the appointment of foreign jurists as judges in the Japanese Court of Cassation. This provision caused the Japanese Government to refuse ratification. Similar treaties with Russia and the United States broke down over the same obstacle.

At length, when the completion of the legal codes and the establishment of the Constitution had removed all reasonable grounds for anxiety, and proved the fitness of Japan to rule itself, the confidence of the foreign Powers was won, and the persistent efforts of the Japanese Government were crowned with success. It is pleasant to reflect that Great Britain was the first Power to give full effect to the recognition of Japan. In March 1894 a treaty was signed in London by Lord Kimberley and Viscount Aoki which, in consideration of the opening of Japan to British trade, put an end to the rights of extra-territoriality enjoyed by British settlements in Japan, abolished the consular jurisdictions and the other immunities enjoyed by British subjects in that country, and handed over the jurisdiction to the native courts. The example of Great Britain was followed first by the United States and then by the other treaty-Powers.

The new treaties came into force in 1899. In the interval the Chinese war had been fought and won. On June 30, 1899, the Emperor issued a proclamation in which the following passages occur. After stating that, 'Thanks to the traditions we have inherited and to the virtues of our ancestors, it has been granted to us to obtain full recognition of our sovereign rights,' the Emperor continues:—

'In regard to the revision of the treaties, our long-nourished wishes have at length, by means of a satisfactory agreement with the treaty-Powers, attained their end. Considering that the revised treaties are now about to come into force, we may regard this moment with joy and hearty satisfaction; and, while on the one hand we recognise the responsibilities which the altered state of things imposes on the Empire, on the other we hope that the new conditions will contribute to

build up our friendly relations with the Powers on a basis yet firmer than before. We expect, therefore, from our loyal subjects, ever ready as they are to discharge their public duties, that, in accordance with our wishes and the enlightened principles of our national policy, they will without exception receive in a kindly spirit the strangers who come to us from distant lands, and will thus strive to raise the national reputation and maintain the dignity of the Empire.' (Von Siebold.)

The spirit which inspires these words worthily marks the coming of age of a great people. Less than half a century had gone by since Japan, holding fast to her ancient ways, undisturbed through long ages by extraneous influences, lay, a slumbering and secluded group of islands in the Pacific, remote from all the stir of the Western world. In 1853 there was nothing to show that the 'Drang nach Osten' of the European Powers would not reduce her, as it has gone near to reducing China, to a pitiable condition of dismemberment and vassalage, and the more easily by reason of her insular position and the comparatively small numbers of her people. But Japan bestirred herself in time. She was safely guided by a wise monarch, and by statesmen of unsurpassed insight and discretion, through all the perils of domestic revolution, and through a crisis in her foreign relations—that of 1895—as formidable as any that ever beset a young and untried people. Transformed within and without, retaining her ancient fervid patriotism, but armed with all the panoply of modern science, she took her place as a great Power, only five years ago, in the comity of nations.

Art. XIII.—THE MILITIA AND VOLUNTEERS.

1. *Report of the Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers; with Minutes of Evidence and Appendices.*
London: Spottiswoode, 1904. (Cd. 2061-4.)

THE Royal Commission on the Militia and Volunteers seems to have been appointed by the Government not with a view to making large reforms, but rather as a means of escape from parliamentary troubles. In February 1903 Mr Beckett, in the House of Commons, moved as an amendment to the address,

‘that this House humbly regrets that the organisation of the land forces is unsuited to the needs of the Empire, and that no proportionate gain in strength and efficiency has resulted from the recent increases in military expenditure.’

In the course of the debate the supporters of the amendment, some of whom were members of the party on which the Government relies, strongly urged the opinion that the land defence of the United Kingdom ought to be entrusted mainly, if not entirely, to the auxiliary forces. The effect of the debate was to shake the faith of the Government in Mr Brodrick's schemes, and to convince its members that some means must be found of staving off for the rest of the session a repetition of the attack. The simplest means appeared to be the appointment of a Royal Commission.

There was indeed a good reason why the Secretary of State should seek advice on the subject of the Volunteer force from persons conversant with its organisation and working. On November 4, 1901, an Order in Council had been issued modifying the conditions required to be fulfilled by volunteers and Volunteer corps for the purpose of earning the capitation grants by which the corps are maintained; and the Order in Council was followed by new regulations, dated November 27, 1901. One of the new conditions prescribed was that every corps should attend a camp of exercise for one week in each year, and that every volunteer should attend the camp for at least one week in every alternate year. This condition was not the invention of a perverse War Office. It was one

of the proposals made in a memorandum * submitted to the Commander-in-Chief in February 1901 on behalf of the Manchester Tactical Society, a body of volunteer and regular officers formed in 1881 for purposes of study. The new regulation for attendance at camp was much attacked in the London newspapers, for it was inconvenient to many of the London Volunteer corps. The evidence published by the Royal Commission proves that the Manchester Tactical Society represented the Volunteer force better than the London newspapers; for, out of some 200 corps which attend camp every year, twenty-three attend for a fortnight; and, of the remainder, 124 would be prepared to extend their time beyond a week if the money grants were increased. The outcry led to the appointment of an advisory board of volunteer commanding officers, and of similar boards for the Militia and Yeomanry. But the indifference of the Government to the special needs of the Militia and Volunteers is shown by the fact that, even before the Royal Commission reported, the advisory boards were dissolved.

To postpone a difficulty is not to solve it, but rather to insure that it will reappear in an aggravated form. The appointment of a Royal Commission is of all dilatory proceedings the one most liable to produce this kind of recoil on the Government that has recourse to it; for a Royal Commission, deriving its authority from the King, and being unpaid, is absolutely independent. The only means of regulating its action consists in the judicious definition of the task assigned to it—a definition which is embodied in the royal warrant. Now the terms of reference, in the present case, ran as follows:—

‘To inquire into the organisation, numbers, and terms of service of our Militia and Volunteer forces; and to report whether any, and, if any, what changes are required in order to secure that these forces shall be maintained in a condition of military efficiency and at an adequate strength.’

Nothing could be clearer, nothing more stringent, than the purpose here set forth; the Commission was to ascertain how to secure for the forces which it was to investigate both military efficiency and adequate strength.

* Appendices, p. 124.

Military efficiency means fitness for war; and adequate strength in a military body must be a strength sufficient to fulfil the duty which that body has to discharge. Thus the Commission was, by the terms of its reference, at once confronted with one of the most difficult and at the same time most vital problems of national defence. The Cabinet, which is responsible for the reference, had not sufficiently considered the meaning of its words, and was astonished and embarrassed by their consequences. The Marquis of Lansdowne said in the House of Lords on June 27, 1904, when the Report of the Commission was discussed:—

‘If our reference to the Commission was obscure, we greatly regret it; but we certainly understood that they were invited to report rather on the question of the measures which were necessary in order to maintain the popularity and the efficiency of the auxiliary forces than upon those much deeper and more complicated problems which have been touched upon during the debate and in parts of the Report.’

The Commission was bound, not by the unexpressed intentions of the Government, but by the terms of the reference, which are free from the obscurity lamented by Lord Lansdowne. There is, however, no sign that the Duke of Norfolk and his colleagues plunged into profound speculations, or tried to usurp the functions of a Committee of Defence. They received from the War Office a paper setting forth the requirements, as understood by the Secretary of State. But the questions put to witnesses in the elucidation of this paper revealed a startling divergence of opinion between the War Office and the Admiralty. The Commissioners sought enlightenment from the Admiralty. They were ready to offer themselves for conversion to the ideas of the ‘blue-water school.’ But the Government interfered by refusing to allow the Admiralty officers to give evidence, and by referring the Commission to the Committee of Defence. That body proposed to the Commission two hypotheses to be taken as the working basis of the enquiry, but was careful to avoid committing itself, except hypothetically, to either of them. The Commission, as requested, took these hypotheses to work from, but expressed no opinion upon them, and explicitly disclaimed responsibility for

them. 'It will be seen' (they say) 'that we had not the means of reaching, in any scientific manner, an independent conclusion as to the adequate strength to be provided.'* But, after the publication of the Report, the Government, by the mouth of Lord Lansdowne, reproached the Commission in the following terms:—

'With regard to the further recommendation, that compulsion in some form or another should be resorted to, I think we must bear in mind that that recommendation was made upon a twofold hypothesis—in the first place, on the assumption that the country was denuded of regular troops, and, in the next place, that the Government had come to the conclusion that invasion, as distinguished from a mere raid, was within the bounds of possibility. Those are two very extensive hypotheses; and they are not the class of problem which, in our estimation, had been referred to the Commission.'†

Lord Lansdowne's hearers would hardly gather that the twofold hypothesis was the work, not of the Royal Commission, but of the Cabinet Committee of Imperial Defence.

The terms of the reference to the Commission, the estimate given by the War Office of the force required, and the correspondence with the Committee of Imperial Defence, led the Commission to the following conclusions, which are the key to the Report:—

An effective force—in other words, an army—of the strength proposed to us, can be required only to meet an invasion. Either an invasion is possible or it is not. If not, no military force is required for home defence; and our enquiry could hardly serve any practical purpose. But, if invasion is possible, it can be undertaken only by one of the great European Powers which possess forces highly trained and ready to move in large numbers at the shortest notice. . . . The Militia exist chiefly, and the Volunteers solely, for the purpose of resisting a possible invasion of the United Kingdom, which would be attempted only by a first-rate army. This purpose will not be fulfilled merely by a brave or creditable, but unsuccessful, resistance; it requires the defeat of the enemy. The standard of efficiency to be aimed at is therefore not a matter of opinion; the conditions of war

* Report, § 22.

† 'Times,' June 28, 1904.

and of the battlefield must be met, and no lower standard can be laid down.'

The Commissioners proceed, in section III of their Report, 'to measure by the standard of war conditions the Militia and Volunteer forces as they are.' As regards the Militia, the estimate is that the drill and training undergone by this force are insufficient to enable it at short notice to oppose trained troops in the field; that the average militia battalion would not be fit for fighting against a serious enemy until after several months' embodiment, though the militia garrison artillery would not require very much extra training to be ready for its war work. The Commissioners further find that the training of the militia officer is inadequate to enable him properly to lead troops. The Militia is imperfectly organised and equipped for war. Thus the Commission was 'forced to the conclusion that the Militia, in its existing condition, is unfit to take the field for the defence of this country.'

As regards the Volunteer force, the Commission observes that its training is hampered by difficulties as to both time and space; that the efficiency of the units varies greatly, and that, on the whole, neither the musketry nor the tactical training of the rank and file reaches the standard attained by the troops of a continental army. The organisation for war is imperfect. The Report dwells at some length on the qualifications of the officers of the Volunteer force:—

'That which distinguishes an army from a number of armed men is the cohesion which enables it to act as a single organism. The men are given their places in a framework which is formed by the officers and non-commissioned officers; and this framework is the skeleton by which the whole is supported and made one.'

The volunteer officers receive less systematic training than the officers of any regular army, and are not, as a rule, so well trained as the officers of the Swiss Militia. The consequence is that

'they are of very unequal quality. Many of them have given themselves an excellent military education, and would be a valuable element in any army; the majority, however, have neither the theoretical knowledge nor the practical skill in

the handling of troops which would make them competent instructors in peace or leaders in war. This inequality of attainment prevents the Volunteer force from acquiring the cohesion needed for war.'

The Commissioners were agreed in the conclusion

'that the Volunteer force, in view of the unequal military education of the officers, the limited training of the men, and the defects of equipment and organisation, is not qualified to take the field against a regular army.'

The Report next examines the measures by which the efficiency of the two forces may be increased. For the Militia it recommends a six months' continuous training in the first year, followed in the second, third, and fourth years by a six weeks' training, and by a fortnight's training in each of the four subsequent years of an eight years' engagement. It further recommends the transference of the commanding officers and a portion of the company officers to the permanent staff, and the permanent organisation of the Militia into brigades and divisions.

Thus far the Commissioners seem to have been unanimous. Of those who wrote dissentient reports, Colonels Satterthwaite and Dalmahoy expressly record their concurrence with the majority up to this point; and Sir Ralph Knox recommends for the Militia a scheme not materially differing from that of the majority report. But as regards the means of improving the Volunteers, the Commissioners were not agreed. The two volunteer colonels, while rejecting the principle of universal service, held that the measures which seemed to them necessary could not be carried out without either pay to the men or compulsion; and they based their recommendations on the acceptance of the principle of compulsion, which is also favoured by Sir R. Knox. The majority of the Commission thought it their duty to ascertain by what changes the Volunteer force 'could be brought to the highest degree of military efficiency consistent with its existing constitution'—in other words, to find out how, without compulsion, the Volunteer force can be improved.

The evidence given was found to repeat certain points with such persistency that, when these points were classified and put together, they formed the outlines of a

method by which the Volunteer force can be improved. The Report, in tracing these outlines, lays great stress upon what it describes as the 'condition governing' the whole volunteer system, and upon a cardinal principle which it recommends. The governing condition is that the volunteer earns his own living, and cannot comply with demands upon him which are inconsistent with his doing so. The cardinal principle is that the cost of all instruction, of all exercises, and of all necessary travelling, should be defrayed by the State, so that no volunteer may be out of pocket in consequence of his endeavour to train himself as a soldier. Subject to the governing condition explained, and to the cardinal principle indicated by the Commission, the points forming the outline of the system recommended are:—

'i. The Volunteer force should be managed at the War Office by a separate department, the head of which should have special knowledge of, and experience with, Volunteers, and should report direct to the Army Council.

'ii. The force should be organised in its war formations of brigades and divisions; and commanders and staffs should be appointed to these bodies. These commanders should hold no other appointments, and should be responsible for the training, instruction and inspection of the bodies under their command, for their mobilisation, and for their leading in war.

'iii. Under the Volunteer Act, 1863, the financial administration, as well as the discipline of the Volunteer force, rests upon the commanding officers. The income of a corps is almost entirely derived from capitation grants; and commanding officers have in consequence been compelled to attach undue importance to numbers as compared with real efficiency. To obviate this, it is desirable that of the money granted by the State to each corps a portion should take the form of an allowance per battery or company proportionate to the establishment, and that the balance only should be issued in the form of capitation grants.

'iv. The training of the Volunteer force should be concentrated upon what is essential for its tasks in war. Corps told off for special duties in war should, during peace, practise those duties.

'v. All Volunteer corps should be allowed to train up to fourteen days in camp in each year, with adequate allowances. This appears to the Commission to be the longest period practicable.

'vi. Ranges and grounds of exercise for all corps should be provided at the cost of the State, and adequate financial provision should be made for the necessary cost of movement to and from them.

'vii. Transport and equipment for mobilisation should be provided.

'viii. Tactical schools should be formed, and Volunteer officers encouraged to attend them and other schools of instruction by elastic conditions as to time and place, and by sufficient money allowances to cover all necessary expenses.

'ix. An increase of the minimum number of attendances other than those in camp required from each man as a condition of earning a capitation grant is desirable in the interest of efficiency. The present average is 19 in the Infantry and 34 in the Artillery; and the minimum should certainly be more than 10.'

These are in substance all the proposals of the majority report for the improvement of the Volunteer force. A number of minor points are enumerated in a schedule, which has evidently been used as a catalogue of such volunteer grievances brought before the Commission as that body thought worthy of consideration. The Report, in recommending the adoption of its nine points, says:—

'Those who best know the Volunteer force, and the spirit that animates it, believe that if these recommendations are carried out there will be a marked improvement, and that a standard much in advance of anything yet attained will gradually be reached. In this view we concur. These measures will enlarge the opportunities of the volunteer officers, non-commissioned officers and men to educate themselves; and for the development of this force it is to the initiative and energy of its members that the nation must look. At the same time the creation of the organisation for war, and the appointment of war leaders, will provide the machinery for setting before the Volunteers the standard at which they must aim.'

The majority of the Commissioners, in their general observations regarding the measures proposed, observe that any considerable increase of the demands made upon the time of volunteer officers and men appears to be out of the question, because officers and men alike are tied by the economical necessities of their civil employment. This difficulty, they assert, cannot be overcome

by any system of pay, because men cannot, in return for high pay for a few weeks, afford to sacrifice their permanent employment; and because individual employers cannot afford to cripple their establishments by encouraging the prolonged absence of those upon whose energies their own success in business depends.

This section of the Report concludes with a paragraph that has escaped the notice of those critics who imagine that the Commission treated the Volunteer force as of no account:—

‘The Volunteer force has had a great effect in educating the people of Great Britain to think of the Army as a national institution, and at the same time it has enlarged the ideas of professional soldiers on the subject of the means and methods of military training. We deprecate any changes which would modify the spirit which this force has cherished, or any fundamental change in its position, except as a part of some comprehensive measure which would replace both the Militia and Volunteer forces by an organisation which, while giving greater military efficiency and at least equal numbers, would also render permanent that sympathy between the nation and the Army which, before the rise of the modern Volunteer force, was undoubtedly defective.’

The recommendations made are worth considering both in their positive and in their negative aspects. The Commission endorses the opinion almost unanimously held by the officers of the Volunteer force, that the working of the force has not been thoroughly understood at the War Office, and that special arrangements for its headquarters management are indispensable. But the majority report avoids the attempt to dictate to the Government what those special arrangements should be. It insists merely on a separate department, the head of which should thoroughly understand the volunteers. But it does not propose to interfere with the constitution of the Army Council; and its recommendations would be met by the appointment, as head of the Volunteer department, of a person of volunteer experience, who would not necessarily be a member of that Council for all purposes. It does not recommend that the same department should have charge of the Militia, though it very plainly hints that the general management of the Militia should be in closer

touch than heretofore with the general and local conditions of that force.

On two matters that bulk largely in the evidence the majority report is silent. It does not recommend any change in the legal status of the Volunteers, either by their being subjected to the provisions of the Army Act, or by their being required to enrol themselves, apart from the present agreements with corps, for a term of years. Possibly those who framed the Report thought that these were matters that could better be dealt with by a competent Volunteer department after it had been some time working through the divisional organisation proposed.

It will be seen that the majority of the Commissioners fully complied with the wishes of those who, like Lord Lansdowne, appear to have hoped that the Report would indicate some means of improving the efficiency of the Militia and Volunteers without making a radical change in the character of those forces. This part of the work of the Commission is summed up in the words:—

‘If the Militia and Volunteer forces are to continue to be, as they have hitherto been, auxiliary forces for the purpose of resisting, in conjunction with the regular Army, the forces of an invader, the changes set forth in the fourth section of this Report will prepare them for that duty and lead to a great improvement in their efficiency, while permitting them to maintain the requisite numerical strength.’

But a body commissioned by the King cannot set at naught the instructions conveyed in the warrant which appoints it; and the terms of the warrant were explicit. The Commission was debarred by the intervention of the Government from enquiring into the purposes for which ‘adequate’ forces were to be provided. While disclaiming all responsibility for the hypotheses of the Committee of Defence, which indicated ‘an effective force of 100,000 militia and 200,000 volunteers,’ and spoke of an ‘invasion after a considerable portion of the regular troops might have left the country,’ the Report proceeds to consider the case thus presented to it:—

‘We cannot assert’ (say the Commissioners) ‘that, even if the measures recommended in the preceding section were fully carried out, these forces would be equal to the task of defeating a modern continental army in the United Kingdom.

If the purpose is to produce a force which, without substantial help from the regular Army, can be relied upon to defeat an invader, then improvements in the Militia and Volunteer forces will not be sufficient. . . . The principles which have been adopted, after the disastrous failure of older methods, by every great State of the European continent, are, first, that as far as possible the whole able-bodied male population shall be trained to arms; secondly, that the training shall be given in a period of continuous service with the colours, not necessarily in barracks; and thirdly, that the instruction shall be given by a body of specially educated and highly trained officers. We are convinced that only by the adoption of these principles can an army for home defence, adequate in strength and military efficiency to defeat an invader, be raised and maintained in the United Kingdom.'

This is the Commissioners' reply to the Prime Minister and the Committee of Defence. These authorities furnished the premisses of a force which, without substantial help from the regular army, can be relied upon to defeat an invader; the Commission, upon the evidence before it, explains that for that purpose nothing but universal training will suffice. No one who has examined the evidence can doubt that from the premisses supplied the conclusion is inevitable. But the Government which is responsible for the premisses now peremptorily rejects the conclusion, asserting that its hypotheses were mere hypotheses not deserving of serious consideration, and that, since proposing them to the Commission, it has changed its mind and gone over wholly to the so-called blue-water school. The members of the Commission may possibly have their opinion of the treatment they have received at the hands of the Government. But the Report only says, at the conclusion of the recital of the communications from the Committee of Defence:—

'Your Commission has received no further communication from the Committee of Defence, and has no knowledge of any decision to which the Committee may have come on the subject of the conditions of possible invasion or of the number of troops required to repel it.'

The Commission refrains from making detailed recommendations on the subject of universal training to arms, but makes general observations, which show that the

'vi. Ranges and ground to be provided at the cost of the Government. Provision should be made to and from them.

'vii. Transport and accommodation to be provided.

'viii. Tactical schools for officers encouraged to be constructed by elastic arrangements, with sufficient money allowance.

'ix. An increase of other than those in condition of earning a capital of efficiency. The present 34 in the Artillery, more than 10.'

These are in the majority report for force. A number of schedule, which has such volunteer ground as that body thought in recommending 'Those who best that animates it, carried out there standard much gradually be measures will unless officers, non-commissioned selves; and for initiative and end look. At the same war, and the appropriate machinery for which they must

The majority of observations reveal that any consideration upon the time be out of the question tied by the Government. This does

fully than appears in the where considering the positive to examine the hypothesis— having accepted it from the announces no opinion—of the in place in any scheme of We start from the belief in the defence of Great and any and every British war in the light of the theory of to comprehend with some is; and for this purpose we have already met with fairly

means the possession of a fleet a victory, or series of victories, of the struggle against it. having the command of the sea by sea; and the territories any fighting fleet at all are unless its fleet has been defeated or being at attack upon territory first to obtain command of the fleets of its enemy; and any undertaken without this pre- and uncertain.

so long as it maintains the protection against invasion except India and Canada. If, suffer decisive defeat, if it were of its fortified harbours and were destroyed, then not only would every to invasion, but the communication parts would be cut, and no mutual

fleet would, of course, be effected; but the acquiescence in its defence only be secured by a blow aimed at war; and therefore the establishment of naval superiority would almost certainly of Great Britain. So long as the maintained invincible, the Empire would against the attack of any European [or, we must add, the United States];

and for such defence, therefore, no more is needed than complete naval preparation, and such military preparation as is required for the full efficiency of the navy.*

The writers of these passages examined the means by which the command of the sea thus described could be attained. They described the strategy known as Lord St Vincent's, which, at the outset, placed in front of every one of the enemy's military ports a British naval force superior to that which the enemy had within it. But while, in 1892, they found that Great Britain's naval force fell far short of that which would be needed for the adoption of this policy, even against a single maritime rival, in 1897 they recorded

'the impossibility of attaining, at any rate during the remaining years of this century, the proportion required by the ideal standard to the forces of a combination of two naval Powers.'

That was before the German naval programmes of 1898 and 1900, since which the ideal of Great Britain carrying out against a coalition the policy of Lord St Vincent has become altogether impracticable.

In any future war against a great Power or Powers, Great Britain's command of the sea will be challenged, and will have to be asserted by fighting without the advantages of the plan just described. What, for such an event, is the 'military preparation required for the full efficiency of the navy?' The problem can be illustrated by one or two concrete hypotheses. Assume a quarrel with two or more great Powers, having between them fortified harbours both in the Mediterranean and on the north-west coast of Europe; and assume a British Navy only slightly superior in numbers to the combined hostile navies. The coalition prepares a military force to be transported to Egypt for the conquest of that country. How is Egypt to be defended? If by a British fleet in the Mediterranean, with a decisive superiority over the enemy's Mediterranean fleet, the enemy's fleet outside the Mediterranean will have at least an equality with the British fleet outside that sea. If, while the struggle is

* 'Imperial Defence,' by the Right Hon. Sir Charles W. Dilke and Spenser Wilkinson. New edition, 1897, pp. 39-41.

being decided in southern waters, a battle were lost in the Channel or the North Sea, the enemy could follow up his victory by landing an army in England. The Mediterranean fleet might be recalled and Egypt left to its fate; yet an army once landed in this country, if not effectively opposed, might cripple the nation and possibly capture the arsenals upon which the navy depends. Even supposing that the Mediterranean fleet could be recalled in time to prevent an invasion—a doubtful question, considering that it might be in the Levant, ten days' sail from London—Egypt would still have to be left to its fate, and the safety of India would be at least imperilled. But, if there were an effective army in Great Britain, the whole fleet might safely be sent to the Mediterranean, for, in that case, a foreign army could not be landed here with any hope of success.

Let us take another possibility. The Anglo-Japanese treaty contemplates emergencies which might involve this country in war with the Dual Alliance. Whatever the recent agreement may have done—and it has doubtless done much—to stave off such a danger, the possibility remains. A naval triumph might be gained, but it would not be gained without heavy loss and a serious diminution of our naval strength. Suppose that, at such a moment, when the bulk of our fleets were refitting in Malta, Gibraltar, or elsewhere, a fifth Power should step in with demands which we could not concede; or suppose that such an intervention were to take place when the bulk of our regular army was engaged abroad, in India, Persia, or elsewhere, and the fleet employed in keeping open communications. If war with this fifth Power were the consequence, an invasion would then not only become possible, but would probably be attempted. At all events the mere threat or prospect of it would paralyse our military action abroad, and would, in the present, or even in an improved condition of the auxiliary forces, necessitate the recall of our regular troops and the abandonment of military operations beyond the seas.

We conclude, then, that there are cases in which an invasion of Great Britain is possible, not only during a period of conflict for the command of the sea, when an army of limited size might be risked on the attempt to strike at the base of Great Britain's naval power, but

also in the event of a defeat of the British Navy. The country, therefore, requires a military force at home to form a garrison for Great Britain against what may be called invasion by *coup de main*, and also as the cadre of an army for resistance *en masse* against invasion in the extreme case of naval disaster.

It is often said, we are aware, that to talk of an invasion is absurd, for it would be unnecessary for any Power or coalition of Powers that might have destroyed our navy or driven it into port to run the risk of actual invasion. All that would be required would be to blockade our ports and starve us into submission in a few weeks. Consequently an army to resist an invasion is a superfluity, for it would never be called upon to act. In this case we may well ask, What then are the Volunteers for? But the grounds on which this view is based are in themselves unreasonable, for it is not to be supposed that neutral Powers, whose interest it is to supply this country with food, would allow corn and meat to be declared contraband of war. Food would be imported, though doubtless at famine prices; and invasion would become a necessity for the enemy.

These hypothetical cases may serve to show that the existence of a sufficient military force in the United Kingdom is necessary to enable the navy to devote itself freely to its proper tasks. This is the opinion of Sir John Colomb, a very high authority on the defence of the Empire. His words are :—

'I do not for a moment underrate the immense importance and absolute necessity of being prepared to render invasion impossible by purely military forces. If we are not so prepared, we stake the fate of the Empire on, perhaps, a single naval engagement. A temporary reverse at sea might (by the enemy following up his advantage) be converted into final defeat on land, resulting in a total overthrow of all further power of resistance. It is necessary for the safety of the Channel that invasion be efficiently guarded against, so that, should our home fleet be temporarily disabled, we may, under cover of our army, prepare and strengthen it to regain lost ground, and renew the struggle for that which is essential to our life as a nation and our existence

as an Empire—the command of the waters of the United Kingdom.' ('Defence of Great and Greater Britain,' p. 54.)

Those who doubt the soundness of this judgment may study the words of Captain Mahan, which, though written as a commentary upon special historical facts, yet perhaps admit of a wider application.

'If the true end of naval war is merely to assure one or more positions ashore, the navy becomes simply a branch of the army for a particular occasion, and subordinates its action accordingly; but, if the true end is to preponderate over the enemy's navy and so control the sea, then the enemy's ships and fleets are the true objects to be assailed on all occasions. That the navy is the first line of defence, both in order and importance, by no means implies that there is or should be no other.' ('Influence of Sea-power upon History,' p. 288.)

Again, Captain Mahan elsewhere stigmatises the opinion, that there is, or should be, no other line of defence than the navy, as a 'forced and extravagant interpretation, for which naval officers have been largely responsible, of the true opinion that a navy is the best protection for a sea frontier.'

In view of these possibilities, the Duke of Norfolk's Commission was not content to rely upon the Militia and Volunteer forces, even as improved by the proposals made in the fourth section of the Report, but preferred to recommend the acceptance of the principle of universal training. Their justification is contained in the word 'cohesion' (see above, p. 313), and in the estimate given of the attainments and possibilities of the volunteer officers. On these subjects the judgment of the Commissioners appears to have been materially influenced by the evidence given to them. The opinions of two regular officers of experience and ability, both of whom spoke in unusually favourable terms of the Volunteer force, deserve to be quoted. Sir Ian Hamilton was asked what time the volunteer would take to train up to the level of the regular soldier. He replied :—

'I think he would train very quickly if you took away all the men from a regular battalion and filled it up with volunteers, putting them under military discipline and under regular officers. I think that they would make very decent infantry in five or six months.' (Evidence, i, question 1182.)

Colonel C. P. Ridley, an officer who greatly distinguished himself in South Africa, and who now

le of volunteers, was asked to say what was his al confidence in the Volunteer force, from the point w of what they would have to do in case of invasion. plied :—

ould place very great reliance upon them in what they called upon to do. I think they would answer to what they were called upon to do in a way that would astonish many people. . . . I have very great confidence in the of those battalions that I am in contact with, and I their training has been much more thoroughly carried an people realise. . . . At the end of their training' (he ued) 'they are, with the exception of shooting, I think, place with any troops in the world, though of course, ng generally, they require filling up with officers who mpetent to lead in the field. . . . Except when they are p there is no possibility really for the officers to acquire of the knowledge and familiarity with their work which lutely necessary in the field.' (Evidence, ii, pp. 21, 22.)

el Ridley's further evidence showed that he thought in order to render the officers competent to lead in eld, a good deal of extra time and training would be sary, which some could give but others could not; e evidently thought that even then only a propor- ould reach the necessary standard.

e judgment of these high officers, both of whom seen the Volunteers in peace and war, is confirmed at of many of the volunteer officers of Colonel y's excellent brigade.* There was abundant evidence, hat neither the supply of officers nor their power of g their time freely to their training is on the increase.

volunteer witnesses asked that the officers should bject to the Army Act; and, when pressed for the n, explained that they hoped in this way to better tatus of volunteer officers. The widespread dis- nt of volunteer officers with their position hardly to show that the force as a whole has quite the described by Colonel Ridley; and the frequent rence of the demand for the enforcement of the a ballot, as a means of filling up the ranks of teer corps, points to a weakening in many parts of untry of the zeal which has made and maintained force.

The Commission was driven to the conclusion that, in consideration of the necessarily imperfect training of the men, the Volunteer force could not be relied upon, with no other framework than that supplied by a body of amateur officers and non-commissioned officers, to turn out as a field-army sure of defeating a number of the best trained and best led army corps that the European continent can produce. But, if a military force for home defence is needed, and if the Volunteer system does not produce a force that can be counted upon to face with any possibility of success the highly trained troops of France or Germany, some other system must be adopted. Those who have objected to the Report of the Commission have not shown either that the nation can dispense with a military force for home defence, or that the Militia and Volunteers can be rendered equal to the strain of war. They have for the most part been content to denounce the system proposed by the Commission, to which they have applied the unpopular name 'conscription.'

The Volunteers have for many years been described as 'citizen soldiers,' though there has never been any necessary connexion between the volunteer's service and the citizen's rights. The volunteer has a duty only in the sense that he imposes it on himself at his pleasure, and lays it down when his pleasure changes. The Commission proposes to make a reality of the name 'citizen soldiers' by asserting the principle that it is part of a citizen's duty to be trained for the national defence and to take part in it should the occasion arise. To refuse to recognise that principle, and to entrust the defence of the State to a body of half-trained men, however patriotic they may be, is, say the Commissioners, to endanger the safety of the State. We cordially endorse this view; and we cannot help feeling that, in their hearts, most opponents of the principle—a principle, be it remembered, recognised by every other civilised state in Europe—will also endorse it. If the national defence is not a duty, why are the Volunteers praised and called patriotic? The praise is undeserved, except on the ground that they are doing what they ought to do. Why should these particular persons discharge the duty rather than others?

The practical question is how the principle of universal service is to be applied. The Commission suggests that

every citizen of sound physique should, on reaching the military age, receive a military training sufficient to give him a thorough mastery of all that is essential for a private soldier in a war in the United Kingdom. It expresses the opinion that such a training could be given in a period less than a year, if thoroughly qualified instructors were employed; and it suggests that the lessons should occupy the best hours of the day and be given from day to day until the course has been completed. This is implied in the words 'a period of continuous service with the colours, not necessarily in barracks.' After the termination of the course the citizen soldier would recover the full control of his time, except that in each of the two years following that in which he had been trained he would be required to attend at manœuvres for a few weeks. The Commission has also made some enquiry into numbers and cost, and is of opinion on both heads that the adoption of the system is practicable for this country; that it is consistent with voluntary enlistment for the navy and for the regular army—presumably the regular army abroad; and that it would in a few years provide the nation with a very large reserve of military strength.

The Royal Commission lays stress upon the chief consideration that has led to this part of its Report. Employers of labour cannot afford to give long holidays to those of their workmen who happen to be volunteers. This is a fatal obstacle which must prevent the Volunteers from reaching more than a low standard of military efficiency; and it can be overcome only by the definition of a duty to the State transcending the economical needs or desires of individuals. (Report, §§ 57 and 62.)

The remarkable thing about these proposals is that they should have been received with astonishment and be treated as impracticable. The principle that every child must attend school for a number of years was adopted nearly thirty-five years ago, and has not been found to have undermined either the British constitution or the national character. It is but a natural extension of the same principle that every young man, on attaining a suitable age, should be taught so much of military discipline, of the use of arms, and of the exercises of war as will enable him, in case of need, to take his place among the defenders of his country.

The Commissioners, quite rightly, did not consider it part of their business to dilate upon the general advantages of universal service to the nation. We therefore reserve what we have to say on this topic for another occasion, merely remarking now that, to our minds, the strongest arguments in favour of the principle are that in no other way is there any hope that in this country the organisation of government for purposes of naval and military administration can be rendered efficient; and that by no other method can a professional class of officers in the modern sense be produced.

For many years past only two classes of people in this country have taken a serious interest in problems of national defence. They are a limited number of political writers for the Press, and the officers and men of the Volunteer force. A government can afford to ignore both these classes, and to regulate its naval and military administration by purely party considerations. But let every citizen have had his military training and be qualified to shoulder his rifle in case of emergency, and there will be a public opinion on the subject of naval and military efficiency which will not tolerate such vagaries as have marked recent military administration.

The interest of the officers of the army in what used to be called the art of war has steadily increased for many years. But the belief that the career of an officer is professional, in the sense that it demands thorough and systematic study as well as assiduous practice, has not yet been fully accepted by those whom it concerns. Let them be entrusted with the military training of all their fellow-citizens, and they will find, as others have found before them, that responsibility for education cannot be fully met without whole-hearted devotion and full time, and that instruction cannot be of the best unless it is inspired and guided by that pursuit of knowledge to which the learned of our time apply the name research.

THE
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

No. 400.—OCTOBER, 1904.

Art. I.—THE PANAMA CANAL AND MARITIME COMMERCE.

1. *Report of the Isthmian Canal Commission, 1899–1901; 57th Congress, 1st Session.* Senate Document No. 54. Washington, 1901.
 2. *Supplementary Report of the Isthmian Canal Commission; 57th Congress, 1st Session.* Senate Document No. 123. Washington, 1902.
 3. *Interoceanic Communication on the Western Continent.* By Colonel G. E. Church. 'The Geographical Journal,' vol. xix, No. 3. London: Royal Geographical Society, 1902.
 4. *The Panama Canal.* By J. C. Rodrigues. London: Sampson Low, 1885.
 5. *The Panama Canal Question: a plea for Columbia.* By Abelardo Aldanha, Consul of Columbia. Cardiff: Western Mail Office, 1903.
 6. *The Inter-oceanic Canal of Nicaragua, its history, &c. Nicaragua Canal, an account of explorations and surveys, &c. Nicaragua Canal, report on prospective tonnage of traffic.* Pamphlets published by the Nicaragua Canal Construction Company, New York, 1890.
- And other works.

FROM the Arctic Ocean to Cape Horn a practically continuous mountain barrier separates the Atlantic from the Pacific. For four hundred years civilised man has been trying to find a way through, or to force a way over, that barrier. Across the northern continent the barrier has been surmounted by several railways; and in the southern continent the iron road is even now steadily ascending the Andes. But the 'secret of the

Strait,' which the Spaniards sent out countless *conquistadores* to discover at the Isthmus, has never been discovered; and therefore America is now piercing Panama, as Lesseps pierced Suez. But with this difference—Lesseps practically restored a waterway between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea that Rameses had cut and the Pharaohs had used ages ago; at Panama American engineers are cutting a way through a tropical mountain region which has never been opened before, which Lesseps expended sixty millions on failing to penetrate, and which many engineers have declared it to be impossible to cut. In modern mechanics, however, the word 'impossible' has no place; and within a few years the siren of the 10,000-ton liner will hoot over the Culebra range. The prospect of the realisation of the dream of ages is, indeed, so near that it behoves us as a maritime nation and a commercial people to consider, even now, what this waterway means, and what effect it will have upon our shipping and sea commerce. It is no longer an engineering speculation by French financiers that we have to contemplate, but a definite national enterprise undertaken by the most practical nation in the world.

One hundred years before Le Maire and Schouten rounded Cape Horn, Pedrarias Davila was exploiting and devastating the Castilla del Oro, which we now call the Isthmus of Panama. The town of that name, when the Spaniards reached the Isthmus, was but a small hamlet of mud-huts on the shore of the Pacific. This fishing hamlet the Spaniards converted into their most important city in the west. They built a wall round it, guarded it with forts, and made it the chief storehouse of the treasures they collected for shipment to Spain. It has to-day a population of 25,000 inhabitants; and its port is visited annually by many hundreds of vessels. It is a city close upon four hundred years old; whereas Colon, on the Atlantic side of the Isthmus, was founded only in the middle of the last century. The Isthmus itself is about 400 miles long and contains an area of 31,570 square miles, bounded on the north by Costa Rica, on the south by the Atrato River, on the west by the Pacific, and on the east by the Caribbean Sea. There is little doubt that once upon a time the Caribbean Sea and the

Pacific Ocean were connected, and that the high lands of Panama, Costa Rica, and Nicaragua were then islands in a mid-ocean archipelago. This geological archipelago is now, so far as Panama is concerned, a dense tropical jungle, scored by torrential rivers, and reputed to be endowed with the worst climate in the world. The climate, however, is not so bad as has been represented and the immense death-rate of the Lesseps period was due to the malarial influences set free by the cutting of the surface soil, and to the improvidence of the invading whites. On the Isthmus the summit-level of the mountain barrier is only 300 feet above the sea level, and from its slopes 326 rivers flow into the Pacific and 149 into the Atlantic. In the days of Pedrarias Davila the Isthmus had an estimated population of 2,000,000 Indians. It has now a mixed population of some 300,000 Spaniards, Indians, negroes, Europeans, and Americans.

The discovery of the Atlantic coast-line from Florida northwards was the result of the search for the western passage to the Indian Ocean; and from that coast-line are now streaming down the capital and the material, the machinery and the brains, for the construction of the waterway which the Spaniards were unable to discover as the gift of Nature. Once again is Panama to be made the great highway of trade between the Atlantic and the Pacific, as when the Spanish galleons landed their cargoes for the west coast at Puertobello, near what is now Colon, and waited there for the produce of Chile and Peru; and as when the multifarious crowd of gold-seekers and their followers, panting after the treasures of California, found the quickest route to the goldfields along the track which the Spaniards had made across the tropical desert—'eighteen leagues of misery and curses.'

It is as unnecessary to recall here all the efforts that have been made towards the canalisation of Central America, by way of Panama or Nicaragua, or otherwise, as it is to re-tell the deplorable story of the Lesseps project. Long before the catastrophe, Mr Rodrigues showed, though no Frenchman and few Englishmen hearkened to him at the time, how 'Le Grand Français' was either fooled or fooling, or both; how he was forcing on a scheme which had never been properly studied, and

which had been condemned by the competent few who had studied it. The bubble burst in 1888; and there the Lesseps venture ended.

For six years afterwards there was stagnation at the Isthmus. But in 1894 was formed 'La Compagnie Nouvelle du Canal de Panama,' with a capital of 65,000,000 francs, or say 2,600,000*l*. This company was established just in time to prevent the expiration of the concession of 15,000 hectares of land by the Government of Colombia to the first company. During the years 1895-7 the New Company actively continued the work begun by Lesseps. More than this, while the Nicaragua route was being discussed, the company was making exploratory cuttings along the whole of the Panama route, thoroughly testing the nature of the ground, so scientifically coping with the climatic conditions as to reduce the sick-list to an average of 3 per cent. of the men employed, and planning out, under a sort of international staff of experts, a new and feasible scheme of construction. The result of the prolonged examination by this technical body of advisers was the decision that the two oceans should be connected by a canal of six reaches, divided by locks. The idea of a dead-level, tide-water canal was wholly abandoned. The De Lesseps Company had constructed, from the Atlantic side, sixteen miles of canal, with a channel 30 metres wide, and of a depth of 9 metres below the level of the sea. At the central part of the Isthmus the bottom of the canal will have to be 20·75 metres above the level of the sea.

The chief problems on the Panama route have always been how to deal with the Chagres River, and the water supply for the central high-level reaches. La Compagnie Nouvelle solved both problems by designing a huge dam, 289 metres long and 50 metres high, in a rocky gorge twelve miles to the north-east of the line of the canal. Behind this dam, by the storage of the flood waters, will be formed a large lake, which will be ready to supply the canal as required. A feed-water conduit along the high ground parallel to the river will capture the floods and convey them to the lake. On each slope there will be eight sets of locks. All this La Compagnie Nouvelle de Panama demonstrated should be done and could be done.

While the Nicaragua Company was endeavouring to persuade Congress to take up its project—and it probably would have succeeded, but for the war with Spain, which taxed the energies of the nation—some American capitalists were quietly organising the Panama Canal Company of America to acquire all the rights, privileges, properties, and concessions of *La Compagnie Nouvelle du Canal de Panama*. In March 1899, Congress passed an Act empowering the President 'to make full and complete investigations of the Isthmus of Panama, with a view to the construction of a canal by the United States across the same to connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans,' and particularly 'to investigate the two routes known respectively as the Nicaragua route and the Panama route,' in order to determine 'the most practicable and feasible route for such canal.' This Commission was appointed in June 1899, with Rear-Admiral Walker, U.S.N., retired, as its president. It issued a preliminary report in 1900, but continued its labours until the close of 1901.

On the opening of the United States Congress, on December 3, 1901, President Roosevelt sent to the Senate the second Hay-Pauncefote Convention, superseding the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850, and he also sent to Congress the final report of the Isthmian Canal Commission. To the reception of the Convention by the Senate it is now unnecessary to refer; the treaty was eventually ratified. The report of the Isthmian Canal Commission narrowed to a choice between Nicaragua and Panama the determination of 'the most feasible and practicable route' for a ship canal across the Central American Isthmus, and reached the conclusion that "the most practicable and feasible route" for an Isthmian canal, to be "under the control, management, and ownership of the United States," is that known as the Nicaragua route.' During the progress of the Commission, Admiral Walker, its president, and M. Hutin, the director-general of the New Panama Company, frequently met and corresponded with reference to the suggested acquisition by the United States of the company's property and rights. M. Hutin suggested for discussion an amount equivalent to 22,500,000*l.*; and this the Commission treated as a definitive offer. The Commission submitted a plan for the completion of the Panama enterprise, and formulated

an estimate of the work already accomplished; the worth of which, with the assets of the company, it valued at about 8,000,000*l*.

The shareholders of the New Panama Company, at their annual general meeting in Paris, on December 21, 1901, decided that, whatever the figure might be, there was no practical alternative to the terms offered by America; and the directors telegraphed to Washington offering to sell all the company's concessions, canal works already executed, plans, plant, land, buildings, and Panama Railroad stock, for the sum suggested by the Commission. On the receipt of this offer the Commission submitted a supplementary report, recommending the adoption of the Panama route. This document was transmitted to Congress on January 20, 1902; and, in spite of the opposition of the advocates of the Nicaragua scheme, and of the 'railroad interests,' who are against any Isthmian waterway whatever, it was adopted.

In their report of 1901 the Isthmian Canal Commissioners say:—

'The cost of constructing a canal by the Nicaragua route and of completing the Panama Canal, without including the cost of acquiring the concessions from the different Governments, is estimated as follows: Nicaragua, \$189,864,062; Panama, \$144,233,358. For a proper comparison there must be added to the latter the cost of acquiring the rights and property of the New Panama Canal Company. This Commission has estimated the value of these, in the project recommended by it, at \$40,000,000. In order to exercise the rights necessary for the construction of the canal, and for its management after completion, the United States should acquire control of a strip of territory from sea to sea sufficient in area for the convenient and efficient accomplishment of those purposes. Measures must also be taken to protect the line from unlawful acts of all kinds, to ensure sanitary control, and to render police jurisdiction effective. . . . An agreement with the Panama Canal Company to surrender or transfer its concessions must include a sale of its canal property and unfinished work; and the Commission undertook, soon after its organisation, to ascertain upon what terms this could be accomplished. The total amount for which the company offers to sell and transfer its canal property to the United States is \$109,141,500. This, added to the cost of completing the work, makes the whole cost of a canal by the Panama

route \$253,374,858, while the cost by the Nicaragua route is \$189,864,062, a difference of \$63,510,796 in favour of the Nicaragua route. . . . There are certain physical advantages, such as a shorter canal line, a more complete knowledge of the country through which it passes, and lower cost of maintenance and operation, in favour of the Panama route ; but the price fixed by the Panama Canal Company for a sale of its property and franchises is so unreasonable that its acceptance cannot be recommended by this Commission. After considering all the facts developed by the investigations made by the Commission, and the actual situation as it now stands, and having in view the terms offered by the New Panama Canal Company, this Commission is of opinion that "the most practicable and feasible route" for an Isthmian canal, to be "under the control, management, and ownership of the United States," is that known as the Nicaragua route.' (Report, pp. 261-263.)

The report of 1902 adopts a different view.

'The advantages of the two canal routes have been restated according to the findings of the former report. There has been no change in the views of the Commission with reference to any of these conclusions then reached ; but the new proposition submitted by the New Panama Canal Company makes a reduction of nearly \$70,000,000 in the cost of a canal across the Isthmus of Panama, according to the estimates contained in the former report, and with this reduction a canal can be there constructed for more than \$5,500,000 less than through Nicaragua. The unreasonable sum asked for the property and rights of the New Panama Canal Company when the Commission reached its former conclusion overbalanced the advantages of that route ; but, now that the estimates by the two routes have been nearly equalised, the Commission can form its judgment by weighing the advantages of each and determining which is the more practicable and feasible. . . . After considering the changed conditions that now exist, and all the facts and circumstances upon which its present judgment must be based, the Commission is of the opinion that "the most practicable and feasible route" for an Isthmian canal, to be "under the control, management, and ownership of the United States," is that known as the Panama route.' (Sup. Report, pp. 9, 10.)

Then came that remarkable chapter in international history—the negotiation and conclusion of the so-called Hay-Harran Treaty with Columbia, which Columbia

repudiated in the hope of extracting better terms; the secession of Panama from the Columbian Confederation; the immediate recognition by the United States of the independence of the new Republic of Panama; and the prompt conclusion of a treaty with that Republic, securing a perpetual lease of the strip of land necessary for the waterway, and other rights, to the United States.

The manifesto of the United States Government on the Panama question, issued by Secretary Hay, declared that the action of President Roosevelt in Panama was not only in strict accordance with the principles of justice and equity, and in line with all the best precedents of the States' public policy, but that it was the only course that could have been taken in compliance with treaty rights and obligations. It reviewed the treaty of 1846, in which New Granada guaranteed free transit to the Government or citizens of the United States, by any modes of communication existing or to be thereafter constructed; in return for which the United States guaranteed the neutrality of the Isthmus, in order that transit should remain uninterrupted, and the rights, sovereignty, and property of New Granada in the said territory. President Polk's message to Congress accompanying that treaty pointed out the importance to the United States of the concession which, it was contended, has subsequently 'become transcendent through the acquisition of Hawaii and the Philippines.' The right of the United States to control the transit of the Isthmus has not, it was affirmed, been forfeited by laxity either in the assertion of rights or in the performance of duty under the treaty. The Hay-Harran Treaty was framed to carry out the plans of both countries.

The Hay-Harran Treaty with Columbia lapsed; and in its place was concluded with the new Republic of Panama the Hay-Bunau Varilla Treaty. By this treaty Panama cedes to the United States in perpetuity certain lands in the Republic found to be desirable in connexion with the building operations or maintenance of the canal, and also grants to the United States sovereignty over a strip ten miles wide on each side of the canal. Permission is given to the United States to erect police establishments at the terminals. The cities of Panam and Colon are to retain municipal autonomy under

Republic, so long as they maintain order and sanitation to the satisfaction of the United States. Failure to observe these conditions gives the United States the right to enforce strict compliance with its wishes, and even to use force to compel obedience. Panama has received \$10,000,000 in consideration of these concessions. The treaty further provides that the canal shall be neutral, and open to ships of all nations on even terms.

The United States Government has now actually begun the construction of the Panama Canal. The Commission is in full operation. Field parties have been sent from Washington to Panama to survey particular sections; engineering estimates are being made for different portions of the work; and supplies are being sent for the parties now on the ground. The office at Washington, where maps of the route, diagrams of the sections, and data intended for the field parties are prepared, is in active administration. The construction of the canal is under the direct supervision of the Panama Canal Commission, subject to the control of the Secretary for War, and will so continue until the project is completed. General Davis, an engineer officer, is on the spot, in charge of the entire canal zone, politically and commercially, and of the active construction of the canal.

Under the law, the Panama Canal will be constructed at an expense to the United States of \$130,000,000, for which 2 per cent. bonds will be issued and guaranteed by the United States Government. The preliminary expenditure began at the rate of \$20,000 or \$25,000 a month, and continues to increase monthly as the full force of engineers and their working parties comes into the field. Contracts for the actual digging are met under the law which permits the Secretary of the Treasury to advance up to \$10,000,000 of the entire \$130,000,000 which has been appropriated for the construction of the canal. The Secretary of the Treasury will eventually issue \$130,000,000 of bonds, bearing 2 per cent. interest, the proceeds of which will be used to meet the payments for construction. These bonds will be issued from time to time as the requirements of the work demand; and from the proceeds of them the \$10,000,000 which the secretary is authorised to advance during the calendar year 1904 will be repaid into the treasury. The canal

will not cost the Government of the United States more than \$130,000,000, unless Congress authorises further expenditure on the project. The bonds are simply 2 per cent. bonds guaranteed by the Government of the United States. United States 'Twos' are now receivable as a basis for National Bank circulation, and as security for Government money in National Bank depositaries. The canal bonds will not be so receivable without additional legislation. Bills were introduced in Congress during last session to make them receivable as security for National Bank deposits; and some such Bill will be passed during the coming session of Congress. The tax on these bonds will doubtless be reduced to the tax now paid on 2 per cent. bonds—viz. $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 per cent.—which will place them on a par with the United States 'Twos.'

The treaty concluded between Great Britain and the United States 'to facilitate the construction of a ship canal to connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans,' commonly called the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, was signed at Washington on November 18, 1901, and ratified by the United States Senate on December 16, 1901. The preamble declares, *inter alia*, that one object is 'to remove any objection which may arise out of the Convention of the 19th April, 1850, commonly called the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, to the construction of such canal.' After providing that 'the canal may be constructed under the auspices of the Government of the United States . . .; and that, subject to the provisions of the present Treaty, the said Government shall have and enjoy all the rights incident to such construction, as well as the exclusive right of providing for the regulation and management of the canal'; the treaty proceeds to lay down, for the neutralisation of the canal, certain rules 'substantially' the same as those adopted in 1888 for the Suez Canal.

By the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, then, the canal is to be free to the traffic of all well-disposed people in time of peace; and this is a provision of great importance to all maritime nations. But what about time of war? What will happen to the canal if the United States is engaged in war with another naval Power of the first rank? The command of the canal in time of war will be practically with the Power whose ships command the sea on either side of it. The joint ownership which we should have

had under the provisions of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty would be no real advantage. We only want the free use of the canal; and in the case of war this free use would depend upon our ability to close or open it. Joint ownership would make us neither stronger nor weaker than when the canal is 'under exclusive American ownership and American control.'

The cutting of the Isthmus—which Sir Thomas Browne, two hundred and fifty years ago, said, 'if policie would permit, were most worthy the attempt, it being but few miles over, and would open a shorter cut unto the East Indies and China'—is at present the most important material question before the commercial world. Naturally, therefore, it is of supreme importance to the greatest of maritime nations; and yet shipping men in this country do not seem to have fully considered what service this waterway is going to do to our sea-carrying trade, or, indeed, whether it is going to do us any service at all. So long as the rivalry between the Nicaragua and the Panama routes continued, there was some excuse for quiescence, though not for apathy, on the subject. But that rivalry is now at an end. Panama has won; and some American engineers contend—what we are not inclined to admit—that the greater ease, safety, and celerity of the Panama passage would alone make that route preferable even at double the cost of that of Nicaragua. We need not now discuss the routes; and, as to costs, what is of vastly more consequence than the outlay on construction is the element of maintenance and operation. It is not the initial cost of the canal that will affect the traffic, but the method and cost of administration. If the process of transit is too slow, if the detention, whatever it is, be made irksome, if the dues are too high, traffic will be repelled. The sea is always open; and the Suez Canal is always available. Therefore, what the administration of the Panama Canal will have to consider is not what rate of dues will afford an adequate return upon the capital expenditure plus the working expenses, but what rate it will pay vessels to give for the use of the route.

Central America is, by its geographical situation, one of the greatest natural barriers to international commerce the world. To circumnavigate the southern continent

requires an expenditure on ocean transport of many millions per annum. This is not all lost, of course; yet it is impossible not to regard as near akin to waste some of the expenditure of energy and money to convey freight round Cape Horn to the Pacific shores. If any of that expenditure can be saved by the canal, then such portion as can be saved is at present wasted. But we are afraid the saving will not be so much as is supposed. The whole world will, no doubt, benefit by the opening of a maritime canal between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans; and for the United States it is of vital importance, not merely because of commercial, but also of political considerations. A committee of the Senate, to which, in 1896, had been referred one of the Bills dealing with the construction of a canal across Nicaragua, discussed the opposition offered by some of the transcontinental railroads, and reported:—

‘In competing for the carrying trade that is furnished from Asiatic fields of production, they [the railroads] must ultimately be overwhelmed by the cheaper rates of water transportation through the Suez Canal to our Atlantic ports. The fight is unequal, and they must succumb; and, if they do all the carrying from the Pacific ports, they will still fall into bankruptcy, because their present policy impoverishes the commerce of the Pacific States. Nothing, indeed, can now save some of these railroads, except the filling-up of our Pacific States with a vigorous European immigration. . . . There is not, in fact, any interest in any business enterprise in the United States that would not feel the impulse of this great movement in a new career of commerce and national power and influence, and share in its benefits. We have no undeveloped and prospective advantages, as a commercial people, that compare with those of our Western States, in their virtual command of the trade of the countries bordering upon the Pacific Ocean. To do this work in a manner worthy our opportunities, we must shorten the line of water communication between our Atlantic and Pacific States. If we fail in this, we shall soon occupy a position, as a people, inferior to our kindred in Europe. . . . It is the combination of these powers, through the Nicaragua Canal, that alone can establish that national unity and strength without which the chain of the Rocky Mountains may some day become the boundary between two great rival republics.’

The argument is the same if, in the last sentence, we substitute Panama for Nicaragua.

The problem is not merely concerned with the cost of traversing the Isthmus from sea to sea, but with the total cost of the movement from port to port. According to Mr Lewis M. Haupt, formerly a member of the Canal Commission, who stated in the 'North American Review' for July 1902 his objection to the final report of the Commission, it is a delusion to assert that, because the Panama route is but 49 miles long while the Nicaragua route is 183, the former is the better, since that statement omits entirely the greater length on the sea route by Panama for about three-quarters of the traffic, the presence of the lake and river which compose more than half of the waterway through Nicaragua, and the still more important fact that the general direction of this route lies along the most direct line, while at Panama it is almost at right angles thereto. Moreover, argues Mr Haupt, there is the insuperable meteorological disadvantage attaching to the Panama route, due to position, since the southern route lies in the region of equatorial calms which, without great expense for towage, debar sailing vessels from access to Panama, while the northern route lies in the region of the trade-winds, which also contribute greatly to the salubrity and comfort of this transit-way. He refuses to accept the argument that the sailing vessel is doomed to be superseded by the steamer. The outlook (he says) does not justify such a conclusion, since more than half of the American registered tonnage is sail; and the tendency is towards larger schooner-rigged craft.

'The great cargo capacity and economy of the six-masted and seven-masted vessels of this class, as well as their relative immunity from danger of fire, make them the cheapest known instrument of transportation; and this fact ensures their continued existence, and guarantees them a patronage by all freights not demanding great speed. In a fair wind, however, they readily hold their own with the twelve-knot steamer; and they carry a larger cargo for a given displacement and with less than half the crew.'

Further—

'The rapid increase in the size of fore-and-aft rigged vessels is shown by the trebling of their net tonnage during the decade ending in 1894, and its doubling since that date. To ignore the sailing vessel as a factor in interoceanic transit

would be a serious discrimination against one of our greatest economic possibilities, and would greatly retard the restoration of our merchant marine.' ('North Amer. Rev.,' 1902, p. 131.)

But, owing to the difficulties of navigating the Bay of Panama, hardly any sailing vessels enter or clear there; and the obstacles to the transit of the Isthmus extend through and beyond the bay region as far as the Galapagos Islands on the Equator. It has been reported that, in some instances, sailing vessels have occupied a longer time in beating out of the bay than is required to make the entire trip from New York to San Francisco by Cape Horn. The use of this route by sailers would therefore be attended by a heavy charge for towage a long distance to sea at certain seasons of the year. No estimate for this has been made in calculating the cost of operations. We are not citing Mr Haupt's arguments because we agree with them—on the contrary, we believe that Panama is distinctly the better route, and that the physical disadvantages of the Nicaragua route have been greatly understated—but because they lead up to the question of the sailer as a factor in interoceanic traffic. This a question so directly touched by the canal that we give it full consideration later.

The French consul-general at New Orleans has expressed his belief that a great part of the trade passing through the canal will enter and leave the United States by way of the ports situated on the Gulf of Mexico; and that, while it is unsafe to prophesy any actual falling-off in the prosperity of New York and the other Atlantic coast ports, a great stimulus will be given to the trade of the Gulf ports—New Orleans, Galveston, etc. New Orleans is six hundred miles nearer to Colon, at the entrance to the canal, than is New York; while many of the central states of the Union, west of a line from Chicago to Charleston, are nearer to New Orleans than to New York. A geographical fact which is not generally recognised is that the voyage from New York to Hong Kong is practically the same length eastwards through the Suez Canal as it will be westwards through the Panama Canal. West of Hong Kong the advantage in point of distance will lie with the Suez route; east of Hong Kong the Panama route will have the advantage. In voyages from New York to ports between Singapore

and Shanghai the preference for one route over the other will depend on the amount of the canal tolls. So far as the commerce of the United States is concerned, if New Orleans becomes the great clearing-house for goods passing through the canal, the advantage of distance will rest with the Panama route to a greater extent.

The grounds upon which an enormous ocean traffic is expected to be drawn to the canal are mainly these. A trade route has crossed the Isthmus for centuries; the breaking down of the natural barrier will open the way to the steamer as against both the railway and the sailer; the success of the Suez Canal shows that the opening of the Panama Canal will create new avenues of trade. Too much, however, is built upon these foundations. The railways of the northern continent have drawn away a good deal of the trans-isthmian traffic; and the Panama Canal will not, like the Suez Canal, unite two populous and industrious sections of the world, but will join two wide oceans on which there is little or no intermediate traffic. It is computed that 94 per cent. of the population of the world live north of the latitude of the Panama Isthmus; and the 6 per cent. to the south of it are not remarkable for commercial enterprise. The Suez Canal draws annually ten million tons of traffic between Europe and Asia. Is there any reasonable probability that the Panama Canal will draw any such traffic between the Atlantic and the Pacific basins?

Large hopes are based on the development of South America; and in that vast continent there is, no doubt, an enormous and promising field for human effort—a field to which, perhaps, the yellow races may find a strong attraction in future generations. But, after all, how much of that development can affect the fortunes of the canal? Something like 90 per cent. of the rainfall of South America drains into the Atlantic; and the produce of the countries east of the Andes, while wanted in Europe, finds no market in the countries on the Pacific slope. The chain of the Andes bars the transit of the inland produce from the western ports, which must, therefore, depend for their traffic on the production and consumption of the narrow strip lying between the mountains and the ocean, and extending practically from Panama to southern Chile. The commerce of the west

coast of South America appears gigantic, as measured by the Nicaragua Canal Company, the De Lesseps Canal Company, and the Walker Commission; but the vast total is reached by counting up the entrances and clearances at every port; and almost all the steamers in the trade call at many ports, though they get only a small portion of their cargo at each. To show how misleading this method of measuring traffic tonnage is, one instance will suffice. The imports and exports of Costa Rica through the small port of Punta Arenas amount to about 12,000 tons per annum; but the entrances and clearances of vessels visiting that port to carry that small traffic sum up to a total of 323,000 tons.

Assuming that the canal will be used only by steamers, let us now see the distances, in nautical miles, which have to be traversed on the principal trade routes now open. The following are the measurements of the routes used by steamers, not sailers :—

	Miles.
Plymouth to Panama	4,580
New York "	2,021
New Orleans "	1,420
Panama to Acapulco	1,437
" San Francisco	3,277
" Esquimault	3,840
" Guayaquil	842
" Callao	1,337
" Iquique	1,999
" Valparaiso	2,608
" Punta Arenas (Straits of Magellan)	3,932
" Tahiti	4,530
" Apia	5,739
" Honolulu	4,665

Now let us measure some of the distances on the Pacific side alone.

To the Asiatic Coast and Islands.

	Miles.
San Francisco to Honolulu	2,100
" Yokohama	4,536
" Shanghai	5,550
" Hong Kong	6,086
" Manila	6,254
" Sydney	6,514
" Singapore	7,330
Honolulu to Yokohama	3,400
" Hong Kong	4,961
" Guam	3,337
Guam to Manila	1,506
Manila to Singapore	1,386
Tahiti to Sydney	3,300

The United States Hydrographic Office in 1900 published the tracks, in nautical miles, of full-powered steamships, which Colonel Church compared with the Admiralty chart of 1888. Finding some discrepancies, he adjusted them; and we have adopted his amended figures. From these figures we compile the following comparative tables of the distances from England and America by the Straits of Magellan and by the Cape of Good Hope respectively:—

	From New York.		From Plymouth.	
	By Straits.	By Cape.	By Straits.	By Cape.
	Miles.	Miles.	Miles.	Miles.
To Melbourne . . .	12,896	12,670	13,211	11,870
" Sydney . . .	12,693	13,140	13,008	12,340
" Wellington . . .	11,413	13,710	11,728	12,910
" Manila . . .	16,815	13,530	17,130	12,736
" Singapore . . .	16,696	12,150	17,011	11,350
" Hong Kong . . .	17,132	13,590	17,447	12,790
" Shanghai . . .	17,009	14,340	17,324	13,540
" Yokohama . . .	16,284	15,020	16,599	14,220

The next table compares the distances via the Panama Canal and via the Suez Canal:—

	From New York.		From Plymouth.	
	By Panama.	By Suez.	By Panama.	By Suez.
	Miles.	Miles.	Miles.	Miles.
To Melbourne . . .	10,016	12,790	12,575	10,670
" Sydney . . .	9,851	13,320	12,410	11,200
" Wellington . . .	8,533	14,230	11,092	12,110
" Manila . . .	11,521	11,556	14,080	9,436
" Singapore . . .	12,915	10,170	15,474	8,050
" Hong Kong . . .	11,603	11,610	14,162	9,490
" Shanghai . . .	11,726	12,360	14,285	10,240
" Yokohama . . .	10,086	13,040	12,645	10,920

A consideration of these tables, which, though only presented as typical, deal with the leading centres of trade on the western side of the Pacific, shows that we must strike out of the prospective Panama traffic the tonnage of all commerce that can find a shorter route. The Panama Canal will not draw the trade between Great Britain and the Commonwealth of Australia, the Philippines, Singapore, Hong Kong, Shanghai, or Yokohama.

It may draw the traffic between Great Britain and New Zealand. It will not draw the traffic between New York and Singapore, but it will draw the traffic between New York and Australia, New Zealand, Shanghai, and Yokohama; and it may attract the traffic between New York and Manila and Hong Kong. The route from Plymouth to Singapore by Suez is 7424 miles shorter, while that by the Cape of Good Hope is 745 miles shorter, than the route by Panama. It is 1725 miles less to Yokohama from Plymouth by Suez than by Panama. No one, of course, would think of taking the traffic of British India and Burma across Panama. Consequently the Panama Canal will practically attract none of the trade between Europe and Asia that at present forms the chief source of revenue of the Suez Canal. Almost all the trade between Great Britain and New Zealand now goes round the Cape. Thus the American canal will confer little benefit on the greater portion of the land area and the greater portion of the population of the globe. For Europe the principal advantage of the canal will be in traffic with the Pacific coasts of North and South America. It is very difficult to estimate what that traffic may become, because of the imperfect character of the records of what it actually is. Few of the ports on the Pacific coast record their imports and exports in quantities; most of them record it only in values.

The Nicaragua Canal Construction Company of New York issued in 1890 an elaborate series of estimates which may be briefly summarised thus. They assumed a measure existing in 1889 of 8,122,093 tons, to which they added 10 per cent. for natural growth up to 1897, and 1,000,000 tons for new business to be developed by the canal. This made up a total of 9,934,302 tons, which they considered to be traffic 'properly belonging to the canal,' and likely to be drawn by it from the total of the commerce within the zone of its attraction if completed in 1897. We are now in 1904, and not within millions of tons of such a total.

Few will disagree with the belief of the Isthmian Canal Commission that the canal will assist a wide range of industries, agricultural, mineral, lumbering, and manufacturing, and will promote the progress of all sections of the United States. The present expenses and delays

in the commercial intercourse of the central, southern, and eastern states of the Union with the Pacific markets, and in the trade of the Pacific states with Europe, are a limitation upon American industries. The more expeditious access to Pacific markets should benefit not only the north-eastern states by giving them cheaper raw materials and larger markets for their varied manufactures, and the southern states by increasing their exports of cotton, cotton goods, forest products, iron and steel manufactures, and fertilisers, but also the Central West. The central states will find by the Isthmian waterway a larger business with the Pacific coast, and will be better able to meet European competition in western South America, Australasia, and the Orient.

The canal will doubtless have a direct effect upon the market for American coal, for vessels going through the canal may find it an advantage to purchase American fuel on the Atlantic or Gulf seaboard, or in West Indian and Central American depôts. The coal required for industrial purposes on the west coast of South and Central America, and to some extent in the coaling stations of the Pacific, will be supplied from the mines in the southern and eastern portions of the United States. There is no doubt that the canal will largely benefit the United States in trade with the Pacific states of South America.

The tonnage of the vessels that might have used an Isthmian canal in 1899 was ascertained, as the Commission explains, by an examination of the statistics of entrances and clearances kept by the United States and European countries. The entrances and clearances for the commerce of the eastern seaboard of the United States with Pacific America and with Australia, Oceania, the Philippines, Japan, China, and Siberia, and the vessel movements between the western coasts of the American continents and the North Atlantic, American, and European ports, were found to amount to 4,074,852 vessel-tons net register, including 336,998 tons for the commerce now crossing the Isthmus of Panama. This total was compared with the results of a traffic investigation made by the New Panama Canal Company. The records of that company show a traffic for the calendar year 1899 of 3,848,577 tons, net register, for the commerce between Europe and the western coast of the American continent,

between the Atlantic seaboard of America and trans-Pacific countries, and between the two American seaboard. The total obtained from the records kept by the Panama Company does not include any vessel-tonnage for the commerce now crossing the Isthmus. The addition of that tonnage, 336,998 tons, raises the total to 4,185,575. In addition to this tonnage, which comprised only traffic originating or terminating in America, was included most of the commerce of north-western Europe with New Zealand and the other islands of the Pacific east of Australia. The distances to Liverpool from the important groups of South Pacific islands north of New Zealand will be from 500 to 5500 miles less by the Isthmian canal than by way of Suez. The entrances and clearances of New Zealand's trade with north-western Europe amounted to 481,178 tons net register in 1899, and the European commerce of the other islands east of Australia to 181,743 tons. Of this total traffic of 662,921 tons, 500,000 might have used an Isthmian canal; and this amount is added to the canal tonnage originating or terminating in America. This raised the total obtained by the Commission's investigation of the tonnage that might have used an Isthmian canal in 1899 to 4,574,852 tons, net register, and the total obtained by adopting the New Panama Canal Company's figures for the traffic originating or terminating in America to 4,685,575 tons. (Report, p. 246.)

The New Panama Canal Company showed that the vessel-tonnage of the commerce between Europe and Pacific America, and between the Atlantic seaboard of America and the eastern and western sides of the Pacific, increased by 25.1 per cent. during the decade 1888-1898; and this rate of increase was adopted in estimating the traffic that should be available for the Isthmian canal in 1914, by which year it is assumed that the waterway will have been completed and put in operation. This rate of increase would raise the available traffic of 1899, by the New Panama Canal Company's figures, to 5,861,654 tons in 1909, and to 6,556,260 tons in 1914. A growth of 25.1 per cent. per decade would increase the total of 4,574,852 tons for 1899, obtained by the Commission's estimates of the statistics of entrances and clearances, to 5,723,140 tons in 1909, and 6,401,332 tons in 1914, net register. (Report, p. 247.)

The Isthmian Canal Commissioners, however, have no abiding faith in these estimates. They say :—

'The extent to which the Isthmian canal is used will depend in part upon the tolls charged. The commerce of western South America with Europe will continue to pass the Straits of Magellan or to round Cape Horn; the trade of the American Atlantic seaboard with Australia will keep to the Good Hope route; and the traffic between our eastern seaboard and the Philippines and southern China will remain tributary to the Suez route, if the charges for passing the American canal are made greater than the saving to be effected by using that waterway. A toll of about \$1 per ton, net register, could profitably be paid by the commerce between Europe and western South America, and by that of our eastern seaboard with Australia; a much higher charge would probably cause a large share of the business to continue to be done by the routes now used. For the commerce of our eastern ports with the Philippines and the mainland of Asia between Singapore and Shanghai, the distances by way of the Suez and Isthmian Canals will be so nearly equal that the route chosen will depend largely upon tolls. Light charges at the American canal will give that waterway a large share of the tonnage; high tolls will cause the Suez route to be used.' (Report, p. 249.)

It is urged that in fixing the charges for the use of an Isthmian canal, owned and worked by the United States Government, the principle of maximum revenue could not wisely be followed. The revenue-producing function of the canal should be a minor consideration, as compared with its services in promoting the industrial and commercial progress and general welfare of the United States. The exaction of tolls so high as appreciably to restrict the benefits derivable from the canal would not be to the advantage of the American people.

Now let us turn from the optimistic views of promoters and Commissioners to a more practical consideration of the facts and possibilities of the case. Colonel Church has been at great pains to arrive at an estimate of the actual traffic in existence which may be called tributary to the canal, not from the delusive records of entrances and clearances of vessels, but from the official records of imports and exports; and we will now pursue his line of inquiry. The following may be

taken as an approximate statement of the value of the South American trade upon which an American inter-oceanic canal must depend.

	Imports. £	Exports. £
Chile	9,640,360	12,575,598
Peru	2,106,640	3,361,520
Ecuador	1,000,000	1,257,978
Nicaragua	703,490	792,203
Honduras	280,803	231,014
San Salvador	600,000	914,269
Guatemala	900,000	1,674,000
Mexico.	272,289	726,393
	<hr/> 15,503,582	<hr/> 21,532,975

The general value of Spanish-American imports on the Pacific coast is calculated at the rate of 25l. per ton. The exports vary in value according to the countries. Coal must be separately valued. As an example let us take Chile, whose imports are valued at 9,640,360l. If we deduct coal, 674,746 tons, valued at 1,012,000l., we have a net valuation of 8,628,360l., which, at 25l. per ton, equals 345,134 tons. This makes the total imports 1,019,880 tons. Of this, 523,209 tons of coal and goods are from Pacific ocean countries, which leaves 496,671 tons of cargo for North Atlantic ports. But the distance between Europe and Valparaiso is only 1587 miles greater by way of the Straits of Magellan than by the Panama route; and eight tenths of the imports of Chile enter through Valparaiso and ports further south. The exports of Chile are 12,575,598l. From this deduct actual tonnage of nitrate—1,389,000 tons at 6l. equals 8,334,000l.—and the exports to Pacific coast countries, Argentina and Brazil, 950,000l., in all 9,284,000l., which leaves 3,291,598l., or equal to 164,579 tons at 20l. for the North Atlantic. Therefore Chile has:—

	Tons.
Imports	406,671
Exports of nitrate	1,389,000
„ merchandise.	164,579
Total North Atlantic trade	<hr/> 2,050,250

But 76 per cent. of the nitrate tonnage is carried by sailing ships, although the percentage by steamers has recently been increasing. Sailing ships average ninety eight days for the voyage from the nitrate no

England, and steamers fifty-six days. The largest quantity of nitrate is shipped in the months of October, November, and December. The life of the nitrate beds valued at about twenty years.

For another example take Peru. Her imports are valued at 2,106,640*l.*, from which deduct cargoes from China and Pacific coast, 440,547*l.*, and by way of Iquitos in the Amazon, 233,155*l.*, leaving 1,432,938*l.*, which is equal to 57,316 tons at 25*l.* per ton. The total exports are 3,361,520*l.*, less to Pacific countries and from Iquitos 93,804*l.*, leaving 2,367,726*l.*, equal to 236,772 tons, at say, 10*l.* per ton. Therefore Peru has:—

Imports	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Tons,	57,316
Exports	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.		236,772
Total North Atlantic trade										.	294,088

The same process, pursued on suitable tonnage valuations with the other South American countries, with Mexico, California, British Columbia, Hawaii, the Philippines, Australasia, and the Asiatic-Pacific countries, enables us to obtain, on Colonel Church's method, the following summary of cargo tonnage upon which a Panama Canal would have to depend for traffic were the canal open:—

Chile	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	Tons.	2,050,250
Peru	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.		294,088
Ecuador	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.		62,737
Costa Rica	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.		12,000
Nicaragua	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.		28,922
Honduras	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.		10,289
Salvador	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.		54,475
Guatemala	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.		83,830
Mexico	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.		32,000
California	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.		1,048,369
Oregon and Washington	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.		475,688
British Columbia	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.		75,000
Hawaii	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.		232,400
Polynesia	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.		20,000
Asiatic-Pacific Coast	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.		489,947
Philippines	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.		55,000
Australasia	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.		135,170
Total										.	5,160,165

of the nitrate trade of Chile 1,057,584 tons are sailing vessels; the exports of the west coast

of North America to the United Kingdom are nearly all by sail; and the remaining countries have all a large trade by sailers. At least 50 per cent. of the commercial cargo tonnage indicated is carried by sailing craft, the position of which we shall examine presently. For the purpose of estimating the value of the projected canal as a commercial venture, the tonnage of sailing ships engaged in the trade of the countries interested in it should not be included. The Canal Commission, in its report to the United States Government, includes the sailing-ship tonnage in its estimate of canal traffic, but says: 'The Nicaragua route would be the more favourable one for sailing vessels,' which, however, 'would probably be unable to compete with steamers to any considerable extent by either canal. They would certainly be unable to compete with steamers, both using the Panama canal.' The report does not say that sailing craft can be counted on to use the canal at all. The estimate we have just given of Atlantic-Pacific traffic is of cargo-tonnage, and is the utmost which the canal can expect at present. But it is subject to qualifications now to be examined.

By Colonel Church's method the estimate of cargo tons, upon which a canal would have to depend, carried to-day by sail and steamer is 5,160,165 tons,* from which, if we deduct half for the sail tonnage, there would remain 2,580,082 cargo tons for the canal; but much of this cannot be counted upon with certainty. In 1878 the tonnage which passed through the Suez Canal was 2,269,678 tons net, while the tonnage then believed to be 'tributary to the canal' was, according to the United States Bureau of Statistics, 6,312,742 tons. Thus the Suez Canal got only 36 per cent. from the apparently tributary traffic. If the Panama Canal gets 70 per cent. of the apparent steamer traffic, that comes to 1,806,058 cargo tons; but what is a cargo ton in relation to the net register ton of a steamship? The latter is the measurement adopted by the Isthmian Canal Commission in its estimate of canal tonnage for purposes of toll. There is a special Suez Canal tonnage measurement, on which the company collects its toll of nine francs per ton from all ships making the transit of the canal, and which

* 'The Geographical Journal,' xix, p. 343.

is about equal to half the cargo capacity. If we assume that every net register ton of steamships will carry two cargo tons, the 1,806,058 cargo tons that the Panama Canal may attract will require steamers of 903,029 tons net register, or only about one tenth of the Nicaragua Company's estimate. On this estimate the canal will be a poor commercial investment for America.

There is, of course, the natural growth of commerce during the construction of the canal to be added to the prospective traffic when it is open; but one may easily allow too much for this. The Lesseps Company's estimates were based on 4,838,000 tons in 1879, and on an anticipated increase to 7,249,000 tons in 1889, when the canal was expected to be open. But in 1902 the New Panama Canal Company cannot reach a higher total than 4,685,575 tons, which is actually less than the estimates of 1879. These figures, of course, are all wrong, but they make us shrink from any computation of increase. In 1880 the United States Bureau of Statistics could only find 1,625,000 tons of the world's commerce as likely to use an American interoceanic canal. But very few of the statisticians have taken the trouble to inquire how far the stream of canal traffic will be affected by two main considerations—the cost of the transit tolls and the cost of bunker coals.

Another important consideration is whether sailing vessels will use the canal at all, or whether they will be wholly or largely displaced by steamers from the trade they now occupy. The sailing traffic of the world is at present confined to certain highways, conditioned by the agency of the winds and by the demands of trade. From the English Channel and New York the chief destinations are, to the westward (by way of Cape Horn), the Pacific coast ports of South, Central, and North America; and to the eastward (by way of the Cape of Good Hope), the ports of South Africa, Australia, and Eastern Asia. Outward-bound vessels generally carry mixed cargoes; but the most important cargo from America is case oil, which goes from New York and Philadelphia to China and Japan. The chief cargo from England is coal. The westward-bound ships return by way of Cape Horn from South America laden with nitrate; from Central America with dvewoods and ore; from North America with lumber and

The eastward-bound vessels continue east, and the

majority ultimately fetch one or other of the Pacific coast ports of America; those from Australia bringing coal from Newcastle or Sydney; those from Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Yokohama usually proceeding in ballast after discharging at these ports. In Puget Sound, Portland, or San Francisco, these vessels are loaded with lumber or grain for Europe and South Africa. The sailing highways likely to be most affected by the construction of the canal are the routes between the English Channel and the west coast of North America, outward and homeward, and homeward from the west coast of South America. Vessels bound to the latter coast will continue to go round Cape Horn, inasmuch as the use of the canal by a vessel bound to Chile or Peru would involve, on the Panama side, a detour of several thousand miles in order to make use of the south-east trade-winds in the Pacific.

The once extensive coast-wise trade between the Atlantic and the Pacific seaboard of the United States has largely passed over to the trans-continental railways, and has almost vanished from the sea; but the traffic in coal survives. Whether general traffic can be revived by sailing vessels using the canal is a problem. The apparent saving of time would be considerable. The voyage between New York and San Francisco by way of Cape Horn is practically the same as the voyage from the English Channel, viz. 140 days outward and 130 days homeward; while the passage from New York to Colon may be made in 20 days and the return in 28 days.

The length of the sailing route voyage from the English Channel to San Francisco by way of Cape Horn is about 16,000 miles; and the average sailing time is 139 days. The return voyage, 1000 miles greater in distance, is made in 132 days. In the year 1901-1902, 104 sailing vessels from the English Channel entered at the Pacific coast ports of the United States alone; and 322 vessels cleared from these ports for the Channel. The average sailing time from the Channel to Colon is 43 days, and from Panama to San Francisco 52 days. With two days for passage through the canal, the voyage by the Isthmian route, apart from calms, would take 97 days, as compared with 139 days round Cape Horn—a net saving of 42 days. *The average sailing time to San Diego is three days*

less than to San Francisco; and the average sailing times to Portland and Puget Sound are respectively five days and seven days greater. On the return voyage the saving in time would be considerably less. The average duration of the passage from San Francisco to Panama is 55 days; but the voyage from Colon to the Channel by a necessarily circuitous route occupies 60 days. With the two days required to cross the Isthmus, the duration of the voyage from San Francisco to the English Channel by way of the canal would thus be 117 days, a saving of 15 days as compared with the voyage by way of the Horn. It is not conceivable that these savings would compensate sailing vessels for the cost of canal tolls and of towage, and the probability of long detentions by calms in the Bay of Panama.

The estimates, upon which a prospective traffic for the canal of 903,029 net register tons is arrived at, eliminate the sailing tonnage altogether. That apart, the total must be augmented by the amount of the traffic which the canal will create for itself. For instance, there will have to be a rearrangement of coaling stations in order to maintain across the Isthmus traffic which hitherto has passed round the Horn. At each end of the canal there will have to be depôts of bunker coal; and these will be fed from Great Britain and from West Virginia, from British Colombia and from New South Wales. The Pacific coalfields will sometimes supply the Atlantic depôts, and the Atlantic coalfields will sometimes supply the Pacific depôts, according as markets and freights vary. For the development of steamer trade all down the west coast of South America a large increase must take place in the transport of coal, if the traffic is to be taken away from the sailing craft which at present carry the bulk of that trade. To a less extent this applies to the wheat trade of California. Primarily, however, and in any case, the canal will open up new avenues for coal from Great Britain, from the southern ports of the United States, from British Colombia, and from New South Wales. It is highly probable that West Virginia coal will chiefly feed the depôts at the Colon end, and Australian coal will feed the Panama end. The vessels which bring the Australian coal across will then load nitrate or wheat or guano at one or other of the Pacific ports for Europe; but, in securing these cargoes,

steamers will have to draw upon other coal depôts before their voyage is completed.

We mention Australian coal for the Panama end of the canal because it can at present be laid down there more cheaply than any other good steam-raising coal in the Pacific. But we must not overlook the excellent coal deposits in New Zealand, or the fact that the canal will shorten the passage between that colony and the mother-country by about two days. It is more than probable that the passenger service between England and New Zealand will be diverted to the canal, both because of this saving in time and because of the long smooth-water runs that steamers can have for most of the year on both sides. The running of passenger lines will stimulate other traffic in connexion; and the preferential tariff of the colony will, with the shorter sea route, then be of more advantage to the mother-country.

The canal will provide an opportunity for the granting of bonuses to American shipping which we may hereafter find very irksome. In America at the present time there are two strong movements—one towards the reservation of the canal zone under the coastal laws of the United States during the whole period of the construction of the canal; the other, for the granting of subsidies out of Federal funds to encourage the building and sailing of American ships. If, instead of granting direct subsidies, America undertakes to refund the tolls on all American vessels using the Panama Canal—as Russia does for Russian vessels using the Suez Canal—British shipping will be under a disadvantage, which will not be less than 4s., and may be 8s., per ton in interoceanic freights. A British steamer going out from our ports with cargo to the Pacific coast of South America, and intending to load there homewards, will doubtless call at Barbados or Jamaica and fill up her bunkers there with as much coal as will take her through the canal to the port of destination and back again to the depôt. If not, she will have to coal on the Isthmus or on the Pacific coast. An American steamer going out from an American port, having only half the distance to run, can do most of the voyage on cheap Virginian coal, and enjoy the prospective rebate of dues besides.

With regard to sailers, there are two theories. The

one is that in ocean commerce we can never dispense with them because of the economy with which they can be worked, the convenience of them in many trades, and the advantage they offer in being floating warehouses in which a merchant can keep his goods, without the cost of storage, while he watches the markets and chooses his time for selling. The other is that the sailing vessel for long ocean voyages is becoming less and less adapted to modern conditions of business. Merchants no longer import goods to warehouse for convenient sale. They sell before they import; and, having sold, they want the goods as quickly as possible. Modern business having assumed a hand-to-mouth character, conducted by telegraph and completed by steamer, the sailing vessel, some say, must go. It may be so; and, if it is so, then the Panama Canal will certainly hasten the demise of the sailer. Already steamers are being employed in bringing nitrate from Chile and wheat from San Francisco round Cape Horn. For some time to come, however, a considerable demand for sailers will be created by the canal, for the purpose of conveying coal to the several coaling ports which will supply steamers in the canal trade.

It is probable, then, that the canal will cause a redistribution of the ocean-carrying trade as between steamers and sailers, and that it will be, on the whole, injurious to the latter. It is possible that the canal will stimulate the production of a new type of steamer, to obviate the purchase of expensive bunker coal abroad. It is certain that the canal will do a great deal to stimulate traffic between the eastern and southern states of America and the western coasts of America and the Pacific area generally, including our own customers and colonies. It is not by any means certain that it will do any good at all to British maritime commerce.

Art. II.—THE ADVOCATUS DIABOLI ON THE DIVINA
COMMEDIA.

1. *Tutte le opere di Dante Alighieri, nuovamente rivedute nel testo del Dr E. Moore.* Second edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897.
 2. *An English Commentary on Dante's Divina Commedia.* By the Rev. H. F. Tozer, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901.
 3. *Studies in Dante.* Second series. By the Rev. Edward Moore, D.D. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899.
 4. *The Life of Dante Alighieri.* By Paget Toynbee. London: Methuen, 1900.
- And other works.

THE late Bishop Creighton, in his Romanes Lecture, recalled a story of bygone days in which a guest in an Oxford common room is represented as somewhat scandalised at the censorious character of the conversation prevailing there. His host, perceiving this, turned to him with the explanation: 'You see, sir, we in Oxford are all so thoroughly acquainted with one another's virtues that the only method of importing any novelty into our conversation is by discussing our neighbours' faults.' On some such principle the subject of the present article might be justified. The beauties of Dante are now well known and appreciated. The labours of countless scholars in England, on the Continent, and in America, have made it for ever impossible to repeat Voltaire's sneer as to the impregnability of a fame which rests on total ignorance.

It is, however, well to remember that there is another side to the question. Indiscriminate eulogy of any historical or literary character, however great, is not really serviceable to the person indiscreetly eulogised; and it reacts disastrously on the panegyrist himself, warping alike the critical and the moral judgment. Ben Jonson's words about Shakespeare may well be recalled here.

'I remember, the players have often mentioned it as an honour to Shakespeare, that in his writing (whatsoever he penned) he never blotted out a line. My answer hath been, would he had blotted a thousand; which they thought a

malevolent speech. I had not told posterity this, but for their ignorance, who choose that circumstance to commend their friend by, wherein he most faulted; and to justify mine own candour: for I loved the man and do honour his memory, on this side idolatry, as much as any.*

Still more in point are Boccaccio's excellent words with regard to Dante himself.

'Assuredly I blush to be obliged to blot the fame of so great a man with any defect; but the manner in which I ordered my matter at the outset in some sort demands it. For, if I were to be silent regarding things not to his credit, I should shake the faith of my readers in the things already related which are to his credit. Therefore to himself I make my excuse, who maybe from some lofty region of heaven looks down with scornful eye upon me as I write.'†

The faults which strike us, as we read the *Divina Commedia*, fall into two main classes. There are faults of character and temper which Dante, consciously or unconsciously, reveals to us; and there are faults of art. The two are often closely connected; for the more serious faults in art spring, as we shall show, from defects in character and temper; and it is not always possible to draw the line between them.

These two classes correspond roughly with two out of the three phrases of Goethe's famous criticism on Dante, that 'the *Inferno* was abominable, the *Purgatorio* dubious, and the *Paradiso* tiresome'—a judgment often cited as if it were the *ne plus ultra* of critical fatuity.‡ It is, no doubt, acutely unsympathetic; but, considering Goethe's eminence as a poet and a man of letters, we can hardly brush aside his deliberately expressed opinion in this unceremonious way. And in the remarks of unsympathetic critics, as in the remarks of candid friends, there is often a considerable amount of truth.§

We do not quite grasp what Goethe meant by calling

* Ben Jonson, 'Discoveries,' No. 71.

† Cited by Toynbee, 'Life,' p. 156.

‡ E.g. by Dr Moore, 'Studies,' second series, p. 3.

§ It should also be borne in mind that the statement is intentionally aggressive and unqualified in form. It was struck out in the heat of a rather acrid discussion with a supercilious young Italian, who had annoyed Goethe by asserting that no foreigner could understand the *Commedia*. It occurs in the 'Zweiter Aufenthalt in Rom,' under date May 17, 1787.

the Purgatorio 'dubious'; nor does the question much concern us here, for, of the three divisions of Dante's work, the Purgatorio is the one which is the least disfigured by the author's characteristic faults. But for the other two parts of Goethe's criticism, if duly limited, there is something to be said. There are passages in the Inferno for which 'abominable' seems to us exactly the right epithet; there are passages in the Paradiso and, to a less extent, in the Purgatorio and Inferno which we confess to finding profoundly 'tiresome.'

We will begin with the latter point; and we say deliberately that there are large tracts of the Divina Commedia which are not poetry at all, but simply sections of scholastic philosophy, or mediæval science, or history, forced, with immense skill, no doubt, but still forced, to wear the fetters of the *terza rima*. Such are, for instance, the classification of sins in Inferno, xi, and Purgatorio, xvii; the discussions of the relation of stellar influences on the one hand, and of desire and pleasure on the other, to free-will, in Purgatorio, xvi and xviii;* of the nature of compulsion and the problems of heredity in Paradiso, iv and viii; while the speculation as to how disembodied spirits can grow lean, in Purgatorio, xxv, may rank with Milton's speculations on the digestive processes of angels. Then, in the theological sphere, we have the discussions on redemption, faith, and angels, in Paradiso, viii, xxiv, and xxix. In history, the sketch of the progress of Rome in Paradiso, vi, and the argument about Solomon's wisdom in Paradiso, xiii, both seem to us extremely unpoetical. But the worst instances occur in the scientific passages: the explanation of the origin of winds in Purgatorio, xxviii, the astronomical data of Purgatorio, iv, and the appalling discussion in Paradiso, ii, on the cause of the spots in the moon. We ask any unprejudiced reader to peruse lines 97-105 of this canto, and then say whether they do not rather resemble an example in Ganot's 'Physics' than anything which can be called poetry.

We note also in these discussions the occurrence of harsh technical terms, such as 'corollario' and 'quiddi-

* Cf. also the curious passage, Par. iv, 1-3, which, besides being untrue to nature, seems rank determinism; the speculation on the return of the stars, ib. 19 ff., 40 ff.; and the passage about vows, Par.

tate,' which can never by any possibility be made poetical. But at least Dante's lore was taken from Latin sources, like the 'Summa' of St Thomas, the language of which had some affinity with the speech 'Del bel paese là dove il sì suona.' Dante himself would have been puzzled to get into his verse some of the technical jargon of modern philosophy. But, apart from these longer discussions, there are numerous little touches scattered up and down the *Commedia*, which show how poetry shrivels up and dies at the approach of this school-learning, when some prosaic tag of scientific knowledge is dragged in, such as the defect in the Julian Calendar, the properties of triangles, the equality of the angles of incidence and reflexion of a ray of light.*

Dante himself has told us† that the object of the inspiration given to Solomon was not that he might deal with subjects such as these. It is a pity that he did not recognise that poetic inspiration has nothing to do with them either. The discussion of these subjects in the prose of the 'Convito' is not only infinitely more appropriate, but has also far more literary beauty than the parallel passages of the *Commedia*. Even the rough-hewn scholastic Latin of the 'De Monarchia' produces a more harmonious impression, when dealing with such themes, than the great poem does.

It may perhaps be said that some of the passages to which we have referred, such as those on the classification of vices, are necessary to the understanding of the poem and its plan. Even if that be so, it does not follow that they should form part of the poem itself, any more than that Dante should incorporate in the *Commedia* a statement of the scheme of allegory on which it is based, such as he has given us in the letter to Can Grande. Another letter to him, or to some other of his patrons, would have answered the purpose; or he might have given us a commentary, as he has done in the 'Convito.'‡

* Par. xxvii, 143; xvii, 14, 15; Purg. xv, 16-21. For other instances, see Inf. ii, 88-90; xx, 81; Par. viii, 70; xiv, 102.

† Par. xlii, 97-102; cf. xxiv, 133, 134; and the third canzone of the 'Convito,' which is in Dante's worst scholastic manner. Dante himself confesses (l. 14) that it is 'aspra e sottile.'

‡ 'We can imagine its strange author commenting on it, and finding or marking out its prosaic substratum, with the cold-blooded precision and
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We are very far from meaning that theology, philosophy, history, and science can never be fit subjects of poetry. Dante himself, and other poets too, have proved the contrary. But it must not be this crude learning of the schools, which is ever 'ready to vanish away' in the light of fuller knowledge, but thought fused and made immortal by being heated white-hot in the furnace of emotion fanned by the wings of imagination. In a great part of the concluding cantos of the *Paradiso* Dante has given us this. Take in illustration such lines as these:—

'Lume è lassù, che visibile face
Lo Creatore a quella creatura,
Che solo in lui vedere ha la sua pace';*

or this—

'S' aperse in nuovi Amor l' eterno Amore';†

or lastly—

'Onde si movono a diversi porti
Per lo gran mar dell' essere.‡

Let us set beside these such passages as Shakespeare's—

'Alas, alas!
Why, all the souls that were were forfeit once;
And He that might the vantage best have took
Found out the remedy';

or Shelley's—

'Life, like a dome of many-coloured glass,
Stains the white radiance of eternity';

or Tennyson's—

'Rome,
The slowly-fading mistress of the world.'

scholastic distinctions of the "*Convito*." (Church, '*Essay on Dante*,' p. 102, ed. 1878, a work which, in spite of all that has been written since, still remains the best introduction to the study of the *Commedia*.)

* 'There is a light above, which visible
Makes the Creator unto every creature,
Who only in beholding Him has peace.'

Longfellow, *Par.* xxx, 100-102.

† 'Into new Loves the Eternal Love unfolded.'

Longfellow, *ib.* xxix, 18.

‡ 'Hence they move onward unto ports diverse
O'er the great sea of being.'

Longfellow, *ib.* i, 112, 113. Cf. iii, 85-87.

We feel at once that no progress in theology, philosophy, or history, can ever dim these sayings, or make them out of date.

Mr Pater, in one of his delicate and discriminating 'Appreciations,' has noted an analogous phenomenon in Wordsworth's poetry—

The 'perplexed mixture of work touched with intense and individual power, with work of almost no character at all; ... the intrusion from time to time of something tedious and prosaic';

as opposed to those passages where

'the word and the idea, each in the imaginative flame, become inseparably one with the other by that fusion of matter and form which is the characteristic of the highest poetical expression.'

The truth is that there were in Dante, intellectually considered, two distinct personalities—one, the supreme poet, in his own line unsurpassed and unsurpassable; and the other, the man of learning, wonderful indeed for that or any age, but neither unsurpassable nor, even then, unsurpassed, as examples like Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and Vincent of Beauvais sufficiently show. Unfortunately Dante, though fully conscious of his greatness as a poet, seems to have valued himself even more as a man of learning; and the consequence is that the man of learning is constantly intruding where he has no business.

Another great fault of Dante is likewise the result of this intellectual pride, this love of parading his extraordinary knowledge, we mean his excessive allusiveness, his love of periphrasis, or what is sometimes called *antonomasia*, whereby an object, instead of being directly named, is described by some attribute or fact connected with it. This is, of course, within proper limits, a perfectly legitimate mode of poetical adornment. We are none of us 'forgetful how the rich procession' rolls in Milton's 'Paradise Lost'; and there are many instances in Dante as noble, as appropriate, and as intelligible as that. But in Dante's poetry, as in Mr E. A. Freeman's prose, this characteristic develops into a perfect disease. Nothing is simply what it is; it must be described

in relation to something else; and the result is that even those who know their Dante fairly well can hardly read fifty consecutive lines anywhere in the *Commedia*, without having to resort to a commentary. These allusions are taken from all departments of Dante's multifarious knowledge. But the tendency comes out most strongly in the marks of time and place which occur throughout the poem. The former class of passages was elucidated by Dr Moore in an interesting monograph published in 1887;* while Mr Tozer, in the excellent commentary which stands at the head of this article, has brought his own wide geographical knowledge to bear on the second class, the most remarkable of which is an extraordinary passage in which the position of Marseilles is indicated by a periphrasis extending over twelve lines.†

Again, Dante's use of simile and figurative language, exquisite as it usually is, is sometimes overdone, an excess which leads occasionally to a curious mixture of metaphors, as when he speaks of cooling the bow of his ardent desire;‡ while some of his comparisons are strangely infelicitous, as when St John asks Dante

‘Con quanti denti quest’ amor ti morde?’

and it is certainly a little unfortunate that his allegorical scheme of colour obliged him to give Beatrice green eyes.

That, apart from all these causes of difficulty, Dante's mode of expression is often exceedingly obscure is proved by the fact which every serious Dante student has experienced, that, after all the labours of all the commentators, extending over more than five hundred years, there still remain passages out of which it is impossible to extract any really satisfactory sense. §

We have, of course, no right to complain of a poet for being hard to understand, because he has undertaken ‘Forti cose a pensar mettere in versi.’ We ‘in our little

* ‘The Time-references in the *Divina Commedia*’ (David Nutt).

† Par. ix, 82-93. Many readers will sympathise with the question of Rinieri da Calboli (*Purg.* xiv, 25, 26):

‘Perché nascose
Questi il vocabol di quella rivera?’

Why did he conceal the name of that river?’

‡ Par. xv, 42-45; the text, however, is not quite certain.

§ Goethe complains of this ‘Dunkelheit’ in his conversation with Eckermann, i, 120: ‘Uebrigens sprach Goethe von Dante mit aller I

barks' must not wonder if we sometimes fail to follow him, 'Voyaging through strange seas of thought, alone. But Dante, like Browning and, in a less degree, like *Æschylus*, is often in his mode of expression quite needlessly difficult.

But there are passages in which Dante shows his intellectual pride not merely indirectly, but directly, by the scorn which he pours on the ignorance and stupidity of others.* He has little of the intellectual humility of Bede, who, himself the ripest scholar of his time, warns us so movingly that many a learned man may be found in the end among the lost, while many a simple soul which has kept Christ's commandments will shine among apostles and doctors; little of the spirit of that other great teacher, of whom it was so beautifully said that 'he was tender to stupidity, as to every form of human weakness.'

We pass on now to the remaining part of the criticism which we have borrowed, with the necessary qualifications, from Goethe, that there are parts of the *Inferno*, and (we fear it must be added) parts also of the *Purgatorio* and the *Paradiso*, which are 'abominable.' Here, too, the faults may be divided into faults of character and faults of art; and here, too, the latter often arise out of the former.

Let it be understood at the outset that we do not for one moment deny that the terrible, the horrible, and the grotesque, may legitimately be made the subject of artistic treatment. Goethe himself, so often regarded as hopelessly incapable of appreciating Dante, has said of the terrible Ugolino episode, that 'it belongs to the very highest products of poetry.'† But unless we are disciples of Zola and the newer realism, the line must be drawn at the simply disgusting; and some of the punishments of the *Inferno*—the loathsome worms which devour the mingled blood and tears dropping from the *Vigliacchi*, the mangled sowers of discord with their bowels hanging out, the alchemists scratching off the scabs from their diseased

* 'Convito,' iv, 14, ll. 105-107: 'Risponder si vorrebbe non colle parole ma col coltello a tanta bestialità.' ('To such brutishness one should reply, not with words, but with a knife.')

† 'Aufsätze zur Literatur,' No. 140a.

bodies with their nails—are simply disgusting and nothing else. Nor is it any answer to say that these punishments are symbolical of the sins so punished; for, as Plato saw long ago, an immoral myth does not cease to make an immoral impression because it is allegorically interpreted.

The same, and worse, must, we fear, be said of the coarse horse-play of the demons in *Inferno*, xxi and xxii. Surely the 'eternal loss' even of *barattieri* was too sad a thing to be made the subject of buffoonery such as this. We know, of course, what has been said about Dante's lightening the strain of the terrors of the *Inferno*, as Shakespeare lightens the strain of his tragedies by his clowns and rustics. But there were other ways of doing this, as Dante has shown by the lovely similes of the peasant looking out upon the country on a frosty morning, or watching the fireflies flitting in the valley below him.* And if there were no other means of doing this, it were better left undone.

But the case is infinitely worse, it seems to us, if, as the elder Rossetti suggested, and Dr Moore thinks probable,† the names of the demons are caricatures of the names of the *gonfalonieri* and priors then in office in Florence, who were among Dante's bitterest political enemies. For what does this mean, if it be true? It means that Dante, building a poem, which, as he was fully conscious, was to last for all time, and was, like another great poem, 'To justify the ways of God to men,' enshrines in it his personal, even if just, resentment against these obscure and short-lived officials.

Dr Moore, indeed, tells us that Dante never 'took advantage of his subject to gibbet his personal enemies or opponents.'‡ The judgment should receive all the weight due 'To that long study and the mighty love' which he has lavished so ungrudgingly on his favourite author. But we must confess that we cannot share his opinion. What are we to say of the savage outbursts in *Paradiso*, xvi, against Baldo d' Aguglione, who took an active part in Dante's banishment, and against the Adimari, who seized his property and opposed his return? What of the fact that Filippo Argenti, in whose torments Dante, in *Inferno*, viii, takes such fiendish

* *Inf.* xxiv, 1 ff.; xxvi, 25 ff.

† 'Studies,' 232 ff.

‡ *Ib.* 219,

delight, was a member of the same family? The whole idea of detailing in the courts of heaven these old Florentine scandals, the doctored ledger and the fraudulent bushel, was a singularly unhappy one.

But, even if we grant that personal enmity was not the motive in these cases, there are whole tracts of the poem which simply reek with the feuds and factions and mutual hatreds of the Italian cities. What are we to say of Dante's complaint that his cousin's death had never been avenged? *—a passage which, according to Mr Toynbee, † may have been responsible for the subsequent murders which occurred in the prosecution of that feud. What of the fierce denunciations of other Italian cities, the passionate wish expressed, not merely for the punishment, but for the utter extirpation of Pistoia, Pisa, and Genoa? ‡ while of the Val d' Arno he would destroy the very name. § The whole tirade in *Purgatorio*, xiv, against the inhabitants of the Val d' Arno and the Romagna seems singularly inappropriate in the mouth of one who was pursuing the sin of envy.

In regard to Florence itself there are, of course, many passages of bitter denunciation, but there are also other passages which testify very touchingly to Dante's love. Had we only the *Commedia* we might be disposed to hold the balance even. But we fear the scale must be turned against Dante by the unpardonable passage in the letter to Henry VII, in which he urges him to come and crush 'the viper.' 'Tunc hereditas nostra, quam sine intermissione deflemus ablatam, nobis erit in integrum restituta.' || Dante seems to have shared the delusion, so common among exiles, that the first duty which they owe to their country is their own return. It is all too sadly of a piece with what Boccaccio tells us.

'He was more given to faction after his exile than was becoming to a man of his parts, and more than he would

* *Inf.* xxix, 31-36.

† 'Life,' p. 66.

‡ Pistoia, *Inf.* xxv, 10, 11; xxiv, 126; Pisa, *ib.* xxxiii, 79-84; cf. *Purg.* xiv, 52-54; Genoa, *Inf.* xxxiii, 151-153. Many other instances, not quite so strong, in regard to other cities might be quoted. As to the 'vanità,' which Dante ascribes to the Sienese (*Inf.* xxix, 121, 122; *Purg.* xlii, 151), Commynes is at one with him: 'La ville est de tous temps en partialité [*stasis*], et se gouverne plus follement que ville d'Italie,' viii, 2 (ed. Dupont, ii, 436).

§ *Purg.* xiv, 30.

|| *Epist.* vii, §§ 7, 8.

have had it believed of him by others. And what I most blush for on account of his memory is that in Romagna it is perfectly notorious to every one that any feeble woman or little child who had spoken on party matters, and found fault with the Ghibelline party to which he belonged, would have stirred him to such a pitch of madness that he would have thrown stones at them if they had not held their peace; and this passion he retained to the day of his death.*

Nor can we, with Dr Moore, regard it as proving any high degree of impartiality that Dante can abuse his own party as well as his opponents.† Our least eminent politicians can do as much.

As regards Dante's feelings towards foreign nations, he has one contemptuous reference to the 'guzzling Germans.'‡ But his attitude towards France calls for more extended notice. Dante clearly did not love the French, though he praises them ironically for being not quite so foolish as the Sienese.§ And it may be doubted whether patriotic Italians have at any time had much cause to love France. Browning's address to Italy—

'O woman-country, wooed, not wed,
Loved all the more by earth's male lands,
Laid to their hearts instead!'

may be, and is, very pretty poetry. The naked historical fact is that, on the part of France, Spain, and the Empire, the wooing has generally taken the form of the most brutal ravishing.||

Dante had special reasons for disliking Philip the Fair. Apart from individual acts, such as the seizing of Boniface VIII at Anagni, the great political positivist of the Middle Ages was necessarily antipathetic to an idealist like Dante. But this not unjustifiable dislike has led Dante to commit what is perhaps the greatest injustice of the whole poem, we mean his treatment of St Louis. Not only do we not meet him, as we should expect, among the soldier saints in the heaven of Mars, though such a very dubious saint

* Cited by Toynbee, 'Life,' pp. 155, 156.

† Par. vi, 100-102; cf. Moore, 'Studies,' 294.

‡ 'Tedeschi lurchi,' Inf. xvii, 21.

§ Inf. xxix, 121-123.

|| Cf. Benvenuto da Imola, v, 463: 'Nescio quid utile faciant in Italia Gallici vel Germanici, nisi rapinas publice et privatim'; cited by Gardner, 'Dante's Ten Heavens,' p. 225.

as Robert Guiscard is found there, but the omission is emphasised in two extraordinary passages, of which, owing to their allusive character, the sting is perhaps not always recognised. One is where Hugh Capet, speaking of his descendants, sums them up contemptuously as 'the Philips and the Louises by whom France has been lately governed.'* The other passage is placed in the mouth of Sordello, and, when stripped of periphrasis, it comes to this, that Charles II of Anjou was as inferior to Charles I as the latter and his brother, St Louis, were to Peter III of Aragon.† And here we cannot help expressing our profound regret, we had almost said indignation, that Dr Moore, in discussing this question, should have allowed himself to use the expression, 'Dante had no great respect for imbecile saintliness.'‡ The man who inspired the passionate devotion, not of any mere monkish chronicler, but of a soldier and administrator like Joinville, the man whose character made him the accepted arbiter of Europe, the statesman, the legislator, the crusader, is as far removed from the imbecile type of saintship as it is possible to conceive. And saintliness, especially in high places, is not so common that we can afford to belittle it when it does occur. It would be better surely to admit frankly that Dante has been misled by national prejudice into the commission of a grave historical injustice.

Dante's insulting treatment of some of the criminals in the lower circles of hell has been compared with the conduct of Aristotle's highminded man who insults his enemies deliberately and of set purpose. Dante was, as we all know, an ardent Aristotelian; but he was, we may not doubt it, a yet more ardent Christian. Christianity was for him not merely

'Il vero, in che si cheta ogni intelletto,'

it thrilled every fibre of his heart and gave his imagination wings to soar. § Christ can be stern enough to individuals, to classes, and to cities. 'It had been good for that man if he had never been born'; 'Ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell?' 'It shall be more tolerable for Sodom in the day of judgement, than

* *Purg.* xx, 50, 51.

‡ 'Studies,' p. 296.

† *Ib.* vii, 127-129.

§ *Cf. Par.* xxiv, 86 ff., 145-147

for that city.' But we cannot conceive Him expressing loathing and contempt for any, even the most degraded, human soul.

But apart from all questions as to the morality or taste of particular passages of the *Commedia*, the feeling which has been strongest in our mind in re-reading the poem is astonishment that any human being should dare to pronounce a final verdict on the men of his own time. In the case of the great characters of history the principle might perhaps be pleaded, '*securus judicat orbis terrarum*,' though many, perhaps, even of these judgments will one day be corrected or reversed. But which of us is fit to decide the eternal destiny of our neighbours and contemporaries? Who shall dare, for instance, to limit the possibility of the soul's sudden turn to God in the supreme crisis of its earthly fate? There is an eloquent and touching letter of Fénelon's on this very point, written to console the Duchesse de Chevreuse on the death of her son, the Chevalier d'Albret, who had fallen in action, after a life which had only too much resembled that of the ordinary young French noble of the day.

'Such an extremity as this' (writes Fénelon) 'routs all life's illusions, lifts a veil, reveals eternity, and recalls the realities that have become shrouded. However little God may seem to be working in that moment, the first instinct of a heart that has ever been accustomed to Him is to throw itself on His mercy. Neither time nor exhortations are needed for Him to be felt and heard. To Magdalene He said but the one word "Mary," and she replied to Him but that other word "Master"; and no more was needed. He called His child by her name, and she was already returned to Him. That ineffable appeal is all-powerful; a new heart and a new soul are born in the inmost being. Weak men, who can only see the surface, desire preparation, definite ritual, spoken resolves. God needs only a moment wherein He can do all, and see that it is done.'

We all know what beautiful and pathetic use Dante has made of this possibility in the cases of Manfred and Buonconte da Montefeltro, two of the loveliest episodes in the whole of the *Commedia*;* and we know that the

* *Purg.* iii, 103 ff.; v, 85 ff.

touch of a crucifix on the dying lips of Charles of Anjou sufficed to redeem him, in Dante's view, from the fate which most of us would be inclined to say that he richly deserved, and to place him in the flowery valley of the princes in Ante-purgatory. And who was Dante that he should exclude this possibility in other cases also? Dante himself has told us that

‘la bontà infinita ha sì gran braccia,
Che prende ciò che si rivolge a lei.’*

Dante himself has told us that he has known the most unpromising stocks to blossom at the last; and he rightly uses this as an argument against hasty judgment.† We can only say that again and again Dante has sinned against his own light. One especially bad case is this. Among the traitors in Antenora Dante places Tesauro di Beccheria, beheaded at Florence in 1258 on a charge of treasonable correspondence with the exiled Ghibellines.‡ Villani says that many people believed him to be innocent.§ We do not mean to say that these were necessarily right and Dante necessarily wrong as to the facts. But Villani's statement does prove that the matter was at least doubtful; and absolute certainty could alone, we will not say justify, but excuse, such a passage. In after years Boccaccio pleaded for Dante with the Florentines on the ground that ‘all hatred and anger and enmity cease at the death of whoso dies.’|| But did Dante ever act on such a principle himself? And even if we grant (though in reality we will by no means grant) that no mercy need be shown to the dead, was there no consideration to be shown for the feelings of the living—‘gli altri che fur cari?’

In the seventeenth canto of the *Paradiso* Dante tries to anticipate these criticisms. His pleas are mainly two. The first is contained in the well-known vulgarism, ‘Let those scratch who itch’; the other in the simile that, like the wind, he only smites the highest peaks. Of the former,

* *Purg.* iii, 122, 123.

‘Infinite goodness has an embrace so wide,
That it receives all that turns back to it.’

† *Par.* xiii, 130-142; cf. xix, 70-81; xx, 133-135.

‡ *Inf.* xxxii, 119, 120.

§ Villani, vi, 65, cited by Mr Tozer in his note on the passage.

|| Cited by Toynbee, ‘*Life*,’ p. 134.

we can only say that to us it seems an aggravation, rather than a justification, of the original offence; and of the latter, that it is not true. Dr Moore has pointed out* that, in the first seven cantos of the *Inferno*, with the exception of the 'people of much worth' in Limbo, almost all the persons mentioned are men of no account. And in other parts of the *Inferno* also characters are found on whom the most patient research has failed to throw any light.† Even of those about whom something is known, many seem to be quite fourth-rate people.

We remember reading in the days of our childhood a story of Lionardo da Vinci. We do not know whether it was based on any legend or tradition, or whether it was merely the creation of a graceful fancy. The story, as we remember it, was something like this. When Lionardo was painting his great fresco of the Last Supper he reserved the figure of the Saviour for the supreme effort at the last. He painted first the eleven faithful apostles. But when he came to the traitor, the tempter suggested to him to avenge himself on a personal foe by representing him in the character of Judas, which he did with perfect success. But after yielding to the passions of hatred and revenge, he strove in vain to paint 'a semblance such as His,'‡ and he threw down his brushes in despair. The day came when the fresco was to be unveiled, and Lionardo stood with downcast eyes awaiting the inevitable shame and exposure. But instead of the shouts of derision which he had expected, an awestruck silence fell on the assembly, and Lionardo lifted his eyes to seek the cause. And he saw in the centre of his picture a figure in form and hue more beautiful than even he could have conceived, for an angel from heaven had descended in the night and completed the unfinished work. But the hues of heaven could not last in the atmosphere of this low earth; and that is why the central figure of the world's masterpiece was the first to fade.

* 'Studies,' 170.

re, *Inf.* xvi, 67-72; Buoso, xxv, 140; Cianfa, *ib.* 43; and Puccio, 148.

¶ 'la sembianza,' *Par.* xxxi, 107. This occurs in the simile of the Crostia gazing on the Veronica at Rome—perhaps the loveliest whole of the *Commedia*.

We might almost dream that something of the same kind had occurred in the composition of the Divina Commedia, so great is the distance between its highest and its lowest, between Dante with his cheeks begrimed with the soot of hell, and Dante with his face irradiated with the beatific vision.

It is not for us to measure the distance between any man's best and worst. The 'strange story' of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde has a serious significance for almost all of us. Nay, in extreme cases, Dante's terrible imagination of a continual interchange of the human and serpentine natures is not too violent an allegory. Once, and only once, on this earth moved One

'Che nacque e visse senza pecca';

One who could sound the depths and scan the heights to which human nature is capable of sinking and aspiring; One 'who needed not that any should testify of man, for He knew what was in man.'

Art. III.—THE PALACE OF KNOSSOS.

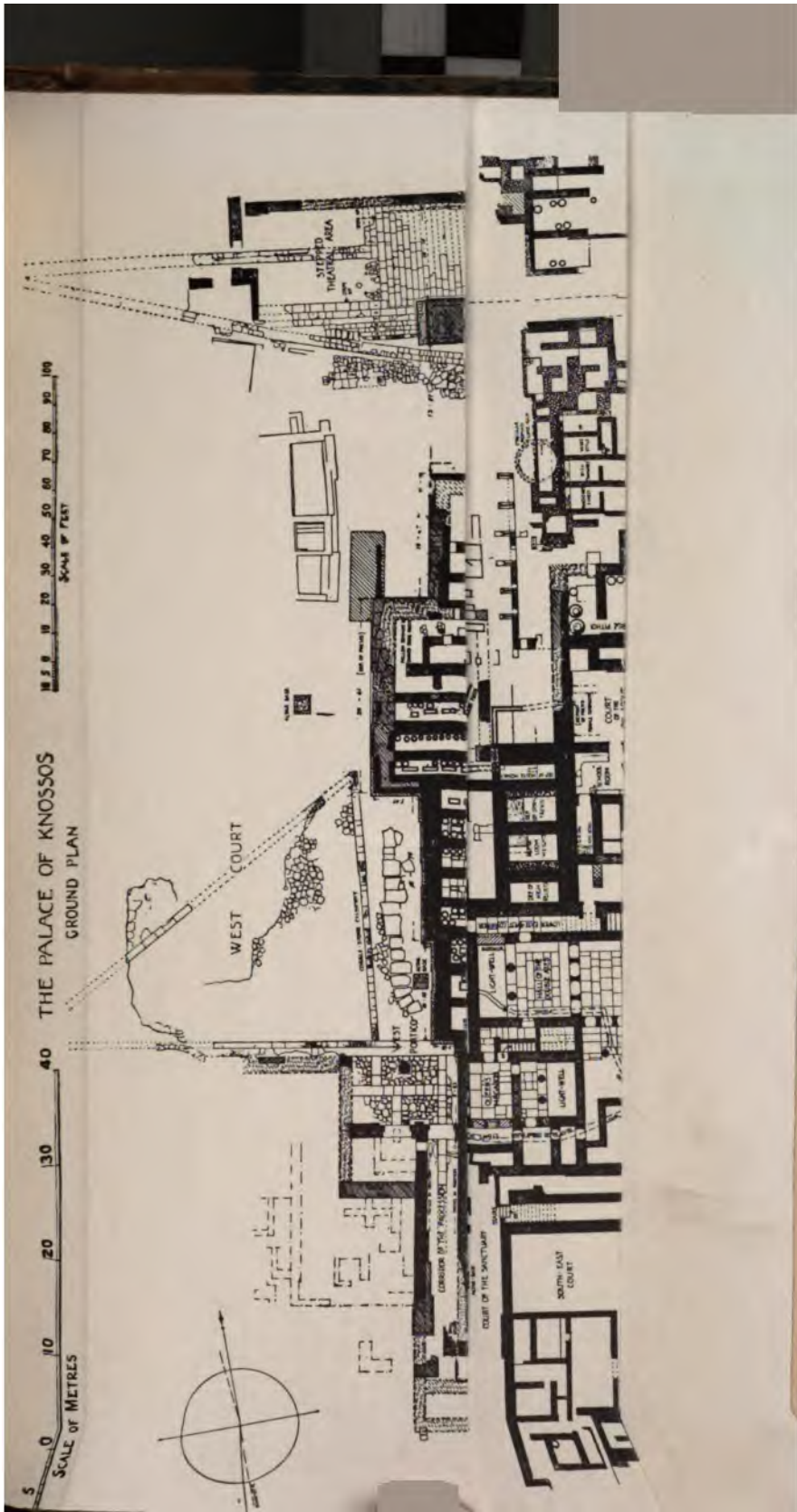
1. *The Annual of the British School at Athens*. Vols VI-IX. London: Macmillan, 1900-4.
2. *The Pottery of Knossos*. By D. Mackenzie. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXIII, I. London: Macmillan, 1903.
3. *Monumenti Antichi*. Issued by the R. Accademia dei Lincei. Vols XII, XIII. Milan: Hoepli, 1902-3.
4. *Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos*. Published by the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies. (J.H.S. Supp. Paper, IV.) London: Macmillan, 1904.
5. *Mycenæan Tree and Pillar Cult*. By A. J. Evans. J.H.S. XXI. London: Macmillan, 1901.
6. *Homerische Paläste*. By Ferd. Noack. Leipzig: Teubner, 1903.

THE ruins of the Knossian palace* are now almost entirely uncovered. This does not mean that the capital of prehistoric Crete will have been explored by the end of the coming season, or the season after it. A large area north, west, and south of the royal buildings, which has been proved by soundings to contain extensive remains of early houses of great interest, has still to be excavated; and cemeteries of prehistoric epochs, tapped at various points upon a wide outer circle, appear, from the results of the past season, to retain a fair proportion of virgin graves. There seems also to be an outlying north-western quarter of the palace itself, containing rich magazines, not yet opened up.† The paved road to it has been followed for some distance, and will be explored further in 1905; while the primitive lower levels all over the site are to be re-examined.

Moreover, the fortunate explorer has yet to put before us all he has learned himself. A comprehensive volume, with copious pictorial illustration, is to be issued by the same house which has published his preliminary reports, at the instance of the Committee of the British School at Athens; and we understand that a special work on the

* The plan published herewith is that of the Later Palace, drawn by Mr Theodore Fyfe, and exhibited at Burlington House in 1902, with the results of the season of 1903 added. It is the most complete plan yet issued and appears by kind permission of Messrs. Macmillan and Mr A. J. Evans.

† See plan: Western Theatral Area.

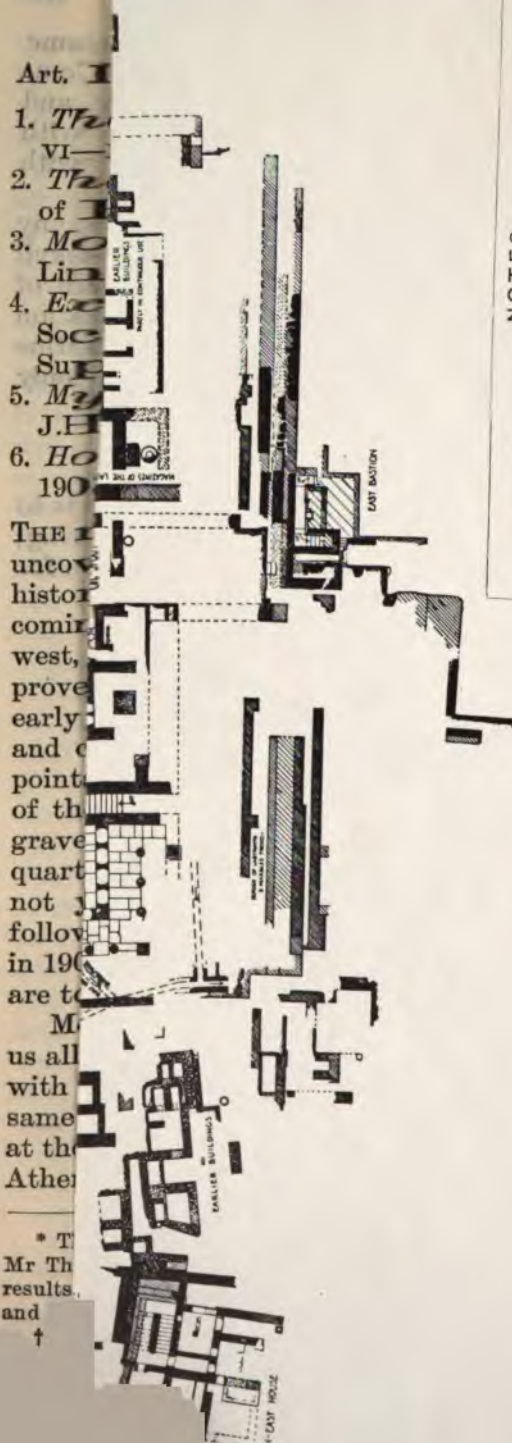


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MEASURED AND DRAWN BY THEODORE FYFE.





criptions has been taken in hand by the Oxford Press. At these final publications, though in preparation, are expected for some time to come, perhaps for two years at least. In the meanwhile we have before us provisional reports, which have been issued with a promptitude, regularity, and fulness almost as novel as their contents.

No previous archæological enterprise of nearly equal magnitude has been recorded thus minutely while in progress; nor could such a record have appeared in the case of Knossos had the explorer been another than Mr Arthur Evans. Probably no digger has set to work at a prehistoric site with this scholar's profound and wide knowledge of prehistoric archæology in general, added to his unique knowledge of local antiquities. Moreover, his mastery of museum craft has rendered it possible to bring the *disjecta membra* of an ancient civilisation to be pieced and reconstituted on the spot, and forthwith reproduced and published. How high a standard Mr Evans has set for preliminary reports becomes apparent when we turn to the *Rendiconti* of the Italian archæologists who have been exploring important sites of the same prehistoric civilisation on the southern plain of Crete. These have been issued in two parts of the 'Monumenti Antichi,' the first written by Dr L. Pernier, concerning the palace at Phæstos, the second by Professor Halbherr, *doyen* of Cretan explorers, concerning the neighbouring site of Haghia Triadha, where a splendid palace, probably of the kings of Phæstos, has been discovered. A further *livraison* on the latter site is expected; but in the meantime we can take into consideration a supplementary report by Dr Paribeni, which states shortly the most remarkable results of the season of 1903. Certain of the discoveries here recorded are of a nature which distract attention even from Knossos. The steatite plaques with reliefs and the painted sarcophagus, for example, are treasures not equalled in their kind elsewhere. Nevertheless, full and interesting as the Italian reports are, one cannot but compare them unfavourably with the Knossian in respect of comprehensiveness, illustration, and suggestive comment; comprehensive, illustrative, and suggestive though they unquestionably are beyond any others so promptly issued upon Greek discoveries. There is much more, not only in Mr Evans'

reports, but behind and around them; in a word, much more prehistoric atmosphere.

If, however, we find ourselves already in a position to estimate in general terms the gains from Knossos, at the same time it must not be forgotten that Mr Evans' reports have been issued provisionally, and therefore that close criticism of them at this stage would be neither fair nor profitable. It is necessary to insist on this, if only because the writer, with his singularly fearless and sanguine temperament, shows himself always willing to err on the side of positive assertion; and, in his desire to hold that public interest on which the continuance of his work largely depends, gives hostage upon hostage to fortune in the shape of immediate explanation and ready suggestion in the obscurest matters. Critics feel themselves challenged, for instance, by his confident characterisation of the divers parts of his palace, by his 'shrines' and 'sanctuaries,' by this group of chambers, which was 'the residence of a court official' of much artistic taste,* by that, which was the priest-king's 'summer pleasaunce' by the riverside. But these characterisations are not all to be taken very seriously; and some, we may safely guess, will not reappear in the final volume. For the moment they have served more than one purpose. For, besides the interest of the public, there is an interest of the discoverer to be considered. In all work of excavation it has been found by experience to be of prime importance that the director should continually form hypotheses as to the character, relations, and significance of his discoveries as he is making them. Only thus will his attention and observation be maintained at that high pitch essential to success in work in which the boredom of master or men entails swift and irreparable disasters.

To find the ground scheme of a prehistoric palace on Greek soil was, of course, not a new thing. This generation has watched the uncovering of Tiryns. To associate it with great traditions of Hellenic mythology was not to do more than Schliemann did for the Mycenæan palace, and with a probability neither less nor greater; for the connexion of Minos as a personality with the Cretan

* See plan; South-east House.

palace, though likely enough, is no more demonstrable than that of Atreus with the Argive; and the identification of the Knossian building with the 'Labyrinth' of Dædalus is not, and perhaps never will be, proved.

But, if the finding of a palace, rich in legendary association, be no novelty, this particular palace presents new features without end—in its architectural type, in its architectural stratification, in the grandeur and beauty of both its structure and its decoration. Its variation from the accepted scheme of Greek prehistoric royal houses was not fully realised till the second season of its exploration; and even then might have escaped recognition a little longer if it had not been for Professor Halbherr's revelation of the simpler and better preserved palace plan at Phæstos. For there the type of large hall was apparent in 1900, which had to wait at Knossos till a year later. In his second report, however, issued early in 1902, Mr Evans showed himself fully aware that his palace did not conform in important features to the type rendered familiar by Schliemann; and in his statement of these he anticipated the distinctions made by Dr Ferdinand Noack in the short architectural study on 'Homeric Palaces' which he has dedicated appropriately to the two palace-finders, the British and the Italian. The German archæologist distinguishes a south Ægean type of domestic structure whose variation from that of the north consists briefly in these features: that it was built without any ring-wall round a central court, not facing a forecourt, or within an *enceinte*; that it rose storey above storey (at Knossos there is evidence for four storeys in part of the palace, and for three in the 'royal villa'), having suites of rooms opening one out of another, and not, as at Tiryns, distinguished by neutral zones; that the ordinary entrance-ways were bipartite, divided by a single pillar or pilaster; that there was no central hearth set among columns; that the halls were of greater breadth than length; and that the façade was a long, not a short, side.

Certain deductions of far-reaching interest are made from these facts. The southern type bears no perceptible relation to the architectural types of later Hellas, but has obvious affinities with both Egyptian and Babylonian buildings—a fact first noted by M. Edmond Pottier when, Vol. 200.—No. 400.

visiting the half-revealed site of Knossos in 1901, he was reminded of the plan of the palace at Tell Lo. Mr Evans has remarked, moreover, other features which the Cretan type both of palace and private house (inferred partly from the faience mosaic of house façades which he describes in his second report) has in common with structures of the eighteenth dynasty in Egypt. At the same time, however, the main features in the arrangement of Cretan palaces appear to be native—for example, their quadrangular scheme,

‘with a central court approached at right angles by four main avenues, dividing the surrounding buildings into four quarters—a simple conception which, as we now know, long before the days of the later Roman *Castra*, was carried out in the *Terremare* of northern Italy.’

The northern type, on the other hand, as seen at Mycenæ, Tiryns, Hissarlik, and Phylakopi (‘Third City’), is demonstrably the precursor of the familiar scheme of the Hellenic temple. The Mycenæan ‘Megaron’ and the Parthenon display one architectonic idea. It must be observed, however, that the Homeric house, as far as it can be derived from poetic description, is hardly more to be reconciled with the northern than the southern type; but the discrepancies possibly seem greater to us than they would have done had an architect of the ninth century left us his actual plans and elevations.

So far as we can see at present, the southern type occupied the Ægean field before the northern. The latter did not appear before the ‘Mycenæan period,’ properly so called, i.e. before about the middle of the second millennium B.C., and then only in the northern parts of the area. The volume recently issued by the Hellenic Society, which contains the results of the British excavation at Phylakopi in Melos, records a significant fact observed there. A small palace of purely northern type was brought to light above two strata of house-remains. These houses, small and simple as they were, are well enough preserved to demonstrate their conformity, not to the northern, but to the southern architectural type. Their clusters of engaged chambers have no relation with the Mycenæan ‘Megaron’ scheme, but are quite in keeping with the Knossian palace and houses. The upper stratum of

these houses is shown by many correspondences to synchronise with the second period of the later palace at Knossos. A southern influence, therefore, was prevalent in Melos, as in Crete, during almost all the prehistoric period—a fact which might have been deduced equally well from the extensive importation of Cretan objects, and the prevalence of Cretan decorative ideas, illustrated in this volume by Messrs Edgar and Mackenzie, and noted from the other side again and again by Mr Evans. It was not till the latest age that this southern civilisation encountered a distinct influence born of the north, and fell back before it. It is always perilous to deduce political from artistic history; but in drawing such conclusions from a sharp distinction in types of royal residences, we are on safer ground than if we used for a similar purpose the changes in plastic or decorative style. The architectural features may fairly be assumed to indicate a great fact in prehistoric Ægean politics, namely, that the island area was originally under the dominance of a Cretan civilisation, and that only in the latest prehistoric time, if at all, was the centre of gravity shifted to the Greek mainland.

Before this, however, certain changes seem to have taken place in the distribution of power. The South Ægean isles, at first dominated by Crete, perhaps asserted independence and began to react on their former mistress. An 'intrusive Ægean influence' is inferred by Mr Evans from the fact that counter-importation from Melos into Crete begins to show evidence of itself in the stratum containing the earliest remains of the second palace at Knossos. He even suggests that this new power may have 'contributed to the catastrophe' which brought about the end of the first period of that second palace. There are other signs among remains of this epoch that some dynastic change, at least, took place in Crete, notably the fact that the script underwent a distinct and sudden modification. The original linear characters, used both at Knossos and in the south of the island, as illustrated by the tablets found at Haghia Triadha, were discontinued; and a variant system, taking their place, became characteristic of the whole second period of the later palace, i.e. roughly, something more than the third quarter of the second millennium B.C. But Mr Evans is too sane an

archæologist to infer any *racial* change. The fact that similar groups of signs recur in both varieties of the linear script points to essential continuity of language; and, indeed, in the artistic history of the whole pre-historic period in Crete there is too continuous a process of development for racial changes to be probable. At the most, the ultimate revulsion of north against south may be thought to have been due to the intrusion of some small alien caste of warriors, not numerous or cultured enough to affect the general character of Ægean civilisation. If this caste introduced certain modifications into the details of life most nearly concerning itself, for example, the fashions of palace-fortresses and of arms, it was all it was able to do. That much, however, is possible; and we commend the inference to Professor Ridgeway, with whose published views as to the 'Achæans' it can be brought, up to a certain point, into accord.

On the local development of the Ægean civilisation, Mr Evans' discoveries have thrown a clearer light than any previous researches. His preliminary observations upon Knossos, further co-ordinated by his assistant, Mr Mackenzie, in two valuable papers contributed to the 'Journal of Hellenic Studies' and the Phylakopi volume respectively, show beyond cavil that Ægean art developed continuously from the rudest origins on Cretan soil, and that there was artistic production there at an earlier period than elsewhere. Perhaps nothing that Mr Evans has demonstrated more instantly compels assent than his early dating of the origins. Yet it is curious to note how reluctant the learned world still is to accept this inevitable revolution in its chronology. In a few minds the spell of Archbishop Ussher is still potent. In more there shows itself a certain uneasiness lest the focus in which the classical age of Hellas has long been studied be confused by an indefinite lengthening of the vista behind. In most there is a not unreasonable suspicion that '*omne ignotum pro magnifico*' goes for something in the dating of high antiquity. But, on the one hand, there is no *a priori* objection to assuming civilisation to be at least as old in the Ægean as in the Nile valley. We are dealing, as we now know, with neither a local by-product of another civilisation nor a petty and confined social development, but with an indubitably indigenous culture comparable

to any other of antiquity in the range of its social achievement. On the other hand, the positive evidence of synchronism between early Ægean and early Pharaonic epochs is now conclusive. Since the main points have just been restated with great clearness in Mr Flinders Petrie's 'Methods and Aims in Archaeology,' it will be sufficient to say here that, while the later period of the eighteenth dynasty has been abundantly proved to be contemporary with the epoch at which the grave circle on the Mycenæan Acropolis was closed, a chain of irrefragable evidence relates Cretan objects to the twelfth, sixth, fourth, and first Egyptian dynasties successively.

The earliest of these objects, however, are not the earliest products of Ægean civilisation, not, at least, at Knossos. It was reserved for Mr Evans to investigate a deposit of human artistic remains in the Ægean earlier than any Pharaoh. Down to the death of Schliemann, the most primitive Ægean deposit known was the first, or lowest, stratum at Hissarlik; and this was regarded as true neolithic. The stratum overlying it, however—Schliemann's 'Burnt Ilios'—could be referred to nothing earlier than the full bronze age. There was, then, a wide chronological gap, in which the stone age must have given way to the 'chalcolithic,' and that, in turn, to the age of bronze. But trace of these changes there was none at Hissarlik; and the difficulty was explicitly stated in the final publication, 'Troja und Ilion,' issued two years ago by Schliemann's colleague and successor, Dr Dörpfeld. Knossos has now solved the question: the beginnings of Hissarlik have fallen into their proper place. Comparison of the earliest Trojan potsherds, which have incised ornament filled with white, with the earlier Knossian, shows the former to correspond with the latest sub-neolithic fabric of Knossos—a fabric contemporary with the first introduction of metal, i.e. of copper, and with the first structures in stone that were raised on the site. The beginnings of Hissarlik, therefore, are not truly neolithic at all, but of Mr Evans' 'early Minoan' epoch, which just preceded the introduction of painted geometric decoration on pottery. This epoch receives its fullest recognition and description in his latest report. If it represents, however, the beginning of Hissarlik, it is far later than the beginnings of Kr. . . . for on certain

parts of the latter site* is a yet lower stratum, from six to seven metres thick, resulting from the débris of remoter ages, when stone was the only material for arms and tools. In the words of Mr Mackenzie:—

‘At Knossos . . . the range of discovery covered a very wide field, extending from a remote prehistoric era as yet unrepresented in the results of any discoveries in the Ægean, through a period which has to be correlated with the earliest yet known in the Cyclades to a time when, apparently, equally in Crete and in the Cyclades, the Ægean civilisation had reached its prime.’ (‘The Pottery of Knossos.’)

In the chronology of Ægean antiquities, so far as it is to be deduced from architectonic and decorative styles, Knossos has proved more instructive than any other site, because there alone the richest and most various remains have been found stratified in an orderly sequence from first to last. Hissarlik and Phylakopi are not so old, nor did they yield such a rich and continuous series. Nor can Phæstos rival Knossos in this respect, though M. Pernier says:—

‘Pare che a Phæstos la successione degli strati piu antichi corrisponde a quella osservata dall’ Evans a Knossos, mostrandoci sopra gli avanzi neolitici le tracce d’ uno strato dell’ epoca di Kamares, e su questo lo strato miceneo.’

For, apart from its greater poverty of evidence, Phæstos has nothing to show of the very earliest periods. The most primitive ware there found was of the incised class, which lies high in the neolithic strata of Knossos, and is associated with obsidian knives, whose importation from Melos did not begin till near the close of the stone age. Haghia Triadha, again, though blocks have survived from an earlier villa than that actually revealed by Professor Halbherr, was of comparatively late foundation. Knossos, on the other hand, was a powerful city during the whole ‘Ægean period,’ from the early neolithic to the latest age of bronze. In the closing years of the prehistoric time it had, perhaps, fallen from its high estate, and was only partially occupied. Then came some overwhelming catastrophe, probably the irruption of iron-using warriors

* E.g. the Central Court: see plan.

from the north; and the palace site knew neither kings nor even inhabitants of lesser degree till far into the classical age. Indeed, no remains of historic times much earlier than the Roman conquest have been found upon the greater part of the site.

In the long history of Knossian development Mr Evans has been able to distinguish, relate, and even date with approximate certainty, a number of successive sub-periods; and his chronological scheme will probably remain a standard by which all *Ægean* remains, where-soever found, must be tested. The distinction and procession of subperiods is expressed best, as in all archaeological chronology, in terms of pottery, the most ubiquitous, indispensable, and persistent product of human skill. Beginning with the rudest, unburnished, and undecorated ware, we note decoration coming in with geometric incised patterns. These are presently emphasised by a filling of white, to which, later, red, and perhaps yellow, ochres came to be added. We are now on the eve of the introduction of pigment, and already past the neolithic age; we are in the early Minoan, in which the stone palace was founded and metal tools were first used. Contemporary with this, the production of decorated pottery was beginning in the Cyclades and the north of the *Ægean* area; and the sixth Pharaonic dynasty was reigning on the Nile. Before this subperiod is at an end ware decorated in two monochrome schemes has come into use, wooden in form and angular in ornament, which, about the date of the eleventh Egyptian dynasty, was to develop into the beautiful polychrome pottery, with spiraliform decoration, of the middle Minoan age, the first of the two golden periods of Cretan art, and the great era of the early palace. As the end of the third millennium approaches the forms and ornament show signs of incipient degradation; the royal building is remodelled, and the later Minoan age, the first period of the 'Later Palace,' begins.

So far there is no evidence of any dynastic or political change. Artistic development follows a peaceful and natural course. But somewhere about the middle of the second millennium B.C. some political change took place; new influences came into Crete; the Knossian palace was once more almost wholly rebuilt, but mainly

the old lines; the fashion of writing changed; art received a new stimulus, mainly in the direction of naturalism. We find ourselves in the 'Mycenæan' age, that of the earliest graves in the Mycenæ circle, for example, the fourth. The old artistic producers of Crete produced still, but perhaps their rulers were alien. It was a brilliant age of revived art, the second golden period of the palace, but, it seems, short-lived. While it lasted, Crete seems once more to have been the dominant centre of the Ægean. Its old-established technique of glazed pottery, having developed new forms and patterns, spread over all the area. But quickly the decorative motives became stylised and the forms mechanical. The power and wealth of Knossos declined; and the Palace finally underwent some great general destruction. This was, however, long before the end of the millennium; for the latest pottery of the Second Palace has not reached the stage of degradation marked by the 'Mycenæan' vase fragments of Tell el-Amarna, which must be referred to a period not later than the reign of Amenhotep IV. Thereafter the site was never again in its entirety a royal residence; though some restoration was carried out in its eastern part, which had formerly been the domestic quarter ('Queen's Megaron,' etc.). Some of the other ruins seem also to have been patched up and used as separate houses. During the past season, of which Mr Evans has not yet issued any report, a series of graves has been opened at Knossos which belong to this period of partial reoccupation. They show pottery lineally descended from that of the later palace, and fine bronze weapons of purely south Ægean types. It seems, therefore, that no general change of race had followed the destruction of the old palace. The Minoan civilisation continued uninterrupted its course of decadent development; but the Knossian kings had moved house to some other site, not yet found. If any crash there was, it came later still, about 1000 B.C. About that date the 'sub-Mycenæan' style passes into the 'geometric'; new vase forms appear, the fashion of dress which requires *fibulae* (safety-pins) comes in; signs of cremation and iron weapons begin to be found in the graves. But even then in Crete, as in Cyprus, there seems less evidence of a break in the development than on the main-

land. Possibly, therefore, in Crete there was no sudden and general conquest, but only a gradual infiltration from the north during the uneventful centuries which link the prehistoric to the historic age of Greece. But, when the long process of decay was checked, and, under new impulses, the old spirit revived to form classic Greek art, it breathed more freely on other Hellenic shores than on those of Crete.

The range, the numerical and intrinsic bulk and the artistic excellence of the Knossian finds compel scholars to revise their whole conception of the Ægean civilisation. In the nineties it was generally accepted that the Mycenæ treasure and the royal building at Tiryns represented the culmination of the Ægean culture; but, magnificent as in their diverse ways both were, they left in many respects on the beholder an impression of something considerably less than the highest art as represented in contemporary Egypt or the East. The Tirynthian palace, with all due credit to its solid construction and plenitude of decoration, had elements of rudeness and meanness; those among the gold objects from the shaft graves, which must have been of local manufacture, suggested to critics the epithet 'barbaric'; and, even if these critics did not refer the finest objects to a foreign source (as many did), they saw in them a derivative art, whose prime had been spent elsewhere. Moreover, this 'Mycenæan' civilisation appeared, at its highest point, to have remained below any form of literary expression higher than that of a rock-scratching Indian. The age, it was said, was mute, and, further, one of very primitive religious belief, having no cult but of a rude aniconic sort, slightly affected by the Semitic Nature-goddess. Finally, the Mycenæan people was believed to have been dependent on alien intermediaries for all commerce with the elder civilisations, and, indeed, for communication between its own little seats of power. It was 'ignorant of the sea.'

These views, whatever their justice in respect of Schliemann's discoveries, have ceased, since the exploration of Crete, to have any general application to the 'Ægean age.' They are invalidated, if by nothing else, by the established fact that Mycenæ is neither in date nor in products representative of the greatest period. This, the

'middle Minoan,' is wholly antecedent to the florescence of Mycenæ; while, even in the height of the so-called 'Mycenæan' period, a period, as we have seen, of revival of an art already on the downward road, the centre of gravity was not in the Argolid. Mycenæ, compared with contemporary Knossos, appears provincial. The remains neither of its palace nor of its private houses can compare with the Cretan. Our standard of Ægean domestic architecture must be taken henceforward from the great piles of Knossos and Phæstos, with their many storeys, their flights of stone stairs, their tiers of corridors, their light-wells and windows,* their sanitary contrivances, and their elaborately engineered system of drainage. For lesser buildings, we have a scale running down from the villa at Haghia Triadha, with its beautiful frescoes, through the Knossian 'pleasaunce,' with its grandiose double-headed stair, to the common type of house with gypsum dadoes and gypsum floors. But the meanest house yet found at Knossos is superior to any building, less than a palace, found on the Greek mainland. Apart from all other features, the geometric regularity which characterises the Cretan ground-plans belongs to a higher order of architecture. M. Pernier says of Phæstos: 'Nel suo primo piano domina la più stretta regolarità geometrica: l'area è stata ripartita come per mezzo di un reticolato.' Such regular schemes, carried out, in spite of the accidents of sites, by means of elaborate terracing and cutting away, again remind us of the great plans laid out on the level surfaces of the Nilotic and Euphratean plains.

The character of the internal decoration of the Knossian palace, and the immense variety of objects which local art has there embellished, have silenced for ever any suggestion, not only of the non-Ægean provenance of the finer 'Mycenæan' things, but also of the derivative nature of the art they evince. Whatever influence of alien art the Ægean may show in its later phases, when the civilisation had become cosmopolitan, the essential excellences of its style and handiwork are now confessed to be its own. A glance through the British and Italian reports convinces the critic of a truly amazing amount of artistic

* See south-eastern part of plan.

effort and achievement, all stages of whose development can be traced. No longer do a few objects stand out in solitary excellence, without evidence of the processes by which that excellence was attained, as did the inlaid daggers of Mycenæ and the goblets of Vaphio a few years ago.

The Candia Museum is now a gallery of all the arts. Take, for example, the provinces of the painter and the sculptor. You may see there not only consummate uses of colour—of which there is no evidence on the mainland—on high reliefs in plaster of human and animal forms, and on crystal transparencies, but a wholly new miniature style of fresco painting, and an extension of the broader style, which has left traces on the Mycenæan and Tirynthian walls, to a wide variety of subjects—to landscape, to architectural pictures, to genre subjects, to the animal world on land and sea, and many forms of human activity, in fact to every kind of scene that can be represented on the flat without chiaroscuro. Of this art the villa at Haghia Triadha has yielded examples which surpass even the Knossian. The wild-cat fresco from its walls, treated with lively Egyptian reminiscence, and the wonderful sarcophagus, showing, perhaps, the cult of the dead, remain the finest things we possess from the hand of an Ægean subject-painter. When to these are added the superb bull's head in relief, and the miniatures of Knossos with the two marine subjects in fresco, one from that site, the other from Phylakopi in Melos, we turn away from the mural decorators of Egypt to the Attic painters of the fifth century for comparisons and parallels. Nor must painted pottery be lost sight of. In polychrome ceramic decoration the Minoan artists had little to learn. Mycenæ hardly prepared us at all for the revelation which 'Kamares' ornament has made; and to find anything like Knossian painted faience we must go to the Nile, not to Greece.

Of the excellence of Ægean glyptic work we had already a fair idea, thanks to the wide distribution of engraved gems, and their long conservation in use. But our knowledge of the subjects affected by the artists, and of the variety of their treatment, has been increased tenfold by the exploration of Crete, thanks to the discovery, first made there, of impressed sealings, which, through

some process of hardening after impression, not yet understood, have preserved the finest lines and the full excellence of the gem types. In this field Crete has also proved that the Ægean artists practised a new and delightful art, hitherto supposed to be of much later origin—that of cameo-relief. The Cretan cameo work differs from the Græco-Roman in that the lapidary cut across, and not along, the planes of his crystal.

The sculptors, too, have revealed themselves as never before. Examples of their work in the round on a large scale are still very rare; but that such examples there were is sufficiently proved by the marble hand of a woman and the fragments of a steatite bull found at Knossos. Even did these not exist, we should know from the lioness gargoyle and the alabaster shell vases found by Mr Evans in his first season, that Ægean artists were able to model in hard materials. How softer material could be manipulated in that age, such masterpieces as the steatite vases of Haghia Triadha and the ivory *bibelots* of Knossos would teach, even were there not already in existence the ivories of Spata and Enkomi. Where moulding, rather than modelling, is required, the plastic artist had advanced equally far, as the counterfeiters of Knossian plaster-reliefs, shown two winters ago at Burlington House, were enough to prove. Moreover, the spirit which informs all this art with life is as eloquent of the high quality of Ægean civilisation as all the technical excellences. An ever present consciousness of an ideal, and aspiration thereto through faithful study of nature, were observed in Ægean art before Crete was explored. But the much greater body of artistic evidence offered by the southern island has brought home the truth to many who did not fully realise it in face of the earlier discoveries.

As for the imputation of being without letters, Mr Evans may be said to have removed that discredit from Ægean civilisation before ever he put a spade into Knossos. A large variety of characters incised on pottery had come to light in Melos also by 1898. But these earlier revelations were to be eclipsed completely by those made in the first season of Cretan excavation on a large scale. The clay tablets, whole or fragmentary, which it was Mr Evans' fortune and right to find on the first Ægean

site he ever dug, number thousands. They are over 95 per cent. of the whole number found in all the Ægean up to the present. Phæstos yielded only two specimens; Haghia Triadha fragments of some two score; Zakro and Palaiokastros only three between them. Outside Crete no tablets have been reported, though 'Cretan' characters have been found on pottery. Such distribution indicates that the clay tablet was not a common vehicle for writing, but was used, probably, for some official class of documents, and that, perhaps, in Crete only. They might, for example, be records of tribute; and, if such they are, it is not wonderful that they should be found in greatest quantity in the royal residence of the chief prehistoric city. Ordinary documents and letters must have been of more perishable material, such as wood, skin, palm-leaf, or papyrus. Although not a trace has been found of these, the number of clay-sealings which occur on the site seems to indicate their former existence. Mr Evans has actually found legends written in ink or black pigment on pottery; and Professor Halbherr reports *graffiti* on the walls at Haghia Triadha. These argue a wider diffusion of the writing art than could be inferred from incision on clay.

The earliest Knossian tablets show a conventional hieroglyphic script, and are not numerous. The bulk belongs to a linear system which was hardly, if at all, in use in the earlier Minoan ages. The oldest of this class correspond with those found at Haghia Triadha, and form a distinct variety, expressing, however, to all appearance the same language. Mr Evans has made out the system of numeration; and, to judge by the pictographs and the form of the majority of the tablets, we have to do with tallies recording the divers objects stored in the palace magazines. Beyond this measure of interpretation, neither the discoverer nor any one else seems to be able to advance as yet. Neither can the meaning of any group of symbols be guessed, nor the phonetic value of any one character be determined; and, even were phonetic values known, we should hardly be nearer interpretation, for, to judge by the Eteocretan inscriptions of Præstos, the early word-forms of Crete are very remote from known Indo-European forms; and the decipherer's dilemma would be even greater than in the

case of Etruscan or Lycian, for there is little or no hope of a bilingual Cretan text. If anywhere, it is in Egypt that such a text ought already to have come to light.

The question of Ægean religion is the most difficult in the field of Ægean study. On no other has the exploration of Crete thrown more lights; but the lights change and cross, and do not even yet permit clear vision. Moreover, the evidence on this subject, as is always the case with ancient religion, is difficult to obtain uncontaminated by the predilections of the researcher. Alike in the provinces of anthropology and archæology, the personal equation seriously affects all discussion of religious belief and practice. One explorer will find evidence of cult where another will see none; but all will be disposed to look for it, since it is the most interesting thing that comes into an archæologist's view, and brings him nearest to the mind of the race which he is investigating. Mr Evans' personal interest is evidently most strongly enlisted in this study; and he is never loth to discover a sacral significance. In fact he ascribes it in these reports to objects and phenomena so many and so various that he leaves us a little bewildered and fain to take refuge in suspension of judgment till the publication of his final account. This much, however, we must allow at once, that, even if a religious character be conceded to all objects for which he has claimed it, there would still be fewer material documents surviving from Knossian cult practice than the quality of Knossian civilisation justifies us in expecting. It is probable that a social organisation so long established and so complex as the Cretan had a religious basis advanced both in spirit and ritual beyond the primitive religious systems of mankind.

It is impossible to do justice to this aspect of Ægean archæology except at great length; and the most that can be attempted here is to estimate the sum of the Cretan contribution to the problem. It seems to us, in spite of Mr Evans' constant insistence on evidence of 'aniconism,' both in his Knossian reports and in his weighty treatise on 'Mycenæan Tree and Pillar Cult,' that his explorations have done much to demonstrate the 'iconic' nature of Ægean worship from the full

minoan period forwards. It appears to emerge clearly from the Knossian evidence, as Mr Evans himself has stated, that the Knossian creed personified its chief religious conception in female form. The goddess who appears so often on seals in paintings, and as a cult-idol, has so many attributes in common with the west Asiatic nature-goddess that there can be little doubt that she, too, was a divinity of the generative principle, chthonian in some aspects, as lady of the buried seed and the buried body, erotic in others, as embodiment of the sexual instinct to reproduce. She has been suspected in the Aegean ever since Mycenæan remains have been explored; but Crete has first shown her native and pre-dominant. Whether a male divinity, a male member of a divine pair, born of her and in turn wedded to her, is to be associated, is more doubtful. Mr Evans, for his part, however, apparently has no doubt of this, in view of the later connexion of Zeus with Crete; and he interprets certain figures, shown on seal impressions accompanied by lions, as representing this god. But no certain cult-idol of this god has been found at Knossos, nor any certain representation of his worship. If he existed side by side with the goddess in Cretan creed, he was subordinate, as he appears to have been in the earlier religion of Asia Minor. Perhaps it was only at a comparatively late period, when a matriarchal system was giving way, that he came to the front and stamped himself on Greek tradition as Zeus of Dictæ and Ida, the god of battles.

Belief in this goddess, or this divine pair, was the essential fact of Aegean religion; but we get from excavation, as is to be expected, more illustrative evidence for the incidents of the cult-practice which proceeded from that primary belief—for something like a cult of the dead man, for example, who returns to the bosom of the mother (this on the Haghia Triadha sarcophagus); and possibly for a symbolic ritual observed before ancient fetiches such as pillars and trees, sacred horns, and double axes, which was also subordinate, and, it should be observed, is less compatible with a very primitive than with a relatively advanced stage of ritual practice. Mr Evans, however, does not take this view of the later Cretan iconic cult objects. In his opinion they were not

symbols but always fetishes, holy as actual abodes of a spirit, and belonging to a lower order of religious ideas. It is, perhaps, impossible to prove that they were one more than the other. Opinions will differ according to the estimate formed of the general standard of civilisation testified by Minoan remains; and some will hold high art not incompatible with low ideas of religion. Perhaps the truth lies in compromise. The symbols of the better educated often remain the fetishes of the vulgar. The double axe may well have served both functions in later Minoan Crete.

Further, be it noted, the cult objects, reasonably so regarded, which have come to light on prehistoric Cretan sites, afford abundant evidence, direct and inferential, of anthropomorphic conceptions, and little, if any, of theriomorphic. Those monstrous shapes, compound of bird, beast, and man, which appear in great variety on gem-sealings, seem to be proved by their infinite variety to have been rather heraldic fantasies than presentations of the divine. They were, in fact, signet devices, subject to infinite modification for obvious purposes of utility; while of those types which seem to show monstrous dæmonic shapes performing or accepting ritual homage—even if such interpretations be correct—it must be said emphatically that they are too few to be taken as evidence of a racial theriomorphic cult, although, at the same time, there would be nothing surprising or inconsistent with the history of human superstition that monstrous personifications of evil or terror should have co-existed with a prevalent anthropomorphic conception of divinity.

Hardly less seriously have our ideas concerning the external relations of the Ægean peoples in the prehistoric age been affected by Cretan research. It had long been recognised that Mycenæan art, in its higher efforts, showed considerable trace of Egyptian influence; while the presence, on the one hand, of indubitable Egyptian *bibelots* in Mycenæan deposits on the Greek mainland, in Rhodes, and in Cyprus, and, on the other, of Mycenæan pottery on certain Egyptian sites, was taken to prove some degree of commercial relation between the Ægean area and the Nile mouths. This inference, however, did not greatly impair—indeed it rather strength-

ned—the existing belief, based on Homer and the Hellenic antiquaries, that the Phœnician Semites had a virtual monopoly of sea-borne trade in the prehistoric ægean; and by their mediation, it was still supposed, both the artistic influence and the products of Egypt reached the Ægean area. Even the 'Kefti' tributaries, who are shown bearing vases of typically Mycenæan forms in Theban wall-paintings of the eighteenth dynasty, were interpreted as Phœnician. The number of indubitably foreign objects found on Ægean sites up to the close of the nineteenth century was very small; the Egyptian artistic influence was discerned only in a very select class of the finer Ægean products. There was no sufficient reason, in a word, for supposing that Ægeans or Egyptians were personally familiar with each other's homes; and the conspicuous absence of any but derivative and highly stylised marine motives in Mycenæan decoration, and of representations or remains of nautical apparatus, was taken as confirmatory of Mycenæan unfamiliarity with the sea. Indeed some archæologists went so far at one time as to deny to Mycenæan society all knowledge of fish food.

Some of the minor grounds of this general conclusion were weakened before the exploration of Crete began. At Phylakopi, for example, as the published report now proves, representations both of galleys and fishermen were observed on pottery; and the beautiful 'flying-fish' fresco sufficed to dispel any doubt that an Ægean artist had personal familiarity with marine models. But it was reserved for the Cretan explorers to demolish the major premiss of the Phœnician theory by showing that the Kefti tributaries, in the fashion of their hair and dress, offer so close a parallel to figures on Knossian frescoes that the probability of their having been actual Cretans was of the strongest; further, that the architectural, formative, and decorative influence of Egypt, clearly discernible in Cretan products, was of a range and character which imperatively demanded a revision of the theory that communication between Egypt and Crete was indirect and only occasional. Even taken alone, Mr Evans' discovery that the Ægean prehistoric systems had no obvious relation to the Phœnician outweighs any later tradition of a

mercial supremacy in the area and at the epoch in which that writing came into use.

Articles of possible Cretan importation, of various ages, have now been observed in Egyptian deposits. The black vases from Abydos containing colouring matter, on whose evidence Mr Petrie insists in his 'Methods and Aims,' if truly Cretan, would take commercial relations back to the epoch of the first Pharaonic dynasty; but Mr Evans doubts their *provenance*. In any case the fragments of liparite and diorite bowls, of Egyptian fabric, recorded by Mr Evans in his third report as having been unearthed at Knossos, are of the earliest dynastic times. In presence of these venerable witnesses, the 'Old Empire' style of a Cretan lamp, the 'Kamares' potsherds found in the Fayum, a diorite statuette of the thirteenth dynasty, and an alabaster lid of King Khyan occurring at Knossos, are not less to be expected than the late Mycenæan pottery of Tell el-Amarna, the derived Egyptian gods carved upon a Phæstian shell, the Nilotic type of Cretan house, or the Nilotic vegetation adapted to native vegetable forms in Cretan art. That Egyptians voyaged to prehistoric Crete is probable; that Cretans voyaged to Egypt is, in view of the Kefti pictures, certain. Moreover, evidence for the frequent commerce of inhabitants of various islands and coasts within the Ægean area is abundant. The Phylakopi volume shows that, in the period of the Second City, such 'middle Minoan' products of Crete as Kamares polychrome vases and steatite bowls came freely into Melos, and that possibly the finest wall-frescoes were imported as panels in wooden frames from Knossos. On the other hand, not only vases of Melian fabric went to Crete, but obsidian knives, for whose manufacture Melos alone in the whole Ægean area possessed the necessary material, were in common use on all the circumjacent coasts. Identical gem types have been found in Crete and in Laconia; most authorities now regard the Mycenæan inlaid daggers as of Cretan fabrication, on the ground that nothing among the certainly indigenous products of the prehistoric Argolid can prepare us for the amazing technique of those weapons. It is needless to multiply examples. These are more than enough to dispel any lingering belief that the fleets of Minos or of Agamemnon were fantasies of poets.

Discoveries which have given to an ancient civilisation so high a place in human history as that which must now be conceded to the Ægean culture involve it also in more serious problems than it had suggested while believed to be only an inconsiderable episode in social development. The most important of these problems, and the one which has already roused most strife, is concerned with the possible parental relation of Ægean culture to that of later Hellas. Many Hellenists seem to be irritated by any suggestion that the art of the great classic age was rather a renaissance than a new creation, and that the essential germ had existed and fructified in the Ægean area in prehistoric times. The discoveries of each successive season at Knossos, however, make it appear more probable that not only Greek artistic motives but the Greek artistic spirit have a prehistoric pedigree which was far longer than was once supposed. In fact, since Mr Evans' exploration of the late 'Mycenæan' graves at Knossos, and his studies and those of other scholars in the succeeding 'Geometric' period in Crete and Greece, as illustrated by finds in caves and tombs, it has become increasingly difficult to find a clear break at any epoch between early Ægean art and that exemplified in the oldest strata at Olympia. Before continuity can be satisfactorily established, however, we shall have to know more of early religious creed and rite, of early Ægean skull-forms and Ægean languages—points on which evidence as yet is defective, ill-marshalled, and obscure; but it is quite time already that the 'devout Hellenist' schooled himself to accept an enquiry conducted on the Hellenic principle of following the argument whithersoever it may lead. Mr Evans, at any rate, is never afraid to follow it. In the practice of this virtue, if no other, we have no better Hellenist.

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Art. IV.—THE POLISH NATION.

1. *Rzecz o Roku 1863 (The Truth about the Year 1863)*. By Stanislaus Kozmian. Three vols. Cracow: Polish Publishing Society, 1891. (German translation by Landau. Vienna: Konegen.)
2. *o Działaniach i Dzielach Bismarcka (Bismarck; his doings and achievements)*. By Stanislaus Kozmian. Cracow: Czas Press, 1902.
3. *Przegląd Wszechpolski (The United Poles' Review, or Organ of the National Democrats)*. Cracow, 1902.
4. *Nasza Młodzież (The Rising Generation)*. By 'Scriptor.' Cracow: Anczyc and Co., 1903.
5. *Dzieje Zniweczenia Unii (Destruction of the United Ruthenian Church)*. By Father Ladislaus Chotkowski. Cracow: Polish Publishing Society, 1899.
6. *The Expansion of Russia*. By F. H. Skrine. Cambridge: University Press, 1903.

'In this God's world . . . where men and nations perish as if without law, and judgment for an unjust thing is sternly delayed, dost thou think that there is therefore no justice? It is what the fool hath said in his heart. It is what the wise in all times were wise because they denied, and knew for ever not to be. . . . My friend, if thou hadst all the artillery of Woolwich trundling at thy back in support of an unjust thing . . . I would advise thee to call halt, to fling down thy baton, and say, "In God's name, No!" Thy "success"? Poor devil, what will thy success amount to? If the thing is unjust, thou hast not succeeded; no, not though . . . the just thing lay trampled out of sight, to all mortal eyes an abolished and annihilated thing.'*

Carlyle had no particular love for the country we are writing about, and certainly was not thinking of it when he penned this magnificent passage. Yet it is peculiarly applicable to Poland, and never more so than now. There is some justice in whatever happens; and we must own frankly that the Poles deserved the fate which fell upon them in 1772. It served them right, for it was their fault that the land was given over to anarchy. In the same sense we say that a householder who leaves doors

* Carlyle, 'Past and Present,' cap. ii, 'The Sphinx.'

and windows open at night, and is robbed by burglars, is rightly served. Yet we still persist in thinking that the burglars have done wrong. Whatever may be said to excuse the three Powers who profited by their neighbour's weakness, no plea on earth can justify what they did. The laws in Poland were all but a dead letter: was that their business? The country was torn by dissensions, convulsed by rebellions: who fomented them, and by what right? There were even traitors who called for their intervention: but who paid the traitors? All this is on record. But, though history tells of the retribution which came upon Poland, it has not yet said its final say.

Nevertheless, justice apart, the idea of a partition, first entertained by Frederick of Prussia, and eagerly taken up by Catherine II, and not unwillingly by the Emperor Joseph II, had many claims to be thought an admirable stroke of policy. Three great Powers against one weak nation, unable to govern itself, rent by factions, and with neither allies nor natural frontiers, were heavy odds. Judging from the state in which the nation then was, they could hardly expect any resistance at all; and such as might be made would only serve to draw the three Powers nearer to each other. As Frederick somewhat profanely said, the body and blood of Poland would be a sacrament of communion, to bind them in everlasting friendship; and, indeed, there has been since that time only one war between any two of the three. The work of assimilation, they made no doubt, would take a good many years; but that would be more than compensated by the blessings of peace and the community of interests accruing to each. And so one of the largest States in Europe, and one of the most fertile, passed into the hands of new rulers:—the Russian autocrat, whose capital, formerly taken by the Polish monarchs, had not been deemed worth the trouble of keeping; the Prussian king, whose ancestors had sworn fealty to Poland, and sought its protection; and the Austrian Emperor, whose capital Sobieski had saved from the Turks eighty-nine years before. This, as a stroke of political daring and foresight, has perhaps no parallel in history.

Yet those who planned it overlooked one thing—only one—the spirit of the nation. If the three despots knew

anything at all about patriotism, which is doubtful, they may well have held Polish patriotism at the time cheap enough. It was not, however, dead, but sleeping, soon to awake and manifest itself, first, by a series of convulsive efforts to regain lost freedom; and then, when these had proved ineffectual, by the steady development of every resource, both material and spiritual, which might tend towards that goal. It is indeed a truth that never since the first partition has the life of the nation been so vigorous, so abundant, as at the present day, pervading as it does now every class of society, from one end of the scale to the other; so much so that, even at the risk of being called paradoxical, it may be said that the partition of Poland was perhaps a providential means of saving that life. For who knows how long the nation could have endured that utter paralysis of law and order which prevailed in the last days of independence? and whether the spirit of indifference to the good of the country, already rife amongst the upper classes, would not soon have gone downwards, until Poland had become a mere name, and its people were ready to welcome any government, provided only that they were governed?

All men are fallible; and those great politicians committed the vulgar error of judging from appearances. This was because they had failed to understand and take into account the most essential feature in the Polish temperament. The nation, as a whole, is characterised by individualism in its extremest form, each man being excessively tolerant of what others do, so long as it does not touch him or his, but not less jealous of his own rights or what he takes to be his rights; inordinately good-natured on the one hand, desperately resentful on the other. Such a people can live, though stupefied, in an atmosphere of anarchy by which any other would be destroyed. In his narrative poem of *Pan Tadeusz*, Mickiewicz gives us a not unpleasant picture of the life of Polish gentlemen in Lithuania, in 1812, though at the same time he tells of a little private war which took place among them. They lived quietly, as a rule, in peaceful lawlessness, now and then taking the sword when things went too far. This bias of character gives the key to much that is otherwise inexplicable in their annals. Thus, whilst many wars have been undertaken by Poles on frivolous pretexts,

fighting, as Shakespeare says of them in 'Hamlet,' for 'a little patch of ground that hath in it no profit but the name,' very few, save in the earliest times, have been wars of conquest; most were defensive, at least in intention; and they seldom enlarged their frontiers, even after the most triumphant campaigns. Lithuania, White Russia, Podolia, and Ukraine, territories more than twice the size of Poland proper, were indeed added to it, but without striking a single blow, and with the entire goodwill of the inhabitants. At one time Muscovy was almost a vassal of Poland; but, the country rebelling against that vassalage, the Poles, after a short and half-hearted struggle, let it have its own way. 'Why should not the Muscovites be independent of us?' they thought. 'We, who love our own liberty so dearly, ought not to take theirs from them.' Innumerable other instances might be adduced; but any one who has stayed long in the country, mixing with the people, will readily admit the existence of this peculiar combination of kindness and petulance, which is, according to circumstances, either a blessing or a curse.

Plunged in a death-trance, Poland required the knife of the operators to rouse her, by striking at the most sensitive nerve of all. She was indeed roused, and passed, not at once but by degrees, from death in life to life in death. This has been the cause of all the spasmodic throes, the struggles and bloodshed of the last hundred years; thence, too, comes it that at the present day Germany feels the 'Polish danger' as a menace to part of the Empire; that the Government of St Petersburg has long ago recognised the impossibility of forcing the Polish nation into unity with Russia; that Austria, having taken the wise course of granting some amount of autonomy to the incorporated provinces, has found this semblance of independence to be the best means of eluding the bitter consequences of what has been done. This re-opening of the Polish question, which many thought to be dead and buried, is an interesting fact in contemporary history. We intend to pass rapidly in review the state of the country at this day in its three great divisions—the condition of parties in Poland, their various aims and ideals, and the general position of more than fifteen, perhaps not much less than twenty,

millions of the inhabitants of Central Europe towards their several rulers.

Since the first partition, three insurrections—the first under Kosciuszko, heroic and not without chances of success; the second, in 1831, rash and feebly led, yet requiring all the resources of the Russian Empire to put it down; the third, still remembered by many, hopeless from the first, and a mere act of desperation—have taken place within the Russian frontiers. Each insurrection led to repressive measures of increasing severity. It was not only the rebels themselves—shot, hanged, knouted, banished in thousands—who paid for these outbreaks. Even such deeds as the forcible seizure, by order of Nicholas I, of ten thousand Polish children to be brought up as Russians in Russia, were nothing in comparison to the persistent and relentless repression which was brought to bear. The spirit of the nation had asserted itself; and the spirit of the nation was struck at by striking at the owners of the land, its language, and its religion.

Comparatively little was done, because little could be done, in Poland proper. Plenty of confiscations, however, again and again took place; and the Poles are now tenants on many an estate belonging to an absentee Russian landlord. The language was degraded from its official position in the schools and elsewhere; pupils were forbidden to speak it, whether within the precincts of their 'Gymnasias' or in the street. At present it is taught for two hours per week, by special permission of the Emperor; but by means of Russian, as French grammar is taught in England by means of English. Russian, thus forced into the mouths of the young generation, was no doubt expected to become in time a pleasant morsel. Adults (and even schoolboys, when at home) were permitted to speak Polish. This could not be otherwise. Enough spies could not be found, nor enough money to pay them, to infest every house, and follow every man wherever he went. But the names over all shop-doors, all bills posted up, all public announcements, were required to be in Russian. In the case of shops, indeed, a Polish translation was suffered; but in the courts of law, in the post office and other government establishments, and even at railway stations belonging to private companies, the Polish

language was and is severely prohibited. It need not be added that the national costume and songs come under a like ban, and that newspapers are subjected to a rigorous censorship; but it is worth while to note that no Polish newspapers printed beyond the frontier are even admitted to the privilege of being censored. Any one coming from Galicia or Posen and having a parcel wrapped up in an old newspaper is sure to have it taken away from him, at least, if nothing worse happens. A man in Warsaw may get a Chinese paper from Peking, but not the 'Czas' or the 'Nowa Reforma' from Cracow.

As to religion, the principle of toleration proclaimed by Catherine II is still proclaimed; but practice is another thing. Political disloyalty cannot be borne; whatever contrary to the claims of the State Church must be politically disloyal. Roman Catholicism is accordingly treated as hostile to Russia and favourable to Polish aspirations. Almost all convents have been closed; those that were spared, forbidden to receive new members, are almost all empty now. Secular priests live under the close surveillance of the police, like ticket-of-leave men in England. Without special leave from the governor of Warsaw, entailing, of course, endless vexatious formalities, they may not even take a drive beyond the limits of their districts: so that a clergyman may have to wait more than six months for the permission to visit a sick friend, if the district boundary runs between them.

It is true that of late years the clergy seem to have been treated rather more leniently; as the prison authorities might deal with a well-behaved convict, relaxing so far as possible the severity of the rules in his favour. The lower clergy—especially men who are on bad terms with their bishop, or who let encroachments on the part of the Russians pass without protest—are now treated with a certain degree of cautious indulgence. But this change of attitude, such as it is, by no means implies a change of policy. That it does not is abundantly shown by a secret document published in 1902 by the 'Przedswit,' a Lemberg newspaper of high standing, which vouched for its authenticity. The Russian authorities naturally stated that it was a fabrication; but the internal evidence it bears with it is so strong and it sheds so much light upon the situation, that its statement may be overlooked,

It is an instruction from the Ministry of Public Worship to General Tchertkoff, then entering on his functions as Governor of Warsaw, and it is, indeed, very instructive. It states distinctly the fact that Roman Catholicism, because it sustains the national spirit, is the greatest enemy to Russia. Everything has been done to hamper its influence; but to destroy it is impossible. The priests appearing to be submissive, severity would be out of place just now, but the Government has a delicate and difficult task to perform. The higher clergy, being most strongly opposed, should still be treated with inflexible sternness and frigid courtesy, without any advances. In conclusion the document says :

'Our behaviour should tend rather to lull fanaticism than to stir it up; what we have to do may thus be done more conveniently and thoroughly. . . . Let us go forward cautiously, step by step, availing ourselves of every favourable circumstance, and carefully keeping on good terms with the Vatican.'

The document is curious reading. What they 'have to do' is clear enough. It is, as ever, by lessening the influence of the national religion, to weaken the national spirit, in the hope of destroying it at some future time; and they are, as chess-players would say, trying a 'close game.' But the Vatican is not generally credited with any excess of naïveté; it knows very well what they are about, and can play a 'close game' too.

The repressive measures which have been hitherto enumerated, though galling in the extreme, are nothing more. Even Russia has hesitated to take steps of assimilation which would seriously thin the compact population of Poland itself. But in the other provinces which formerly belonged to that kingdom, containing a large percentage of Poles and a strong leaven of antagonism towards Russia, severer measures have been adopted. In the southern provinces the proportion of Poles was about 10 per cent. before the last insurrection (1863); now it is barely 6 per cent. Poles then possessed 90 per cent. of the landed property; now they have only 47 per cent. The diminution in Lithuania and White Russia, though somewhat less, is yet very considerable. In the whole of these provinces, Polish landowners have, since 1869, been deprived of more than eight thousand English square

miles of property; and this not by confiscations, since the date given is six years after the rising of 1863, but in consequence of the system of laws applied to this part of the country. For in those regions, to be a Pole is to live under a ban. A Pole cannot enter any branch of the public service, nor so much as get a situation in a private railway company, without great and almost insurmountable difficulty. He may inherit land belonging to his ancestors, but not acquire any; he cannot even lend money on the security of land. Any clause of a will that gives him a life interest in an estate which he does not possess by inheritance is set aside. Nor may he farm an estate that belongs to another, nor administer it, nor be employed upon it in any capacity. If he is ruined, his property is sold, but only to a Russian; if he thrives, he must not increase his holding. No wonder that the Polish element has shrunk in those provinces during the last forty years.

Next, as to the language. Before 1830, there were computed to be one thousand primary schools from Lithuania to Ukraine—more schools for higher education than there are now in all—and two first-class colleges. In all of these Polish was taught. Not a single one exists at present; and, though there are about two millions of Poles still in these parts, they are forced to send their children to establishments where even the miserable two hours per week of Polish allowed in Poland proper are not to be had, and where pupils are severely punished if caught speaking a word in that language. Here the use of free speech is denied even to adults; here, papers which circulate in Warsaw are prohibited; Polish newspapers may be published in St Petersburg or Moscow, but nowhere throughout the territory between Wilna and Odessa; even Polish actors are not permitted to play there. It is, at least in Lithuania, a misdemeanour to speak Polish in a café, in the streets, in any public place. These are facts known to every one who is at all acquainted with the country, and they need neither proof nor comment.

Religion is, if possible, in a still worse predicament. Here we shall have to deal at some length—for it is essential to the subject—with the Union of the Uniates, or United Ruthenian Church, and the immense pro-

vinces were united to Poland, many hundreds of years ago, the majority of the population followed the rites and doctrines of the Ruthenian Church, then separated from Rome; but the thought of religious unity soon occurred to them, and all the more readily because, as has been said, they had joined Poland of their own free-will, and the bitterness of conquest was never known to them. The Roman Curia went to the greatest lengths in their favour; communion was allowed to be administered in both kinds, and priests were permitted to keep their wives. A few slight changes were made in the old Slav ritual, a few Latin saints introduced; the 'Filioque' was inserted in the creed at mass: and all was done. The two clergies—Latin and Ruthenian—lived together henceforth in amity, educated in the same seminaries; and, at the time of the downfall of Poland, they seemed equally attached to their common Fatherland and equally hostile to Russia. This state of things was extremely embarrassing to the government, and, we may add, painful to Russian clericalism; but even Nicholas I saw no means of changing it. At this juncture, about the year 1827, Siemaszko, a high dignitary in the Ruthenian Church, stepped forward. In a secret memorial to the Tsar, he indicated the means by which the Ruthenians could be separated from Rome, and offered his services; and doing the deed, won thereby a name admired by some, execrated by others, as they held him for an apostle or an apostate. Which of these titles he deserved does not interest us; we need only inquire into the means he used.

Siemaszko, after his work was complete, when he had been fully rewarded by the Tsar, bethought him of posterity, and wrote his famous 'Memoirs,' for which we cannot be too grateful. Therein he sets forth both plan and execution with such abundance of proof and documentary evidence that we are bound to believe him, though we might almost suspect him of exaggeration, if his statements, where it is possible to check them, did not agree with other independent and hostile records. Armed with the power of the law, provided with ample pecuniary resources, he set to work even before he was consecrated a bishop and had sworn fidelity to Rome; afterwards he carried out his scheme with tenfold vigour. He had, we must confess with Father Chotkowski, a

wonderful knowledge of men, great sagacity in the choice of means, and that unlimited capacity for work which is said to constitute genius. In a short time he knew personally all the fifteen hundred secular priests of his church, and every one of the monks besides. He began by shifting his subordinates, as one shifts the pieces of a puzzle, separating them from or bringing them into hostile contact with the clergy of the Latin ritual; then he set himself to transform the church ceremonies—ritual, vestments, and furniture—until they were the exact counterpart of those used in the Russian services, degrading for their disobedience all priests who refused to conform. At the same time he took care, on various pretexts, to expel such as he felt sure would not follow him when the time came; and to educate the coming priesthood in seminaries of his own, under professors whom he had chosen. The extreme ignorance of the clergy, many of whom, as we find, could scarce write their own names, gave him an immense advantage; few of them so much as guessed what was coming. When he judged that all was ready, he threw off the mask, and commanded every priest to sign a petition, begging to be admitted into the Orthodox fold. Many knew not what it was they signed; some thought it was their bishop's affair, to whom they owed obedience; some who at first refused were imprisoned in convents and maltreated until they gave way for the sake of their wives and families, who were plunged in misery, and also of the gift in money which Siemaszko tells us he made to those who signed. A few held out till the end; Chotkowski gives us the names of a couple of hundred, with a short statement of their sufferings; the others have remained unknown.

The result of this defection, with regard to the cause of Poland, was incalculably great. From being masters in those provinces, the Poles had, at the time of the partition, become fellow-sufferers with the Ruthenians; they now became strangers. Siemaszko, though he bitterly complains of the contempt in which the Russians held him, had done more for the empire than any general in the nineteenth century. It was not an outlying province, like the Caucasus or Turkestan, that he conquered; a whole population, not much under ten millions of souls, adjoining Poland, and hitherto united with its

national life, was handed over to the Tsar. It is computed—though here exact statistics are impossible—that about one hundred thousand poor peasants still refuse to enter a Russian church; these are mostly Ruthenians living in Poland proper, where similar means, still more brutal, were employed under the mild Alexander II, and with like success. But the law considers them all to be 'Orthodox.' They baptise their own children, live (officially) in concubinage, pray together in the woods, or worship in Roman Catholic churches when they can and dare. Sometimes a missionary in disguise, whom Siberia awaits if he is discovered, finds his way to them to strengthen them in the faith. Of these the writer has known several personally, and listened to their strange experiences. Polish priests, officially recognised and paid by the government, dare not interfere. Until this very year, 1903, a fine of three hundred roubles—often more than half his yearly income—was levied upon any clergyman who, knowingly or not, heard the confession of a Ruthenian; and worse was in store for him, if this happened repeatedly. The penitent himself was dealt with as they deal with apostates in Russia.

About a year ago, indeed, a modification of the system was introduced. No man is henceforth to be punished for changing his religion; the priest is liable to the same fine as before, but only if he knows beforehand that his penitent is not a Catholic. Poles have learned to be thankful for small mercies; and for this they know well that they may thank the present Tsar. For, though much wrong is done in his name, Nicholas II by no means approves of it. He would really like to offer some relief to his Polish subjects, if he could do so without offending the Tchinovniks, or Russian bureaucrats; and quite recently his feelings towards the Poles have once more shown themselves. When all Poland, in 1902, was seething with indignation at the Wreschen trials, and parents whose children had been flogged for refusing to learn their catechism in German were rigorously punished because they had protested, it was remembered that in six Polish grammar schools the priests taught religion in the Russian language. In two of these the boys demanded that it should be taught in Polish henceforth, were refused, declined to frequent the courses.

any longer, and were expelled. Since that time there has been no religious instruction in these colleges. Now the Tsar has just issued an ukase ordering that, from the beginning of the coming scholastic year, religion should be taught in Polish throughout the country. This, too, is a small thing, but it shows his feelings. The Poles know him to be a weak, but a well-meaning man; one who, if he should reign a hundred years, might possibly remove all their grievances.

Yet another fact of recent history may be cited in justice to the Tsar. Zwierowicz, Bishop of Wilna, finding that great numbers of children were sent to 'Orthodox' schools, in which the Catholic religion was attacked, after appealing in vain to St Petersburg, had at last, and in despair, published a message to his diocese, declaring that henceforth the parents of those children were not to be admitted to the sacraments. Any Roman Catholic bishop in the world would have done likewise. The effect was surprising; in one week two thousand children were withdrawn. Almost immediately afterwards, the Bishop was seized and sent in banishment into the depths of Russia. Such an act, however, could not be hidden from the Emperor, and he determined to reverse it. The scene which took place between him and his ministers, if it could ever be known, would be interesting. At any rate, after an exile of some months, Zwierowicz returned—not indeed to his diocese—the Tsar was not strong enough for that—but to the bishopric of Sandomir, in Poland. The order to his clergy still remains in force, and the directors of the 'Orthodox' schools have been forbidden to receive any Catholic children. Nicholas II acts according to his lights and to his strength; no more can be expected of him. And consequently the Poles—many of them—do not feel for him the hatred which they felt for his father.

All this, however, counts for very little while those oppressive laws are still in force, crushing down generation after generation. Moreover, the Poles know the Russians only by those amongst them, whose attitude is bitterly malevolent. The Tsar is in St Petersburg; but Tchertkoff is in Warsaw—Tchertkoff, whose domiciliary visits and arbitrary imprisonments and continual vexations of every kind are the plague of the country. The officials, too, stand together as one man, upholding every

abuse, shielding one another, exasperating the nation by their persistent ill-will towards everything Polish. Warsaw, we are told, swarms with spies, obstinate, audacious, following suspected persons about wherever they go, and scarcely deigning to conceal their business. The Tsar, some years back, gave permission for a statue to the great national poet, Mickiewicz, to be erected in Warsaw. By order of the police, every street was lined with Cossacks, ready to shoot or cut down the multitudes who came to see it unveiled, should any demonstration take place. After a short speech, the ceremony was performed in the presence of more than twenty thousand people. Not a cry of any sort was uttered; the whole assembly was hushed into death-like stillness. But we may be sure that they resented the outrage with all the passion of their passionate natures, and that the effect of what the Tsar meant as an act of kindness was completely obliterated. Such things, on a smaller scale, happen daily. To give only one instance, the Lutnia, a musical society in Warsaw, held its annual banquet in 1902, permission being of course previously asked of the police, which only consented on condition that no speeches should be made at the toasts. Then was seen a strange spectacle; a silent feast, someone at intervals getting up, pointing to another, and raising his glass, the rest of the company drinking the toast at the same time: all this in silence.

But there is far worse. An abominable abuse of justice—a criminal recently acquitted solely because he was anti-Polish and accused by Poles—deserves mention. Zieniec, a medical professor in the University of Warsaw, was director of an asylum for deaf and dumb girls. He had a key made to their dormitory. A frightful scandal took place; the affair was flagrant, and witnesses were in plenty. It was also known that he, being a professor in the Clinical Hospital of the Child Jesus, had committed rape upon several of his patients. There was no denying the facts; counsel for the defence could only plead that the accusation was political, since he was known as an enemy to Poles; and a letter by him denouncing to the police as dangerous conspirators the doctors who had accused him—written, be it noticed, after the scandal had taken place—was put in and accepted as evidence. This was enough; the man was set free by the judges—a

scandal surely far greater even than his crime. *Judex damnatur!*

Such, as seen in the light of some of the most recent facts, is the spirit of Russian officials in their dealings with the Poles. And though there are many indications that not only the sovereign, but public opinion as well (so far as public opinion can be said to exist in Russia), is far from unfriendly to the nation, the impression made by officialism far outweighs any other. Words of sympathy in books and newspapers abroad do not make the yoke at home any lighter. It is certainly not logical to visit on the Russians at large wrongs which they can in no wise redress; but it is very natural. As a matter of fact, the feelings of nearly the whole of the middle classes, especially the young generation, are feelings of compressed and concentrated antagonism to all that is Russian; instinctive mostly, for it cannot be openly organised, and secret organisations are rarely joined by men who have their bread to earn and can earn it. These, however, do exist, and not only Socialists employ them, but other parties as well; little can be known of them but by their effects; and the little known otherwise cannot in honour be published. Certainly much is done to educate the people politically, to strengthen the sentiment of solidarity, and thus to counteract the inevitable tendency of military service and the public schools.

The characteristic of resistance in this part of Poland is its intensity, of which the causes can easily be traced. The 'kingdom,' as it is called, is the richest of the three divisions, and one of the richest in the empire. There is perhaps more of commerce and industry here than anywhere else, save in the neighbourhood of Moscow. The land is fertile, and the taxes, high in comparison with the rest of Russia, are much lower than those levied in the neighbouring empires. Add to this that whereas in Posen and East Prussia nearly half the population is German, and the same proportion Ruthenian in Galicia, even Russian statistics show that here the purely Polish element is 75 per cent. In reality it is much greater; many peasants, officially set down as 'Orthodox' because their ancestors were found to have been baptised in Uniate churches, speak Polish and feel themselves Poles. It is here, too, that we find the majority of those Uniates

who have always protested against a conversion effected by force. And, lastly, the Jews in Poland proper for the most part consider themselves as of the nation, and indeed to a large extent form the most revolutionary part of it, in sharp contrast with their co-religionists in Galicia, who are quite indifferent, and in Posen, fiercely hostile to Poland. Jews are said always to side with the stronger party; here the saying is evidently untrue. In union with the immense majority of the population, and for reasons which may easily be guessed, they profess, and no doubt entertain, a fierce antipathy to the 'Moskal.'

The preceding facts, especially concerning racial and religious oppression in Russian Poland, will be found set forth, sometimes in greater, sometimes in less detail than we have found expedient, in Mr Skrine's remarkable work on 'The Expansion of Russia.' It is impossible to withhold our admiration at the amount of labour bestowed on this volume, the exactitude of the facts given, the conciseness and lucid order of their arrangement, and the consequent interest of the book as a whole. It may be permitted to differ from Mr Skrine now and then concerning his views of facts. When he says, for instance (p. 213), that the Russian policy 'stabbed Poland to the heart'—as it was indeed intended to do—we cannot but think that the expression is exaggerated. And a Polish patriot would no doubt take exception to the term 'assimilation,' employed a little later on the same page, though the material benefits of protection to Poland are set forth with striking truth in the paragraph where that word occurs. Until the laws which Mr Skrine so justly calls 'worthy of Draco himself' are repealed, assimilation is, we believe, an impossibility. But this is only a matter of appreciation. The important point is to give the facts, and this the author has done with correctness and impartiality.

The Poles who live in East Prussia and Posen are in a totally different environment. We find here the Germans engaged in a determined and systematic endeavour to get rid of them by civilised means, which are totally inadequate to the purpose, as they have to fight against natural laws, and are met besides by a resistance not a whit less determined and energetic. From the very

date of the first partition the Prussian monarchs aimed at substituting German for Polish nationality, and they succeeded so far that very nearly half of these provinces had become German, when the wars with Napoleon supervened, and Prussia had to fight for its existence. Emerging from the struggle, successful but exhausted, the Government made a truce with the Poles, and pledged itself to respect their language and nationality. The promise was kept to some extent, until Bismarck, at the height of his power, thought the time had come to break it. From the very first, as Kozmian points out in his admirable work, he had hated the Poles because they were not Germans, and despised them for a nation of dreamers. But before he went on the warpath to defend (as he phrased it) the Teuton race against the aggressive fecundity of the irreconcilable Slav, the great man should have reflected that if he failed to quench the national spirit, he might only make matters worse, just as blowing on a flame either puts it out or makes it burn more brightly. It was the latter that took place; others have been blowing since Bismarck's time, with similar results.

In the last ten years the Polish element in Prussia has increased by 10 per cent., and the Germans in the same provinces by 3·7 per cent. only. The figures are eloquent enough. It is true that, on account of the subsidy of 100,000,000 marks, recently doubled, and devoted to the purpose of buying out Polish land-owners, the total amount of Polish landed property has of late diminished, so that in Posen, for example, the Germans now possess 70 per cent. of the large, and 50 per cent. of the small holdings, threatening to wrest from the Poles the whole of the country which was the cradle of the race. Yet the struggle is stubborn. What is lost in the country is gained in the towns; and the peasants besides, now turned into open enemies of the government that would destroy them, rally round their homesteads with splendid heroism. During the last four years, in spite of the millions lavished, the number of small estates held by Poles has actually increased; the Germans have lost 56,000 acres of land in Posen, and in East Prussia 60,000 acres.

It was Polish disaffection, according to Bismarck,

which called for these measures; and as it grew greater in consequence, other means have been employed to turn the Poles out of the land, or make Germans of them. Against religion, and after the miserable failure of the *Kulturkampf*, it was clearly advisable to do nothing. Language was another matter; and the Germans, convinced of the superiority of their own, resolved to force every Pole to learn it, and even to have the Catechism taught in that language. The result was the Wreschen trials, about which everybody knows. But it was only one of a series of less flagrant acts of oppression which take place unnoticed almost every day. It is a much safer thing, if children refuse to say their prayers and Catechism in German, to notify the parents that those detested studies must be prolonged for another year; no corporal punishment could be heavier. Letters directed in English or in French reach their destination at once; but if the address contains a single word in Polish (e.g. Poznan for Posen) almost a week's delay must ensue; it has to be translated. Certificates of baptism are refused unless the child's name is given in German. A man who cries out in a tavern 'Poland for ever!' is fined for 'grossly indecent behaviour.' As to the liberty of the press, there exists a nebulous law allowing criticism of the Government, but forbidding agitation. Where criticism ceases and agitation begins is for the judges—German judges—to decide; the decision is against the Poles in any doubtful case, as hundreds have found to their cost. Certainly, these and other similar measures, after what has been said of the monstrous system of repression practised in Russia, read like mildness itself. But then they are executed with relentless severity by one of the most perfect administrations in the world, and by men who, unlike the Russians, are inaccessible either to bribery or to pity.

Strange to say, all this only serves to exasperate the people still more; of late, voices of louder and louder defiance have been raised. These again have moved to wrath the Emperor William, and he must needs raise his own. In a recent speech at Marienburg, he called on his German subjects to join in a crusade against 'Polish arrogance and self-conceit.' This speech excited such indignant comment in Poland that he hastened to explain

it away in a second allocution in Posen, saying that he never meant to interfere with national traditions or feelings concerning the past, and only wished Poles to be now 'good and loyal subjects of Prussia.' But to the German mind that phrase means the complete abandonment of all hopes, all dreams as to the future, however distant. Less will not satisfy them; they jeered in Parliament at Koscielski's conditional offer of loyalty. Even that is not enough; they would tear the Polish name out of the heart of every Pole; they will not rest until the very language is forgotten, and the nation abandons mead for *lager-bier*, and prefers *sauerkraut* to beetroot broth. In politics, as in science, they aim at thoroughness—at the absolute. But will they get it? To justify his measures, von Bülow said: 'If hares and rabbits are together in a park, and the rabbits multiply ten times faster, what is to be done?' The answer comes pat: 'Kill off the surplus of rabbits'; and it is the only one. Nothing but death can limit the increase of life; and he might as well try to turn rabbits into hares as change Poles into Germans by the means he proposed. It is a question of life and death, not to be solved by any means within the reach of civilisation.

In Austrian Poland, on account of favourable circumstances, amongst which the heterogeneous nature of the empire stands foremost, Poles are more free than anywhere else. They may, if they choose, wear the national costume, sing national songs, open Polish schools and theatres. For the latter, they are allowed to raise taxes. In general, Galicia possesses as much autonomy as does not clash with the interests of Austria, to which taxes have also to be paid. Here the shoe pinches. Autonomy is costly, and Galicia wretchedly poor. The land is not particularly good, and husbandry is backward; there is next to no industry, that of beetroot sugar excepted; as to the naphtha wells, numerous in some parts, they could not be made to pay, and nearly all now belong to foreign companies. Commerce is entirely in the hands of the Jews, who take care not to let it slip out of them. They form a community of about 700,000, as distinct from other Poles as Hebrew dwellers in the East-end are from the Londoners. Galicia, besides, is barely more than half

Polish; the Ruthenians make up pretty nearly half the population (2,822,000 to 3,084,000), and are indifferent, often hostile, to the Poles. There is even a party amongst them which complains of being oppressed. Never was a more absurd complaint. There are nearly as many Ruthenian as Polish schools, given by the Polish majority in the Diet freely and unasked. Now they demand a Ruthenian university, and are told that they shall have one as soon as Ruthenian professors can be found in sufficient number. It is hard to see where the oppression comes in; but still the party continues to make frantic attempts to stir up their people. Last year they organised a great strike amongst the peasants at harvest-time, but it failed.

Yet, in spite of all these drawbacks and weaknesses, Galicia, being free, is the province in which the Polish spirit is most fully developed. Less intense than in Russian Poland, less doggedly pertinacious than in Prussia, it has here more of maturity and intellectual power. The old Austrianised generation of Polish bureaucrats has passed away, and the new generation, with the exception of certain cosmopolitan magnates, is national to the backbone, and yet not unfriendly to Austria. Cracow, though relatively poor, is in many ways far ahead of Warsaw, with all its material resources; as to literary men, scientific writers and workers, painters and sculptors, it can readily show four where Warsaw can show one; and its ancient Jagellonian University, the oldest in all Poland, worthily seconded by the University of Lemberg, is still at the head of the movement of civilisation in the country.

We must not omit to note the political power wielded by Galicia in the Austrian Parliament. Loyalty to the Habsburg dynasty in exchange for friendly treatment has always been the maxim of the Polish party. It is even accused, perhaps with reason, of timidity and subservience; though recent events have proved that it can show a bold front to ministers who slight its demands. The condition of Parliament is indeed most pitiful; but the Polish party has ever done its best to bring about a better order of things. Almost alone amongst the various parties, its members have condemned obstruction in every form; and their action has been characterised

by a political maturity most remarkable in a nation whose Diets used to be the very emblems of misrule.

Having described the conditions which differentiate the three parts of divided Poland, we may now turn to their intrinsic divisions or political parties. They are few, if we remember the adage, 'Two Poles—three opinions'; but far too many for a nation so weak and surrounded with such enemies. Yet, though they quarrel amongst themselves, as parties must, it will not be hard to show that all tend towards one and the same ideal.

The Conservatives, strongly opposed (at least for the present) to all revolutionary action, maintain that the only thing to be done now is to concentrate every force upon quiet internal work for the good of the country. In Austria they are carrying out this programme in agreement with the Government, though their enemies say that for them 'the good of the country' means the exclusive interests of the upper classes. In Prussia and in Russian Poland some of them have formed a party which seeks the means to render a similar agreement possible. Hitherto they have been completely unsuccessful; and the tendency, though not unreasonable in itself, is certainly premature. Their principle, with regard to both countries, is to ask only for a minimum—absolute freedom of religion and language, and the abolition of such laws as place Poles in a state of inferiority; in return for which they would promise to support the Government loyally and with all their might. This, in the eyes of other parties, was treachery, a base surrender of all hopes of future independence. In reality, it was only putting independence into the background. They said: 'It will come of itself, if and when possible; let us study to deserve it.' But the explanation failed to render the party more popular, and at the same time gave the hostile Governments a pretext for regarding it with indifference. Neither Russians nor Germans care one straw for a loyalty which does not reject the very idea of independence; and no other, as they are well aware, could possibly be offered by a Pole.

The National Democrats bring forward the same demands as the Conservatives—the irreducible minimum; for, moderate as it is, they know that it constitutes an

ideal very hard to realise. But they do not attempt to hoodwink the enemy by any promise of loyalty. 'We shall be loyal,' they say, 'in so far as we may thereby serve the interests of Poland.' Nor do they relegate the hope of independence to the background; on the contrary, they look towards it as an ultimate end by which their courage may be sustained and their actions directed. Again, Conservatives object to all public demonstrations, secret manifestoes, national congresses, and the like, as useless and even hurtful; they remember how the two last insurrections followed from the excitement of popular passions, roused to frenzy by such means: another such rising would be the worst calamity that could befall the nation. This the National Democrats will not admit. An insurrection should, they think, be avoided most carefully, and everything done to keep the people in hand. But there might be a still worse calamity; the loss of the national character, the weakening of the feeling of unity which alone unites the divided provinces, and the extinction of that hope without which the struggle for well-being would become the mere selfish promotion of local interests. The Conservatives preach a gospel of fear, of want of confidence in the nation. Poles are not likely to repeat for the fourth time an experiment that has thrice failed disastrously; and the policy of stifling every protest against the outrageous system of oppression now in force is mere cowardice, apt to make Europe believe that Poland is dead, and even to kill the national spirit—if indeed it could die.

We must not, however, overlook an accusation which the Conservatives make against this party, though from want of space we can merely note that they deny it. The love for Poland which they advocate is, it is said, largely seasoned with hatred towards other nationalities. Anti-Germans, anti-Muscovites, anti-Panslavists, they also keep aloof from all the Slavs, which is surely going too far. In the recent disturbances amongst the Russian population, they affected complete indifference, not displeased of course that the Government and the people should be at odds. Their committee advised the Warsaw students to avoid showing any sympathy towards those who rebelled in the Russian universities; good advice, had it not been given for this motive. And lastly,

Professor Zdziechowski, a Polish patriot who does not think himself bound to hate Russians who are friendly to Poland, and has strong sympathies for other Slav races, was last year, for this reason, prevented from lecturing in Lemberg and Cracow by excited students who, most unjustly, held him for a Panslavist and a Moskalophil.'

Few of the other parties need lengthy notice, being mostly counterparts of those which bear the same name in other lands. There are the Catholics, for whom religion comes even before patriotism, and is not only a means of preserving the unity of the nation; the Progressists or Liberals, who feel hatred rather for the upper classes of their own nation than for others; and the Socialists, who fraternise with the Progressists, talk of a Polish Republic in which socialistic principles are to be realised, and boast to their adherents, mostly workmen, that they are the only true patriots. But there is one party that we must review at greater length, not so much on account of its influence as for the marked contrast in which it stands to the others, and to our practical, if not materialistic, age.

The party of the Philaretes was founded and is led by the gifted though eccentric Dr Lutoslawski, known in the philosophical world by his numerous works, written in many languages, including English, as a Platonist of a special type. The essential character of Polish society is, according to him, free union and harmonious co-operation through mutual love. With hatred he would have nothing to do; he would conquer both Germans and Russians by winning their love towards the Poles, their superiors in virtue. His Philaretes form, though not in the usual sense, a secret society, a sort of Polish religion within the Catholic pale. Men and women, calling themselves 'Brothers and Sisters,' after a public confession of all their lives, must swear to give up gambling, drinking, smoking, and all immorality. It is only thus, he says, that Poland can be regenerated; but the virtues which he teaches will make her so great that her foes of the present hour will fall at her feet; without striking a blow she will regain the independence due to a people of saints. Much in his teaching smacks of the Messianic doctrine of Towianski, who exerted so great an influence

over Mickiewicz in his later years. Lutoslawski's adherents are mostly young students of an extraordinary turn of mind, as may well be supposed. As to their number, it cannot be computed, on account of the reticence observed; but there are certainly many more than those who openly profess that they belong to the party. Many branches of it are supposed to exist both in Russian and in Prussian Poland. He affirms—the present writer has heard him—that he gets his thoughts and inspirations directly from God. His followers, as a consequence, believe in him blindly; as a consequence, too, other persons think him a heretic or a madman. But he, too, strange as are the means which he advocates, has for his aim and end the independence of Poland. On that point all parties are agreed.

With this exception, and another, of great moment—namely, that no one at present looks forward to a speedy return of lost freedom—these parties are at daggers drawn, and treat each other with much violence of language. But one great cause of their mutual exasperation is the difficulty, the seeming impossibility of getting a satisfactory answer to many problems which, in one way or another, have to be solved if the present state of things is to come to an end. For example, the struggle against Germany and Russia combined appears hopeless on the face of it. On the other hand, any inclination of the whole Polish people towards one or the other of those two powers, slight though it might be, would create reciprocal feelings of friendship which might go far to alleviate present sufferings, and in the end perhaps bring about unity as a prelude to freedom. Yet such a course, however advantageous it may seem, is absolutely excluded. The sense of wrong suffered by the people is so deep that any attempt or fancied attempt towards such a *rap-prochement* is resented at once; they cannot bear the idea of it. We have already noticed the fate of the Agreement party (*Ugodisci*), both in Prussia and in Russia. But still less reasonable occurrences are frequent. At the time of the Wreschen trials most of the Russian newspapers condemned Prussian policy in strong terms. By way of acknowledgment, the National Democrats of Warsaw published a manifesto rejecting their sympathy with the utmost scorn. In Prussia, Rakowski ventured

to assert that the future of Poland now lay beyond the eastern frontier; his utterance was instantly silenced by a storm of abuse. A Moscow society had sent some rubles to Jaworski, leader of the Polish party in the Vienna Parliament, desiring him to forward them to the victims of Wreschen; almost on all sides he was assailed for not returning the money. And this hatred of Russia (and certainly of Germany no less) deepens as the national spirit grows stronger. There is no dream of making even a temporary alliance with either against the other; men may be diplomatic; nations cannot. Therefore, judging from the past, men of foresight already begin to predict a cataclysm worse in its results to Poland than any of those which preceded it. This, however, the Conservative party, and all those who have anything to lose, will certainly avert if possible. Only those who have nothing are prepared to risk it.

The Polish question, then, even to men who know all that can be known, seems to be an insoluble problem. For the nation, aware of its great past, and of its present not quite bereft of a certain greatness, refuses either to die or to be assimilated, and will not in 1903, any more than in 1772, give up its claim to what is just—to full and entire liberty. But those who enthralled her, on the other hand, dare neither destroy her nor set her free; and day by day they see assimilation farther off than in the days of Kosciuszko. Only two final solutions can be found to this problem—impossible solutions both. One is to be found in the words of Zamoyski, who, when the Governor of Warsaw, shortly before the rising of 1863, asked him what was to be done, curtly replied, 'Allez-vous-en.' The other would be to dig twenty millions of graves, shoot twenty millions of Poles, bury them, and have done with it. As matters stand, the question is still unsolved; and a population almost half as large as that of the United Kingdom lives and must live on in perpetual unrest and fermentation, not less disquieting than disquieted, ever growing in down-trodden strength. And all this is but the result of that first great act of injustice which was committed towards the close of the eighteenth century.

Art. V.—THE INFLUENCE OF KANT ON MODERN THOUGHT.

1. *Kants Gesammelte Schriften*. Herausgegeben von der Königlich-Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Berlin: Reuther und Reichard, 1902.
2. *Kant-Studien*; Philosophische Zeitschrift. Bände I-XI. Herausgegeben von Dr Hans Vaihinger. Berlin: Reuther und Reichard, 1896-1904.

IN the history of human thought it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to say exactly when any new idea or tendency begins to operate. But if any modern writer has a claim to the German epithet 'epoch-making,' it is the philosopher, Immanuel Kant, the centenary of whose death fell on February 12, 1904. He it was who gave to the great questions of philosophy the form which they still retain; and he also indicated the principal lines of investigation in which the answers to these questions are still sought. On the other hand, if we go back beyond Kant, we find that the whole intellectual atmosphere has changed. The philosophical problem is stated in a different way; the solutions attempted are of another character. The philosophical situation of that time is well described by Kant himself. Two forms of dogmatism, an abstract materialism and an abstract spiritualism, contended with each other, and both were undermined by an equally abstract scepticism, which, if carried out consistently, would have been fatal to science as well as to metaphysics. The narrowness of these theories was mainly due to the individualistic presuppositions which were common to them all. The unreality of the Universal, except as the sum of the particulars, or at best as a common quality in them, was the tacit assumption of all philosophical writers. The thought of any unity in society which was more than an agreement between its members, or of any unity in the universe which was more than the action and reaction of its parts, was generally repudiated as mysticism or enthusiasm. Even Leibniz, who sought to find the universal in the individual, the principle of the whole in all the monads which were its parts, was driven to express this idea in the unsatisfactory form of a pre-established harmony; in other words, to treat the difference of individual things as real, and their

unity as only ideal; for each of the monads was conceived by him as *representing* all the others, from which, nevertheless, it was in *existence* entirely separated.

The result of this way of thinking was seen in the next generation. From the individualistic principles of Locke, Berkeley drew the conclusion that we know nothing directly except the states of our own consciousness; and Hume, following out the same logic, maintained that beyond these passing states we know nothing either of the self, the world, or God, though the action of association may give rise to beliefs which have the appearance of such knowledge. Thus mind was dissolved into the atomism of sensations, without any rational principle to organise them into the consciousness of an intelligible world. And if, in Germany, this conclusion was evaded by Wolff, who still maintained the spiritualism of Leibniz while emptying it of most of its speculative elements, yet the result was a worse than scholastic dogmatism, a philosophy of foregone conclusions, which proved nothing and explained nothing. For Wolff based the possibility of knowledge of the soul, the world, and God upon certain *a priori* principles which were independent of all experience, and could therefore neither be confirmed nor refuted by it. Indeed the very fact that the *a priori* or universal element of thought was absolutely separated from the particulars of sense tended to deprive both of all significance; for, as Kant was soon to declare, 'perceptions without conceptions are blind, and conceptions without perceptions are empty.' In other words, unconnected particulars have no meaning, and universals which are not principles of connexion have no content. Thus, on the one side, we have the 'dust and powder of individuality' and, on the other side, abstractions which have no relation to reality.

Now the 'epoch-making' significance of Kant's work lay in this, that, though his mind was deeply affected by dualism, and could never entirely escape from it, he yet revolted against it and endeavoured to bring the two terms together in a fruitful union. His philosophy, therefore, had a twofold direction, negative and positive. He had to show the futility of the dogmatism of Wolff, and yet to defend against Hume the validity of the universal principles that underlie all our knowledge or belief. And

he had to do both by showing that the elements, which lose all their meaning when separated, form, when united, a body of experience which is at once intelligible and, in a higher or lower sense, real. It is, indeed, just this reconstruction of an intelligible consciousness of the world as a whole, and this negation of imperfect theories which omit the one or the other element in it, which Kant expresses by the word 'criticism.' And his different 'Critiques' are only different stages in his long struggle to attain this object, to vindicate the universal as the principle of unity in our theoretical, practical, æsthetic, and religious consciousness, while acknowledging its impotence or imperfect validity when viewed as a mere abstraction and severed from its particular applications. Throughout he is attempting to distinguish between the elements in each of these forms which can be trusted and those which must be regarded as untrustworthy. And the result of his whole process of thought was, in the first place, to dismiss scepticism as irrational so far as it is directed against the empirical science and its methods. In the second place, it was to put out of court the dogmatic materialism and the dogmatic spiritualism of pre-Kantian philosophy, and that so decisively that neither has been advocated by any competent writer since Kant's day. Lastly, it was to concentrate the labours of speculative writers upon the ultimate problem of the possibility of the knowledge of that which transcends our immediate experience and cannot be verified by the ordinary methods of science; in other words, upon the nature and limits of our consciousness of the real, as distinguished from the phenomenal.

Now, starting from the work of Kant, there are three living movements of thought which correspond roughly with the three 'Critiques.' There is, first of all, what is called agnosticism, which differs from scepticism in that it maintains the validity of empirical science, while denying the possibility of any knowledge that goes beyond sensible experience. This attitude of thought may be regarded as the direct result of the 'Critique of Pure Reason,' both in its positive and in its negative aspect, in its defence of mathematical and physical science against Hume, and in its polemic against the metaphysic of Wolff. In the second place, there is a

school of philosophers, perhaps the most popular school at the present time, which admits that absolute truth—truth as to all reality which is not phenomenal—is inaccessible to science, but which maintains that the *idea* of such reality is necessary to the human mind, and that it finds its verification in the moral consciousness; since the moral consciousness compels us to postulate God, freedom, and immortality as the fundamental presuppositions of our practical life. This view can obviously be shown to be derived from Kant, and particularly from the 'Critique of Practical Reason.' Lastly, there are many writers who maintain that the problem of philosophy can only be solved by a thorough-going idealism, which breaks down the Kantian division between thought and knowledge, between faith and reason, or reduces it to a division, not of kinds, but of stages of knowledge. Such writers hold that the absolute reality reveals itself in our actual experience, at least for one who carries that experience back to its ultimate principles; and that the conceptions which Kant regards as transcendent ideas, or practical postulates, may be brought within the sphere of knowledge. It is obvious that any one who holds this view goes beyond the strict limits of the Kantian philosophy. But he may maintain that he does so only by going a step farther in the direction of those modifications of Kant's own theory which are admitted into the last of his 'Critiques,' the 'Critique of Judgment.' Perhaps, therefore, the simplest and most illuminating way in which we can treat of the influence of Kant will be to show how he has contributed to each of these movements, and to attempt to answer the following questions. How, and how far, does Kant supply a rational basis for agnosticism? How, and how far, does he succeed in proving that the practical reason restores our faith in the reality of those objects which he holds to be beyond knowledge? And, lastly, how, and how far, does he prepare the way for the doctrine that the division between faith and knowledge is a relative one, and that ultimately the rational or intelligible is also the real—a doctrine which was ostensibly developed out of Kant's philosophy by his idealistic successors.

First, then, agnosticism—as the doctrine that we can

know phenomena and their laws, but that things in themselves are unknowable—finds its beginning and its best defence in the 'Critique of Pure Reason.' Absolute reality is, in Kant's language, noumenal; that is, it is an object of thought but not of knowledge; for, while the idea of such reality inevitably suggests itself to the human mind, it does not conform to the conditions under which alone objects can be known. For what is knowledge? It is another name for experience; and experience is limited to objects which can be presented to us in sense. In other words, knowledge is the product of an activity of the human understanding, which, by the aid of certain *a priori* principles, i.e. principles involved in its own nature, binds together the data of sense, and moulds them into an intelligible system. Thus, in spite of the fragmentary and unconnected way in which these data come to us, we always in our effort after knowledge go upon the idea that the world is one world, and that all objects in it are in necessary relations with each other. All objects of sense, indeed, are presented under conditions of space and time; and the externality of space and the evanescence of time seem hostile to any definite and necessary connexion. But the mind cannot rest without bringing all its experiences into thorough-going continuity and combination with each other. Even space and time themselves can be represented only as continuous quantities; and the same principle must be applied to everything which is conceived as existing in space and time. Nor can we stop here, or adopt the idea of Hume that phenomena are given to us in mere relations of co-existence and succession, without any further necessity of connexion between them. For whenever we consider how co-existence and succession in the phases of objects can be *known* to us, we realise that these relations rest on and imply still deeper links of connexion between them. If a world of objects existing in space and changing in time is to be known by us, the objects that constitute it must be conceived as permanent substances which, in all their action and reaction upon each other, are determined by universal and unchangeable laws. Hence nature is for us a system all the parts of which are bound to each other by causal necessity. And if we did not presuppose this, if for us there were no necessity

of connexion between objects, if they came into existence and went out of existence in an accidental manner, or changed their qualities without being acted on by each other in definite ways, we could make nothing of them; and all definite consciousness even of their co-existence or succession would disappear. In short, if there were no organised experience there could be no experience at all.

So far, the result of Kant's criticism seems only to carry us beyond the dogmatic individualism of previous philosophy, as well as beyond the scepticism which was its consequence, by exhibiting experience as the product of two factors—a universal element derived from the understanding, and a particular element derived from sense. Sometimes, indeed, the argument by which Kant proves the necessity of both these elements of experience seems to carry us beyond this point, and to involve that they are not really two independent factors but rather two organically connected aspects of knowledge. It suggests that the abstract universal and the abstract particular are nothing more than fictions of abstraction, and that the truth can only be found in their unity. But Kant adheres to the idea of the essential difference of these two factors, and, at the same time, to the idea of the necessity of their combination in the production of experience. It is, indeed, his firm conviction of the essential difference between the two elements of experience, between the given data and the thought that unifies them, that makes him regard its objects as merely phenomenal. The synthetic unity of experience, just because of the disparate nature of its matter and its form, is an incomplete knowledge; and it shows its incompleteness by the fact that the attempt to deal with it as a *res completa*, a self-subsistent and self-contained whole, leads to antinomies, i.e. it raises questions that cannot be answered either affirmatively or negatively. Thus we cannot conceive time and space, or the world conditioned by them, either as limited or as unlimited, either as having or as not having a beginning. In like manner we cannot conceive of the series of effects and causes as without beginning; nor can we conceive it as with a cause which is not an effect. Yet commands

for its satisfaction the complete determination of its object, and refuses to admit the absolute reality of anything which it is unable to regard either as a systematic whole or as a part of such a whole.

It will now be clear what is the ultimate ground of the distinction between phenomena and noumena. Our reason carries with it, and may even be said to be constituted by, the idea of a whole, all whose parts are organically related; and it necessarily condemns as phenomenal every object or world of objects which does not satisfy that idea. Or, what is another aspect of the same thing, it carries with it the idea of a 'perceptive understanding,' in which form and matter are one; and it necessarily contrasts with this idea the piecework of our intelligence, which can only combine a form due to itself with a matter given through sense. Yet this very idea, which cannot be verified in experience, is in another way necessary to experience; for it is just the impossibility of resting in the imperfect result of our empirical knowledge that continually urges us forward to extend that knowledge into new regions, and, by the aid of the categories, to bind together the new materials which sense is ever bringing to us; though, after all, we know that we can never reach a complete system by the aid of such categories. We are thus placed by our mental constitution between a phenomenal world which we know and ideas of reason which we can never verify; and we can repel at once the scepticism which would deny the validity of empirical science, and the dogmatism which would attempt to widen the sphere of knowledge beyond experience.

Kant, then, by the first of his 'Critiques,' may be said to be the founder of the Agnostic school; and he is so much in earnest with the negative part of this work that he devotes more than half of the 'Critique' to a demonstration of the futility of the rational psychology, cosmology, and theology of the Wolffians. And, in refuting them, he seems to himself to have disposed of all philosophical systems which pretend to the knowledge of the soul or of the world or of God. At the same time, he escapes the fatal inconsistency of many agnostic writers, who think they have a right to deny the possibility of knowing supersensible objects or 'things in themselves,' without explaining how we come to think of such objects at all.

Yet, unless this is explained, agnosticism contradicts its own presuppositions, and finds its final refutation in the joke of Heine, who says that 'the thing in itself is an Irish bull in philosophy'; in other words, it is a thing of which we know only that we do not know it. Kant commits no such paralogism; for it is his distinctive doctrine that it is not only possible but necessary for us to *think* of noumena, which yet, as he contends, it is impossible for us to know. Indeed, he endeavours to show that, as the faculty of the universal, reason necessarily brings with it the three great ideas of the simplicity of the soul through all the diversity of its experiences, of the completed system of the objective world, and of the absolute unity of God, of whom the consciousness of the subject and the consciousness of the object are but partial expressions. It thus awakens in our minds all the questions of philosophy, though it has no means of solving any one of them. All the problems which philosophers have been grappling with in all ages are thus accounted for, and at the same time Kant thinks he has shown that they must ever remain problems, so far at least as the theoretical reason is concerned. The ideas of reason are only regulative ideas, the necessary guides and *stimuli* of the mind in its effort after knowledge; but, while we can and must apprehend or think them, we can never hope to comprehend their objects.

Kant, then, does not cut away the ground of his own agnosticism; but, just because he thus admits the thought of the supersensible, he is compelled to take a second step, and to substitute for the doctrinal metaphysic he has rejected a metaphysic of ethics. And this metaphysic enables him, as he believes, to reach an assurance of faith as to those very ideal objects which are supposed to be beyond knowledge. This will be seen at once if we consider the connexion of the 'Critique of Pure Reason' with the 'Critique of Practical Reason.' In the former, the ego to which all experience is referred is distinguished from the empirical individual in which it is realised; in other words, the ego as subject is contrasted with the ego as object. As knowing, we are lifted not only above our own particular finite existence, but also above the finite existence of all the other objects which we know. We
as Plato 'spectators of all time and existence.'

The knowing subject cannot be treated as an object, or brought under any of the categories by which objects as such are determined. It is not subjected to the necessity of nature; and it is, indeed, its pure unity and universality, in contrast with the difference and limitation of all its objects, that gives rise to those ideas of the soul, the world, and God which transcend all experience. The consciousness of it lifts us above the conditions which close in our existence in the world of sense. But this consciousness so far remains merely ideal, a thought that cannot be verified; it imposes a problem upon us, but it cannot help us to a solution. What, however, is impossible for knowledge, 'in that it is weak' through its dependence upon sense, becomes possible for the moral consciousness, which is not so dependent. What for theoretical reason is a necessary ideal, but still only an ideal, is for practical reason the one great actuality of our existence, the one law to which as rational beings we are subjected. In practice we have to look upon ourselves as denizens of the intelligible, and not of the phenomenal world; or, as Kant puts it, we 'are compelled to think of ourselves as denizens of the intelligible world in order to regard ourselves as practical.' And the same compulsion forces us to regard the intelligible world as the fundamental ground or reality of the world of sense. For we cannot think of our obedience to the moral law as subject to any conditions whatever. The unity and universality which belong to the ego, in its character as a subject for which all objects exist, lay an absolute obligation upon us in our particular nature as objects. And, limited on every side, as we seem to be when we regard ourselves in the latter capacity, in the former capacity we have to consider ourselves as absolutely free, or conditioned by nothing but the law of our own being.

What, then, is this law? It is simply the command to be one with ourselves as universal subjects in all our actions. It is the obligation to conform always to the idea of law; in other words, it is the obligation always to act upon rules which we can universalise, which we can regard as applicable to ourselves and to all other rational beings in all circumstances. For disobedience to such rules there can be no excuse; it is quite irrelevant to allege difficulties arising from our phenomenal

nature, as against an imperative command that comes to us out of our inmost being as self-conscious subjects. We *can* act, because we *ought* to act, as beings dwelling in the intelligible world, though all the powers of the sensible world should seem to be leagued against us.

Now, if the moral consciousness thus translates us into the intelligible world, it gives us the right to postulate the reality of that world. As against the necessity of nature, the unconditioned law of duty gives us the assurance of our freedom. In face of the transitoriness of our earthly life, it inspires us with the faith that we shall live for ever to realise our own perfection. And, in view of the apparent indifference of nature to the weal of mankind, it bids us postulate the existence of a God, who subjects the causal sequence of phenomena to the absolute law of justice, and binds together evil with misery, and good with happiness.

The important point about this theory is obviously the way in which it restores to thought and faith what it denies to knowledge, and endeavours practically to transcend that opposition between nature and spirit which theoretically it regards and treats as absolute. In this respect it is the prototype of many later theories which attempt to base upon the moral consciousness, or upon feelings and desires that are connected therewith, beliefs which are beyond the possibility of verification according to the only methods recognised by science. Thus the will is supposed to open to us an escape from the limits of scientific theory; and it is maintained that, in the case of the main principles of morality and religion, we are entitled to found belief upon the will to believe.

There are many objections which might be brought against this form of dualism; and what are perhaps the most serious arise out of the inconsistencies into which Kant falls in attempting to carry it out. In the 'Critique of Pure Reason' Kant is constantly insisting upon the necessity of the co-operation of sense and thought in the production of knowledge, and arguing that, if we attempt to sunder them, thought shrinks into an abstract unity, and perception into an abstract 'manifold,' neither of which has any real significance. The latter is blind, i.e. in the unrelatedness of its elements; it cannot set before us any definite object. The former is empty, i.e. it is a

mere form of analysis which defines nothing. In all this Kant seems to be proving that the factors to which experience is referred are mere abstractions, which become intelligible only when viewed in their unity. But he never seems to realise what he has done; and, as I have already said, the two elements remain for him independent constituents, which never lose their identity in the whole to which they contribute. Nay, he seems to think that in their combination they are warped and transmuted from that which they are in themselves. In particular, he seems to suppose that thought, in its pure analytic nature, has a higher meaning than in its synthetic use. And in spite of his assertion that it is in itself merely analytic, he conceives in the end that it points to a higher kind of unity than that which it can attain in its application to experience. In other words, he regards it not as abstracting from all difference, but as giving us the idea of a more perfect and transparent unity of differences than can be realised in the synthesis of the matter of sense. Thus the analytic or tautological unity of thought with itself gets changed into the idea of an organic unity, which, as he supposes, cannot be attained under the conditions of space and time. Even so, thought is still conceived as remaining thought and as incapable of becoming a principle of knowledge; but it is no longer empty. It is self-consciousness, which involves the difference of subject and object, but at the same time transcends it. It suggests, as we have seen, the idea of a perceptive understanding, an understanding which overreaches the difference between itself and sense. And this, though only a regulative idea, is conceived as so far positive that it can stimulate and guide the process of knowledge.

Again, in Kant's account of the 'Practical Reason' the same tacit and apparently unconscious transition from the abstract to the concrete, from a merely analytic to a synthetic unity, takes place. For while, in the first instance, he resolves the moral law into the mere idea of law or formal self-consistency, an idea which is empty, and cannot by all Kant's efforts be made to supply a plausible basis for the particular rules of morality, he immediately proceeds to identify this formal principle with the conception that every self-conscious being is an

end in himself, who is never to be treated merely as a means to any one else; nay, he even identifies it with the idea of a kingdom of such ends, i.e. of a society in which every member finds the realisation of himself in and through his unity with all the other members. Here at least the analytic conception of the law of reason has obviously passed into the idea of social organism, in which all self-conscious beings are particular organs. Kant, indeed, never definitely admits this; but it is only because the idea of a self-consistent whole tends to substitute itself for the conception of mere logical consistency or absence of contradiction, that the moral principle of Kant has any real meaning. If, however, we do make this change, the absolute opposition between thought and knowledge, between noumena and phenomena must disappear. It must give way to the merely relative opposition between a scientific method which is limited to a mechanical view of things and a philosophy which, by a further reflection, brings them under the higher categories of organism and development. It seems, therefore, as if the Kantian view of the ideas of reason could not ultimately be maintained without a complete rejection of the dualism in which he begins. For the positive conception of these ideas, as principles of unity in difference, does away with the main difficulty of applying them to experience; and, while it is vain to attempt to determine moral conduct by reference to a merely analytic principle, the idea of a social organism seems at least to supply a point of view from which our actual ethical life may be understood and explained.

Now, although Kant never made this change, or withdrew his doctrine as to the essential distinction of sense and thought, and therefore of knowledge and faith, yet the impulse to unify the different elements of his philosophy was always consciously or unconsciously influencing him. Hence in the last of his 'Critiques,' the 'Critique of Judgment,' he makes a great advance in this direction. The first part of that 'Critique' is devoted to the analysis of the consciousness of the beautiful and the sublime, and in it he maintains that the opposition of sense and thought can be transcended, if not in knowledge, yet in feeling. For we are conscious not only of feelings of sensuous

pleasure and pain, and of moral feelings of reverence awakened by the law of reason within us, but also of æsthetic feelings. The sense of beauty arises in the consciousness of an object in which the data of sense are not known, but felt, to be in harmony with the demands of the intelligence. Here, therefore, we have a feeling which seems to anticipate and symbolise that perceptive understanding which Kant elsewhere regards as a mere ideal of reason. Beauty is for us the realisation in the empirical world of an idea which cannot be verified in knowledge. It is, as it were, the 'far-off divine event' brought near to us in sensible perception. And this is above all the case when, in the form and visible presence of some typical human being, or in the representation of such a being in art, the beautiful becomes associated with the good. The sense of the sublime carries us a step farther, for it enables us to feel a purposiveness even in the failure of sensible things to realise the ideas of reason. For the feeling of sublimity is called forth in us just when sensible greatness, carried to the highest point of magnitude or force, suggests a higher greatness which the world of sense cannot contain or express. Thus the starry heaven above, in the illimitable expansion and in the immeasurable magnitude of the forces which its movements reveal, seems at first to appal us and then by a reaction to awake a consciousness of the majesty of unconditioned moral law within us, before which all the greatness of the physical world sinks to nothing. We can see, therefore, that the feelings of the beautiful and the sublime carry us beyond that division of sense and thought which besets our ordinary as well as our scientific consciousness of the world.

But Kant is not content with this reconciliation in feeling. He goes on in the second part of this 'Critique' to speak of a kind of reconciliation of sense and thought in knowledge. The ideal of organic purpose is not, he points out, merely a subjective ideal; it has, in a way, an objective use. For, in the first place, in attempting to understand the nature of living beings, we are forced to take refuge in that idea; in other words, we are quite unable to reach any adequate explanation of the existence of an animal, or even a plant, by means of mechanical principles. We cannot account for the life of such 'an

organised and self-organising being' as the resultant of the action and reaction of the different parts of its body, but are obliged in this case to look upon the unity of the whole as prior to the difference of the parts, and to regard the parts as organs through which that unity expresses itself. The living being is analogous to a work of art, with the difference that it has its producing cause, not in the conscious purpose of some being without it, but in a principle that works without consciousness within it. Though, however, we are thus obliged to use the principle of immanent design as the only explanation which we can give of the phenomena of life, we are not, in Kant's view, entitled to treat that explanation as, in a strict sense, objectively valid. It is only a necessary expedient, forced upon us by the fact that it is impossible to explain the organic by the ordinary mechanical principles of science; and that, failing these, we have nothing to fall back upon but the imperfect analogy of our own methods of action. The idea of immanent design is, therefore, not a substitute for the mechanical explanation—which we must apply to the phenomena of life as to all other phenomena; it is simply a hypothesis which can never be empirically verified, but to which we are forced to resort when the mechanical explanation fails us, as it must fail in the case of the phenomena of life.

Are we, however, to stop here? Are we to apply the idea of an immanent purpose only to the phenomena of the life of organic beings, or can we give it a wider application? At first, it would seem that any attempt to widen the sphere of that idea were illegitimate; but Kant maintains that the use of it in the case of organic beings necessarily suggests and even compels a further application of it to the world as a whole, and especially to the whole sphere of human life. Nor, in his opinion, can we avoid asking ourselves the further question, whether there is any evidence that the course of the world is regulated with a view to the good of man, or whether in any sense his being and well-being can be regarded as its final end.

Now, looking at man as a natural being, we cannot see any indication that it is so; for if at times in the course of the world other things and beings become instrumental to man, he in turn is made instrumental to them. The world-process is one in which every existence

seems alternately to become means and end to all the others; in the words of Pope,

‘All served, all serving; nothing stands alone;
The chain holds on, and where it ends, unknown.’

But when we look at man as a moral being, who lives under the absolute law of duty, we are obliged to assume that in a sense everything exists for his sake. For if ‘a good will is the one thing which we can regard as unconditionally good,’ we cannot admit that anything should stand in the way of its realisation. This was already laid down as a postulate in the ‘Critique of Practical Reason’; but in his later works Kant carries it out in a way that is very difficult to reconcile with the individualistic conceptions of morality which prevail in that ‘Critique’; for there each rational subject was regarded as a law and an end to himself, who, in his inner self-determination, could neither be aided nor hindered by any one else; and all the natural passions of the individual were represented as extraneous impulses, belonging only to his existence as a particular object in the phenomenal world. But in the ‘Critique of Judgment,’ in the ‘Essay on the Idea of Universal History,’ and the ‘Treatise on Religion within the bounds of mere Reason,’ we find a new conception prevailing, both of the relations of men to each other and of the relation of the natural passions to the higher life of humanity. For, on the one hand, Kant seeks to apply the idea of organism to human society, and particularly to the Church, which he regards as a *Tugend-Bund*, the members of which are pledged to give the utmost aid to each other in their endeavours after intellectual and moral excellence; and, on the other hand, he advocates a view of human history the fundamental principle of which is that man, by the very working of those natural passions which seem most adverse to goodness, by the selfish struggle for existence and for outward success and honour, has been, and is being, forced to develop his intellectual and moral powers, and to create a form of society in which these powers may find a perfect sphere of exercise. This, however, seems to imply that the natural passions are not irrational impulses, but the partial manifestations of the same principle which ultimately expresses itself in the moral consciousness. It

seems to imply that reason is at work even in the desires that appear to be most antagonistic to it.

Now Kant is hardly prepared to admit such conceptions as these as objectively valid, in the full sense of the word; but he is ready to connect his idea of history with the belief in a divine providence that 'shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we will,' and which makes the whole process of the universe subservient to the intellectual and moral progress of man. In this sense he tries to prove that the Christian religion, when its mythic and purely ceremonial elements are removed, is in essence identical with the ethical monotheism which he himself had postulated in the 'Critique of Practical Reason.' And, in maintaining this thesis, Kant tacitly introduces many considerable modifications in the individualistic character of his original ethical system, both as regards the social relations of men to each other, and as regards the relation of human freedom to divine grace. He thus not obscurely points to a view of the kingdom of spirits, not as a collection of independent self-determining individuals, but as a real organic community, in whose development the divine life is manifested. In fact, if we leave out the reserves and cautions by which Kant always protects himself from direct contradiction with his earlier individualistic statements, we might easily find, in the three 'Critiques' mentioned above, an anticipation of almost all the main features of later idealism. It is, indeed, only an anticipation; nor can we identify the system of Kant, even at the most advanced point of his speculations, with that which was subsequently developed out of it. We cannot directly pass from his philosophy to that of Hegel, except through the long movement by which Fichte and Schelling gradually modified the narrow subjective view upon which Kant stood to the last, and which he never consciously renounced. Still, looking backward, we can see that the Kantian philosophy contains not only the possibility, but even the necessity of such a development, and that, in this point of view, he is the father of modern idealism and spiritualism.

We have now considered the main aspects of the work of Kant in its relation to the history of speculation, and we have attempted to show that three great tendencies of modern thought find their starting-point and

many of the weapons of their warfare in his philosophy. He may be regarded as the bridge between two epochs in the ideal life of the modern world. He was deeply influenced by the individualism of the eighteenth century, and was never able altogether to free himself from its spirit; yet his main work was by patient and life-long effort to show the inadequacy of all its philosophical endeavours, of its dogmatism as well as of its scepticism, and at the same time to point the way to the possible solution of the new problems which have been discussed in the nineteenth, and are still being discussed in the twentieth century. He did not formulate a self-consistent system which any one could now accept; his whole philosophy may rather be regarded as a pathway of transition between two disparate views of the world and of man's place in it. But by the combination of negative and positive achievement, by the thoroughness of his discussion and refutation of earlier and more abstract modes of thought, and by the originality and insight which enabled him to open up new and fertile lines of investigation, he thoroughly vindicated his claim to be named the great Critical Philosopher.

The new edition of Kant's works referred to above, which is now in course of publication, will do much to remove the main difficulties in the interpretation of his philosophy. The old editions of Rosenkranz and Hartenstein have become unsatisfactory by the discovery of many textual errors; and, since their publication, a great deal of additional matter, in particular many manuscript notes by Kant himself, and letters to and from him, have been given to the public. In these circumstances the Berlin Academy of Sciences has appointed a Commission to prepare a new edition, comprehending everything which can be recovered of Kant's writing or teaching. The work, when completed, will probably be one of the most satisfactory editions of a philosopher hitherto published. The 'Kant-Studien,' edited by Professor Vaihinger, which is also referred to above, has during the last ten years done much to illustrate Kant's work and to prepare the way for this new edition.

EDWARD C.

art. VI.—THOMAS TRAHERNE AND THE RELIGIOUS
POETRY OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

1. *The Poetical Works of Thomas Traherne, B.D.* Now first published from the original MSS. Edited by Bertram Dobell. London: Dobell, 1903.
2. *The Poetical Works of George Herbert.* Edited by A. B. Grosart. London: Bell, 1876.
3. *The Temple.* By George Herbert. Facsimile reprint of the first edition of 1633. Sixth edition, with Introductory Essay by J. H. Shorthouse. London: Fisher Unwin, 1903.
4. *The Temple.* By George Herbert. Reprint of the first edition. ('Chiswick Quartos.') London: Bell and Sons, 1904.
5. *The Works of Henry Vaughan, Silurist.* Edited by the Rev. A. B. Grosart. Four vols. Privately printed. London, 1871.
6. *The Poems of Henry Vaughan, Silurist.* Edited by E. K. Chambers. With an Introduction by H. C. Beeching. Two vols. London: Lawrence and Bullen, 1896.
7. *Silex Scintillans, or Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations.* By Henry Vaughan. ('Temple Classics.') London: Dent, 1900.

'NEWS from a foreign country!'—the opening words of one of his own poems—might well serve as a subsidiary title to the volume which acquaints us, for the first time, with the poetical works of Thomas Traherne. Unknown, apparently, as a poet to his contemporaries, it has been the strange fortune of this devout singer of the seventeenth century to wait until the twentieth for his advancement to the House of Fame. It is but a humble niche, perhaps, that he can claim to occupy; but his right of entry is clear enough to render his identification by Mr Dobell one of the most notable literary discoveries of recent years. Mr Dobell has rescued from oblivion a poet who was either too modest or too careless to court publicity, and seems to have been too shy even to share his poetical secret with his closest friends. As a divine, Traherne had in his day some small repute. Had he

been known as a versifier, however indifferent, to any brother of his craft, we should have heard of it. The minor poets of those days were never chary of exchanging complimentary numbers; and, had he had a friend among them, Thomas Traherne would not have died unsung. It has been left to Mr Dobell himself to supply the only commendatory verses which attend the poet's first appearance in print, and, as he quaintly tells us, to match his author's

‘noble and exalted thought
With the best raiment that our time affords
Of comely type, fine paper, seemly boards.’

And so, in the panoply all at once of hand-made paper and vellum binding, Thomas Traherne takes his station among the English poets. We are not, indeed, prepared to rate him at his discoverer's sanguine valuation. Mr Dobell is positive that ‘neither Herbert, Crashaw, nor Vaughan can compare with Traherne in the most essential qualities of the poet.’ Far from being the superior, he is not, in our opinion, the equal of any one of the three, tried by any test of poetical quality. He is, however, good enough to be admitted to their company; and with Herbert and Vaughan in particular, he has sufficiently close affinities, both literary and racial, to warrant our treating the three together as a separate group among the poets of their time.

Traherne has so much in common with Henry Vaughan, at all events, that the newly discovered poems were first ascribed, by no mean authority, to the Silurist, and narrowly escaped publication under his name. The manuscript, casually picked up on a London bookstall, passed into the hands of the late Dr Grosart, whose services to literature as a prolific editor of English poetry should save him from much of the facile disparagement provoked by his eccentricities as a critic. Among Dr Grosart's last, and unfulfilled, projects was a reissue of the complete works in prose and verse of Henry Vaughan; and his main inducement to undertake the task was the acquisition of the manuscript since identified as Traherne's. So many of Traherne's poems start from and return to one of Vaughan's characteristic thoughts that they might well have deceived acuter and less headlong judges than

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passion and of feverish rapture about Crashaw's ecstasies of devotion, his 'thirsts of love,' his 'brim-filled bowls of fierce desire.' He stands alone among the religious poets of his time, impatient alike of the rigorous penances of the Puritans and of the decent pieties of Anglicanism, and finding only in the Church of Rome that free fellowship with saints and seraphim,

'The fairest first-born sons of fire,'

after which his ardent spirit yearned. Crashaw's poetry, more than the religious verse of any of his contemporaries, fulfils two of Milton's prime tests; it is 'sensuous' and 'passionate,' even to excess. What cannot be claimed for it is simplicity. Some of the worst enormities of the seventeenth century mania for fantastic and grotesque imagery stand to the account of Crashaw. And yet he, like the rest, derives much of his interest for the literary student from these very freaks and eccentricities.

The claim of devotional poetry to rank with the highest forms has been impugned by eminent authority. 'Poetry,' says Dr Johnson, 'loses its lustre and its power, because it is applied to the decoration of something more excellent than itself.' Even were we disposed to acquiesce in this characteristically magisterial pronouncement, we may be permitted at least to derive some pleasure from the 'decoration.' And it is just because the devotional poets of the seventeenth century bestowed so much pains upon decoration that their work remains the most interesting body of religious verse in all English literature. The 'noble numbers' of that age are something richer and rarer than the expression of mere religious feeling or devout meditation. The 'sacred thoughts and pious ejaculations' of the time were sent forth tricked and flounced with emblems and images strangely remote from the associations of the cloister and the sanctuary. As it has been said of Milton's later poems, that 'for the materials of those palaces whole provinces were pillaged,' so to the building of the miniature fanes and oratories of the lesser poets there went the spoil of many a profane city and pagan temple. These sacred songsters made it their boast to challenge and cut out the 'vulgar amorist' on his own ground. George Herbert, himself an aristocrat and a potential

courtier, essays to prove, in an age of courtly makers and high-born wits, that God's love can

'Heighten a spirit to sound out His praise
As well as any She.'

'Cannot thy Dove,' he asks,

'Outstrip their Cupid easily in flight?'

Henry Vaughan, again, turns for inspiration from Parnassus and Helicon to the Mount of Olives.

'Sweet sacred hill! on whose fair brow
My Saviour sate, shall I allow
Language to love,
And idolize some shade or grove
Neglecting thee?'

In his preface to 'Silex Scintillans' Vaughan more specifically avows in prose the purpose of his devotional songs. 'Those ingenious persons, which in the late notion are termed Wits' needed to be taught that poesy demanded higher matter than 'idle or sensual subjects.'

'The true remedy,' he continues, 'lies wholly in their bosoms, who are the gifted persons, by a wise exchange of vain and vicious subjects for divine themes and celestial praise. . . . The first that with any effectual success attempted a diversion of this foul and overflowing stream [of profane poetry] was the blessed man, Mr George Herbert, whose holy life and verse gained many pious converts, of whom I am the least.'

It is this loftiness of aim, this declared purpose of exemplifying the diviner uses of poetry, that lifts the poems of Herbert and Vaughan, in particular, above the region of fantastic experiment or of heroic *tours de force*. Their highest aspiration was, according to their gift, 'to celebrate,' in Milton's majestic words, 'the throne and equipage of God's almightiness.' None of the minor poets can, indeed, make such lofty vaunt as he who, invoking a Muse who was herself divine, sings:

'Up led by thee
Into the Heav'n of Heav'ns I have presum'd,
An earthly guest, and drawn empyreal air.'

But, in spite of their weakness of wing and their frequent
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and sudden descents from the upper air to the sloughs and flats of graceless and inept conceit, the practice of sacred verse with Herbert and Vaughan was no mere perfunctory exercise, no *parergon* resorted to as a relief from the more exacting claims of secular poetry. Urania was to them, no less than to Milton, the supreme Muse. There were in the seventeenth, as in the sixteenth, century, poets who supplemented their secular verse with devotional songs; but these 'pious pieces' only too plainly suggest the painfulness of an extorted religious duty. Herrick composed his 'Noble Numbers' to procure absolution for his

'unbaptised rhymes,
Writ in my wild unhallow'd times.'

One detects, however, a much more spontaneous, if not a more sincere, note in the prayers which he offers to the Graces to prepare him to give the god of Love a proper welcome even in his old age—

'Clean my rooms, as temples be,
To entertain that deity.'

Habington, Wither, Marvell, Cowley, and others are much in the same plight; their sacred verse is the penitential tribute of a Muse that finds her prime inspiration in mundane themes. Even the excellent Quarles fails to convince us that his voluminous essays in devotional poetry were dictated by any overmastering spiritual impulse. But it is otherwise with Herbert and Crashaw, with Vaughan and Traherne. Sacred song was for them, in Vaughan's fine phrase, their 'native and celestial scope.' Both the Silurist and Crashaw could, when they chose, fall into the strain of the wits and the amorists, and hold their own with the best of them; but their main ambition was to follow in Herbert's path, and to be remembered with him as poets who were 'inspired by a diviner breath than flows from Helicon.'

Another bond of union, albeit a slight one from a literary point of view, between Herbert, Vaughan, and Traherne is that of their common birthright. All three were Welshmen. As to Traherne's Welsh origin—although Mr Dobell finds no positive evidence of it—there can really be little doubt. He was a native of Hereford,

and as the name has always been as common in South Wales as in Cornwall, it is far more likely that the Trahernes of Hereford were a Welsh than a Cornish family. The original form of the name—Trahaiarn—is unquestionably Welsh, and has, besides, some literary associations; for Trahaiarn Brydydd Mawr—Trahaiarn 'the great poet'—was a well-known Welsh bard of the fourteenth century. Thomas Traherne will never, we fear, rank as a 'great poet,' either in or out of Wales; but his poetical achievement is, at least, considerable enough to allow patriotic Welshmen to take some pride in it as swelling their country's all too scanty contribution to English literature. There is, however, little that is distinctively Welsh about Traherne's poetry, any more than about Herbert's. Henry Vaughan, on the other hand, has much that attests his close kinship with the Welsh bards. Like them, he is largely, in Mr Beeching's words, 'a poet of fine lines and stanzas, of imaginative intervals,' lacking either the patience or the power to build the lofty rhyme on a monumental scale. But his intervals of inspiration, no less than theirs, afford ample compensation for much that is trivial and wearisome. Above all, he shares the greater Welsh bards' intimate love of Nature in her wilder and less conventional aspects; and his best passages of natural description reflect that magical play of the fancy which is the most charming and characteristic feature of Welsh poetry. In Vaughan's poems of Nature, however, it is not these felicities of fanciful description alone that hold us. He has a gift of divining and interpreting the messages of Nature to the heart and soul such as no other poet of his own time possessed, and he anticipates in many ways the larger and more profound gospel of Wordsworth.

Again, our three poets stand together as representatives of the best and most equable religious temper of their time. They are all Anglicans, of a staunch but moderate type. They were attached to the throne; and Vaughan even appears to have, for a time, taken up arms for King Charles. In their loyalty to Church and Crown they reflected the overwhelmingly predominant feeling of the Wales of their day. Although in later times the Principality became the stronghold of Dissent, and is still the home of many of the lost causes of seventeenth century

Puritanism, in the seventeenth century itself Wales stood by the Church and the Cavalier cause. The most popular Welsh poet of the seventeenth century, Hugh Morris, to whose home George Borrow made a memorable pilgrimage, was an ardent Royalist, and lived long enough to sing, after the Restoration, a 'Lament of the Roundheads' in a vein of exultant satire of which even Butler might have been proud. The loyalty of Wales was secured mainly by the adhesion of the great Welsh families to the Royalist cause; and with two of these noble families both Herbert and Vaughan claimed connexion.

George Herbert was descended, on his mother's side, from two of the greatest princes of mediæval Wales. The Silurist Vaughans were at no time so powerful and highly-placed a family as that of which the house of Pembroke was the head; but Henry Vaughan also could point to a distinguished and romantic ancestry. Both Vaughan and Herbert were by training and tradition 'scholars and gentlemen,' in the best sense; and in men who so well combined intellectual and religious culture we find the most enlightened and lovable, if not the most intense and active, religious type of the time. Of Traherne we cannot speak with equal certainty. His poems throw no light upon either his political or his ecclesiastical proclivities, one of their prime charms being, indeed, their appeal to what is all but a universal religious sentiment. We know, however, that he was at one time rector of Credenhill in the county of Hereford, and afterwards chaplain to Sir Orlando Bridgeman, who was made Lord Keeper of the Seals in 1667. On the strength of these biographical facts, and of further evidence furnished by his prose writings, Mr Dobell is justified in coming to the pious conclusion that Traherne's 'deeply fervent and religious nature found in the national faith, as George Herbert had found before him, the peace and satisfaction which he could find nowhere else.'

George Herbert was so exemplary a churchman that to a host of readers his churchmanship has been one of the main recommendations of his poetry. He also owes not a little of his popularity to Walton, who has extolled him as 'a pattern of virtue to all posterity, and especially to his brethren of the clergy.' The clergy, in their turn, have been sedulous in prescribing his poems as aids to

devotion; and 'The Temple,' to judge by the number and the artistic variety of new editions of the book, has never been so widely read as it is to-day. Henry Vaughan was, in his way, as loyal an Anglican as Herbert; but, being a mere country doctor, and having an occasional turn for secular verse, he has never appealed with the same intimacy as the rector of Bemerton to those who read poetry as a devotional exercise. George Herbert is indeed, not excepting even Keble, as much the pattern poet as he is the pattern country parson of the Anglican Church. The very framework, so to speak, of many of his poems is ecclesiastical; and the atmosphere of all of them is redolent of the parsonage and its precincts. Even Nature, when he walks abroad with her, speaks to him in the language of the sanctuary; the whole visible world is to him but a tissue of ministries and sacraments and divine symbols.

'I cannot ope mine eyes
But Thou art ready there to catch
My morning soul and sacrifice.'

Trees speak to him, not of beauty, but of service—of 'fruit or shade'; were he himself but a tree,

'at least, some bird would trust
Her household to me, and I should be just.'

In another poem he wishes he were an orange-tree, 'that busy plant!'

'Then should I ever laden be,
And never want
Some fruit for Him that dressed me!'

A flower by the wayside leads him into a homily upon the common vicissitudes of life, and to the personal aspiration—

'O, that I once past changing were
Fast in Thy Paradise, where no flower can wither!'

It is in this poem on 'The Flower' that we meet with what is, perhaps, the best example in Herbert's work of this spiritual interpretation of Nature, in which he is, in general, so inferior to Vaughan.

'Who would have thought my shrivel'd heart
 Could have recover'd greenness? It was gone
 Quite under ground; as flowers depart
 To see their mother root, when they have blown,
 Where they together
 All the hard weather,
 Dead to the world, keep house unknown.'

Passages of this imaginative quality occur but very seldom in Herbert's poetry. He was altogether too introspective, too deeply absorbed in the contemplative study of his own soul, to discover a soul in nature. On the other hand, the visible images and symbols of the Church were full of poetical suggestion to him. The church porch, the church floor, the altar, even the church lock and key are symbols of some spiritual truth or moral duty. The Church herself, the 'British Church' of the Reformation, presenting

'A fine aspect in fit array,
 Neither too mean nor yet too gay,'

takes bodily shape in his imagination—an apparition of ideal beauty, whose graces deserve as glowing a tribute as those of some 'not impossible She' who charms the profane amorist.

'I joy, deare Mother, when I view
 Thy perfect lineaments, and hue
 Both sweet and bright.

Beauty in thee takes up her place
 And dates her letters from thy face,
 When she doth write.'

So completely, indeed, has George Herbert subdued his Muse to the service of the Church that, to many people, he stands pre-eminently as the 'Church of England man' of his time. The late Mr Shorthouse, for example, wrote a eulogy not so much of the poet as of the churchman who typifies 'the exquisite refinement which is the peculiar gift and office of the Church of England.' He is 'the ascetic priest who was also a fine gentleman, with his fine cloth, his cambric fall and his delicate hands.' It is such men as he and Nicholas Ferrar who were 'the

true founders of the Church of England.' They 'revealed the true refinement of worship,' they 'united delicacy of taste in choice of ornament and of music with culture of expression and of reserve, and they showed that this was not incompatible with devoted work and life.'

It is a pity that Mr Shorthouse's preoccupation with Herbert's virtues as the model Anglican should appear to have led him to disparage somewhat unduly his qualities as a poet. Although he introduced a popular facsimile reprint of the first edition of 'The Temple,' Mr Shorthouse doubted 'whether Herbert's poetry will ever be generally popular again.' He did, however, claim for it 'a strength of expression and a reality of feeling which will always ensure to it an audience fit, if few.' He might have added that it is just this 'reality of feeling' which will make it impossible to impose upon readers of 'The Temple' what one may call an ecclesiastical test of fitness; there are plenty of robust lovers of poetry outside the Anglican communion who will insist upon claiming fellowship with George Herbert. But 'strength of expression' is not, we should say, an obviously striking characteristic of his poetry. He was, indeed, a more even and accomplished craftsman in verse than Crashaw, Vaughan, and the rest of the religious lyrists; but both Vaughan and Crashaw, at their best, are masters of a greater language and of clearer accents than he. Such a majestic strain, for example, as that of the well-known lines in 'Church Monuments,' where he sings of

'this heap of dust,
To which the blast of Death's incessant motion,
Fed with the exhalation of our crimes,
Drives all at last,'

is quite foreign to Herbert's usual manner. Vaughan's flashes of inspiration, or bursts of great utterance, were intermittent enough, but they far outnumber Herbert's, and reach a much higher level of poetry. When Vaughan writes—

'Where are you, shoreless thoughts, vast tenter'd hope,
Ambitious dreams, aims of an endless ^{scope},
Whose stretch'd excess runs on a st
And on the rack of self-extensio

or—listening to ‘a shrill spring tuning to the early day’—

‘I summon’d Nature; pierc’d through all her store;
 Broke up some seals which none had touched before,
 and having past
 Through all the creatures, came at last
 To search myself, where I did find
 Traces, and sounds of a strange kind.
 Here of this mighty spring I found some drills
 With echoes beaten from th’ eternal hills’;

or the more familiar lines—

‘I saw Eternity the other night
 Like a great ring of pure and endless light,
 All calm, as it was bright;
 And round beneath it, Time, in hours, days, years,
 Driv’n by the spheres,
 Like a vast shadow mov’d; in which the world
 And all her train were hurl’d,’

he displays at once a range of imagination and a power of expression of which Herbert was incapable.

Herbert, however, must be adjudged the Silurist’s superior in uniform excellence of style and in technical accomplishment. He has, it is true, defective rhymes and strained conceits in plenty, but he is not on either count so flagrant and careless a sinner as Vaughan. While he is much given to fantastic experiment in his stanzaic forms, his verses show, on the whole, a saving regard for structural symmetry and coherence. Even in the stock examples of ‘The Altar’ and ‘Easter Wings’ the curious emblematic form is adapted to a tolerably pleasing metrical movement. The pursuit of anagrams, acrostics, and emblematic devices of all sorts became a disease of the smaller poets of the seventeenth century; and Herbert was so far responsible for spreading the epidemic that Dryden must have had him in mind when he consigned Shadwell to that ‘peaceful province in Acrostic-land’ where he might

‘wings display and altars raise,
 And torture one poor word ten thousand ways.’

Herbert is no word-torturer, in Dryden’s sense, but he must be held to have wasted a good deal of ingenuity

alike upon verbal conceits and metrical innovations. As to his conceits, Herbert is candid enough; he was simply following the fashion, and, having undertaken to prove that poetry did not 'serve Venus' turn alone,' was at pains to deck his pious thoughts in finery as attractive as that in which the wits clothed their gay fancies. As he tells us,

'When first my lines of heavenly joys made mention,
Such was their lustre, they did so excell,
That I sought out quaint words and trim invention,
My thoughts began to burnish, sprout and swell,
Curling with metaphors a plain intention,
Decking the sense as if it were to sell.'

This avowal notwithstanding, the greater part of Herbert's work is tolerably free from the worst kind of excesses to which the metaphysical poets were addicted. His thoughts rarely 'sprout and swell' into anything very gross and rank. Such quaint titles as 'The Pulley,' 'The Collar,' 'The Bag'—suggestive as they are of hazardous freaks of metaphor and simile—appear over poems simple enough in conception and agreeably chaste in expression. And when he does give the rein to his whim for 'trim invention,' he handles his conceits with a certain lightness of touch which makes them almost pleasant in contrast with the laboured fantasticalities of Vaughan and Crashaw.

'Reality of feeling' is, after all, the secret of the abiding charm of George Herbert's poetry. His 'private ejaculations' are the authentic utterance of a profound spiritual experience. The poet himself, when he sent them from his death-bed to the care of Nicholas Ferrar, described them as 'a picture of the many spiritual conflicts that had passed between God and his soul.' 'The Temple' is far from being what its title suggests, the serene meditations of a priest at rest in the sanctuary. It is rather, like the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' the record of the adventures of a soul on the great quest. Many will doubtless find it a pleasing exercise to determine from his poems, and from his 'Country Parson,' the precise height of Herbert's churchmanship; but many more will prefer to dwell on the qualities which make the greater Puritans, the exclusive possess

church. His place is, indeed, with the Puritans—with Bunyan, with Baxter, with Milton. For when Herbert forgets his church floor, his windows, his altars, and his vestments, he is on common ground with the men to whom the fortunes of the individual soul in its flight from the City of Destruction was the most tremendous of human interests. 'The Temple' is much more than a denominational book. It belongs, with all its limitations, to that catholic library of personal confessions where spirits so different in creed, in temperament, in circumstance, as Marcus Aurelius and Augustine, Thomas à Kempis and John Bunyan, Cowper and Keble, Newman and Amiel, are ranged side by side, with none to question their right of fellowship in the common pursuit of a far-shining and imperishable ideal.

'The least of the many converts,' as he describes himself, 'gained by the holy life and verse' of George Herbert, Henry Vaughan was a more complex character and a better poet than his master. Although his conversion came about at a fairly early age in a long and apparently uneventful life, he was never able to emancipate himself completely from the influences that moulded his youth. Not that his piety suffered any declension, even during the thirty-five years he lived after the Restoration; but what no observant reader of Vaughan can fail to notice is a sort of wistful sympathy with the great worldly wits into whose ken he seems, for a brief spell during his youth, to have floated. Destined originally by his father for a legal career, he spent some time in London after he left Oxford; and 'A Rhapsodie' included in his first volume of poems tells of his meetings with the literary roisterers who foregathered at the Globe Tavern. Having thus acquired an initiation, however brief, into 'the way that takes the town,' it was hardly to be expected that one who afterwards spent his life as a country doctor should have found it as easy to resign himself unreservedly to pious exercises as it was for a country parson. For, apart from his early experiences and the inevitable distractions of his calling, Vaughan had more subtle spiritual enemies to contend with than Herbert. Anthony à Wood speaks of him as being 'esteemed by scholars, an ingenious person, but proud and humourous.'

ughan had wild blood in his veins, and was
 ntly haunted by visions of 'those brave trans-
 things' which had fired the imagination of the
 id spirits of the Renaissance. He belonged to a
 which, like most Welsh families of its class,
 d of a wonderful pedigree; and, after making all
 nce for the romantic extensions to which such
 ees lend themselves, there seems to be good reason
 ieving that the Davy Gam, Esquire, who fought at
 ourt, and the Sir Thomas Vaughan, who was
 red by Richard III, were both of the stock of the
 st' Vaughans with which the poet claimed con-
 . Such ancestry suggests a more turbulent strain
 sh blood and passion than that of the Herberts;
 ughan's poetry does not belie his pedigree. Incited
 ert's example, he gave the best that was in him
 service of religion; but 'Silex Scintillans' introduces
 a very different religious atmosphere from that
 e Temple.' We have here the meditations of no
 red recluse, but of one who, had he possessed either
 rage or the capacity to give full expression to all
 ions and imaginings, had given us a 'religion of
 ' transcending the bounds of any accepted ecclesi-
 formulary. Even as they stand, Vaughan's fitful
 oken records of his communings with Nature seem
 ely out of place in the seventeenth century. No
 f his time gives us the same impression of being
 ntly visited by 'fancies that broke through language
 eaped.'

, on the last estimate, one is forced to confess that
 Vaughan's power of expression was not equal to
 gination; he had 'more of the vision than of the
 'divine.' But he was, at any rate, one who took a
 e and painful interest in the poet's art. 'At how
 rate,' he writes to his brother poets,

Are we made up! All hope of thrift and state
 Lost for a verse,

icern for poetry, and for literature generally, was
 deeper and more catholic than Herbert's. He ever
 o hark back to the manner of the later Eliza-
 s; and echoes of Donne and Ben Jonson seem to
 ngered in his ears to the last. 'Thalia Rediviv

his last volume of poems, contains love-songs which, in everything except their unsullied cleanness of thought, recall the very accent of the Jacobean amorists. The Fida and the Etesia of these later songs are but more idealised portraits of the Amoret of whom, in direct imitation of Donne, he had sung in his first volume. A poet so beset with memories of the golden age of profane wit, subject to 'humours,' the friend of scholars and the inheritor of romantic family traditions, was not the kind of man one would expect to take naturally and easily to the composition of devotional poetry. But, falling under the spell of a saintly character, he tendered his choicest gifts at the shrine of Urania, with the result that, with the average reader of poetry, his name remains inseparably linked with that of his spiritual master. Vaughan, however, owed little to Herbert except his conversion. All that is best and most impressive in his poetry is neither imitative nor derived, but the original and, in its time, unique expression of the musings of one who, in the words of Dr John Brown, author of '*Horae Subsecivae*'—a kindred soul, who was one of the Silurist's first discoverers among modern critics—'lived from day to day in the eye of Nature, and in his solitary rides and walks in that wild and beautiful country found full exercise for his fine sense of the beauty and wondrousness of all visible things.'

Born at Scethrog in Brecknockshire in 1622, Henry Vaughan spent his boyhood amid romantic surroundings. Hard by his home flows the river Usk on its way to the fabled City of Legions where, in 'a passing pleasant place,' King Arthur held the court that, according to Geoffrey of Monmouth, drew unto it the flower of the chivalry and prowess of all western Europe. Vaughan either knew or cared little about the ancient traditions of his race; and the Arthurian associations of the Usk do not seem to have appealed to his imagination. But he has not left his natal river unsung. On the contrary, with a poet's ingenuous or affected belief in the immortality of his verse, he claims that the 'vows' which he pays to the river in one of his poems are just what

'shall from age to age thy fair name lead,
'Till rivers leave to run, and men to read.'

This votive tribute appeared in a volume called 'Olor Iscanus,' which was published in 1651—the year after the appearance of the first edition of 'Silex Scintillans'—and represents, probably, the poet's earlier work. The entire volume consists of secular poems, and it has perplexed some of Vaughan's critics to explain how such a collection of profane verse came to be issued after the conversion which, as he tells us in the preface to 'Silex Scintillans,' led him 'to communicate his poor talent to the Church.' There is no real difficulty about the matter; for it is plain that Vaughan, unlike Herbert, never altogether forsook the pleasant paths of profane poetry. Nor had he serious cause to feel ashamed of anything that appeared in his name either in 'Olor Iscanus' or in the first small volume of poems which was printed in 1646. 'Thalia Rediviva; the Pass-Times and Diversions of a Countrey-Muse,' published in 1678, contains, in addition to a number of devotional poems, several pieces of secular verse, including even some love-songs, which must have been written long after the seemingly final renunciation announced in 'Silex Scintillans.' Poetry never ceased to be an artistic exercise and pastime with Henry Vaughan; and, although 'Silex Scintillans' is the largest and the best of his four published volumes of poems, he who confines his reading to that volume alone will derive but a very one-sided notion both of the man and of his poetry.

It is, however, with 'Silex Scintillans' that we are mainly concerned in the present article. The strictly devotional element, whether in the edition of 1650 or the enlargement of 1655, differs little, if at all, from that of the various collections of 'private ejaculations' of which 'The Temple' is at once the pattern and the paragon. Traherne's sacred musings wander much further from the conventional circle of devout contemplation than Vaughan's. The Silurist, with all the zealous attachment of a convert to his spiritual benefactor, strenuously cultivates the forms both of religion and of religious verse sanctioned by George Herbert's example. His churchmanship is as unexceptionable as that of his master; he is a steadfast Anglo-Catholic who subscribes with all his heart to Herbert's opinion and aspiration as to the British Church—

‘The mean thy praise and glory is,
And long may be.’

Into the quarrel about the precise extent of Vaughan's poetical debt to George Herbert we have no disposition to enter. We are quite prepared to admit that Vaughan derived from Herbert a good many ‘pious thoughts’ which, in his verse, he did not better in the borrowing. Dr Grosart, who is almost as partial to the Silurist as Mr Dobell is to Traherne, would ‘limit Vaughan's debt almost wholly to spiritual quickening and the gift of gracious feeling.’ But no unbiassed reader of the two books can help, in our opinion, coming to the conclusion that a very large proportion of the poems in ‘*Silex Scintillans*, alike in their themes, their metrical form, and even in many of their turns of expression, are conscious imitations of ‘*The Temple*.’ In his notes to the first volume of the ‘*Muses' Library*’ edition of Vaughan's poems, Mr E. K. Chambers has made it his main business to give as complete a list as possible of these parallels. And in the introduction to the same volume Mr Beeching sums the matter up very fairly when he states that Vaughan owed to Herbert ‘the practice of religious poetry, that he followed him in the employment of certain metres and in the treatment of certain topics, that he was content to adopt certain of his tropes and phrases, and to vie with him in the manufacture of curious conceits.’

Even so, the Silurist's superiority in the qualities of imagination, of passion, of illuminating thought and vision remains unassailed. It is usual to speak of him as a mystic. Esteemed, as we know him to have been, by his friends as ‘an ingenious person,’ Henry Vaughan may have shared something of the mental temperament of his still more ingenious twin-brother, Thomas, who is described by Anthony à Wood as ‘a noted son of the fire, an experimental philosopher, and a zealous brother of the Rosierucian fraternity,’ and whose recondite prose treatises entitle him to be regarded as a sort of mystic by profession. There is, however, little, if any, trace in Vaughan's poetry of such mysticism as one associates with some particular cult or school of thought, like that of his contemporaries the Cambridge Platonists. The Platonic

standing in her, like Wordsworth, 'a guardian,' and conscious that, in his

'what man
his plots and power can,'

'none can sequester or let
that with the sun doth set,
as next morning fresh as he.'

in a country which derives much of its
watered glens and its mountain tarns, it
that Vaughan should delight in describing,
uses of devotion, the varied phenomena
seems on 'The Shower' and 'The Water-
examples of his success alike in vivid
in apt personal application. 'I saw thy
of 'the Shower,'

owsey lake
aint bosom breath'd thee, the disease
waters and infectious ease.
w at even,
ers for heaven,
in tears, and weep'st for thy mistake.'

is a still more imaginative and suggestive

deep murmurs, through Time's silent stealth,
transparent, cool, and wat'ry wealth
ing fall,
e and call,
id, loose retinue stay'd
were of this steep place afraid,
non pass,
ear as glass
descend
a end,
by this deep and rocky grave,
er course more bright and brave.'

is he in his imaginative descriptions of
of light—the changing aspects of a cloud-
the play of sunlight upon rock and leaf

Scintillans.' The very first poem of all is full of felicitous touches of natural description.

'A ward, and still in bonds, one day
I stole abroad;
It was high Spring, and all the way
Primros'd, and hung with shade.'

* * * * *

'The unthrift sun shot vital gold,
A thousand pieces;
And heaven its azure did unfold
Chequer'd with snowy fleeces;
The air was all in spice,
And every bush
A garland wore; thus fed my eyes,
But all the earth lay hush.
Only a little fountain lent
Some use for ears,
And on the dumb shades language spent
The music of her tears.'

Another poem opens with the fine image,

'Tis now clear day; I see a rose
Bud in the bright East, and disclose
The pilgrim-sun.'

Vaughan is at his best when he sings of the dawn, recording, as he doubtless does, the august impressions often made upon his mind by the vision of the sun rising to greet him on his lonely rides in the pursuit of his calling over the Breconshire moorlands. 'It is the only time,' he writes,

'That with Thy glory doth best chime;
All now are stirring, ev'ry field
Full hymns doth yield;
The whole creation shakes off night,
And for Thy shadow looks, the light;
Stars now vanish without number,
Sleepy planets set and slumber,
The pursy clouds disband and scatter,
All expect some sudden matter.'

His was a mind that let itself be constantly attuned to

Nature's moods, finding in her, like Wordsworth, 'a nurse, a guide, a guardian,' and conscious that, in his own words, despite

'what man
With all his plots and power can,'

yet

'none can sequester or let
A state that with the sun doth set,
And comes next morning fresh as he.'

Living as he did in a country which derives much of its beauty from its watered glens and its mountain tarns, it is but natural that Vaughan should delight in describing, and in turning to uses of devotion, the varied phenomena of water. His poems on 'The Shower' and 'The Waterfall' are signal examples of his success alike in vivid description and in apt personal application. 'I saw thy birth,' he writes of 'the Shower,'

'That drowsy lake
From her faint bosom breath'd thee, the disease
Of her sick waters and infectious ease.
But now at even,
Too gross for heaven,
Thou fall'st in tears, and weep'st for thy mistake.'

'The Waterfall' is a still more imaginative and suggestive picture.

'With what deep murmurs, through Time's silent stealth,
Doth thy transparent, cool, and wat'ry wealth
Here flowing fall,
And chide and call,
As if his liquid, loose retinue stay'd
Ling'ring, and were of this steep place afraid,
The common pass,
Where clear as glass
All must descend
Not to an end,
But quick'ned by this deep and rocky grave,
Rise to a longer course more bright and brave.'

Equally happy is he in his imaginative descriptions of the phenomena of light—the changing aspects of a cloud-chequered sky, the play of sunlight upon rock and leaf and flower,

‘whose proud
 And previous glories gild that blushing cloud;
 Whose lively fires in swift projections glance
 From hill to hill, and by refracted chance
 Burnish some neighbour-rock, or tree, and then
 Fly off in coy and winged flames again.’

And we know not what other poet has given better expression to the divine influences that are abroad on a brilliant May morning than that found in the following lines on ‘Ascension Day’ :—

‘The Day-star smiles, and light, with Thee deceas’d,
 Now shines in all the chambers of the East.
 What stirs, what posting intercourse and mirth
 Of Saints and Angels glorify the Earth!
 What sighs, what whispers, busy stops and stays!
 Private and holy talk fill all the ways.
 They pass as at the last great day, and run
 In their white robes to seek the Risen Sun;
 I see them, hear them, mark their haste, and move
 Amongst them, with them, wing’d with faith and love.’

Space forbids making more than a passing reference to Vaughan's last volume, ‘*Thalia Rediviva*,’ which contains the best examples of his secular verse. Here the poet, drifting to some extent from the influence of Donne and Herbert, appears as a rather painful follower of Denham and Waller. Many of the poems are in the heroic couplet, in which Vaughan does not move very easily; he is much more at home in the octosyllabic couplet, and his addresses to Fida and Etesia in this measure will bear comparison with some of the best love poetry of the seventeenth century. This last volume reveals the poet as no less a lover of books than of Nature—books,

‘the still voice
 Of enlarg’d spirits, kind Heav’n’s white decoys!
 Who lives with you, lives like those knowing flow’rs,
 Which in commerce with light spend all their hours.’

And in this dual commerce with the light of books and of Nature Henry Vaughan ended his days at the ripe age of seventy-three. He lies buried, close to his native Scethrog, in the little churchyard of Llansantffraid,

As a poet of Nature Henry Vaughan, as the few quotations above given sufficiently attest, is a forerunner of Wordsworth. But to the average reader his name is associated with Wordsworth by reason, not so much of what they have in common as poetical interpreters of Nature, as of the fact that a particular poem of Vaughan's is supposed to have suggested to Wordsworth the germinal thought of his 'Ode on Intimations of Immortality.' Wordsworth himself is silent about the matter; but it is known that he possessed a copy of 'Silex Scintillans'; and when we find Vaughan, in 'The Retreat,' regretfully looking back upon the days of his 'angel-infancy,'

'When on some gilded cloud or flow'r
My gazing soul would dwell an hour,
And in those weaker glories spy
Some shadows of eternity'—

days which made him feel

'through all this fleshly dress
Bright shoots of everlastingness,'

and

'long to travel back
And tread again that ancient track!
That I might once more reach that plain
Where first I left my glorious train!'—

we are forced to believe that there must be something more than an accidental resemblance between these lines and passages that will at once occur to any one familiar with the great Ode.

There is not much more perhaps than a faint hint at the doctrine of 'recollection' in 'The Retreat'; nor have we evidence that it was to Vaughan anything more than a passing poetical fancy. Thomas Traherne, on the other hand, was one to whom this Platonic idea, or something very like it, was a constant obsession. Recollections of early childhood, as reflected in a mind continually brooding over the mystery and the wonder of the universe, are the very substance of Traherne's poetry. Indeed, he is not to our mind of any great account as a poet at all save when he sings of 'angel-infancy.' The majority of his poems are but versified arrangements of thoughts which might just as well find their adequate expression in plain

prose, and some of which Traherne himself has much better expressed in the extracts supplied to us by Mr Dobell from his prose 'Centuries of Meditations.' These poems have little in common with the better religious verse of their period; in imagination, in fancy, in all that is either legitimate or fantastic in the way of 'decoration,' they are poor indeed by the side of the work of Herbert and Vaughan. But when we turn to the poems on childhood we are in a different atmosphere. There is nothing quite like them in the whole range of English poetry. It is safe, we think, to make at least this claim for Traherne, that no poet has succeeded in recalling so intuitively and vividly the impressions of a child when he first awakes to all the beauty and the wonder and the glory of the world around him. Critics may cavil at his faults in technique, at his imperfect rhymes, at his constant resort to the feeble aid of expletives, at his almost garrulous repetitions; but there is matter in these songs of childhood arresting and original enough to atone for many technical weaknesses; and here, had he known them, Wordsworth would have found a store of richer suggestion about 'that dreamlike vividness and splendour which invest objects of sight in childhood' than in all the other literary records of child experience to which he had access.

Even more suggestive, along the same line of thought, are some of Traherne's prose 'Meditations.'

'I knew not,' he writes of the boys and girls who were the companions of his infancy, 'that they were born or should die. But all things abided eternally as they were in their proper places. Eternity was manifest in the Light of the Day, and something infinite behind everything appeared, which talked with my expectation and moved my desire. . . . All appeared new and strange at first, inexpressibly rare and delightful and beautiful. I was a little stranger which, at my entrance into the world, was saluted and surrounded with innumerable joys. My knowledge was Divine; I knew by intuition those things which, since my apostacy, I collected again by the highest reason. . . . Everything was at rest, free and immortal. I knew nothing of sickness or death or exaction. In the absence of these I was entertained like an angel with the works of God in their splendour and glory; I saw all in the peace of Eden; heaven and earth did sing my

creator's praises, and could not make more melody to Adam than to me. All Time was Eternity and a perpetual Sabbath. Is it not strange that an infant should be heir of the whole world, and see those mysteries which the books of the learned never unfold?'

Now inevitably, as we read these words, do the memorable lines leap to our lips—

'Thou best Philosopher, who yet dost keep
Thy heritage, thou Eye among the blind,
That, deaf and silent, read'st the eternal deep,
Haunted for ever by the eternal mind—
Mighty Prophet! Seer blest!
On whom those truths do rest
Which we are toiling all our lives to find,
In darkness lost, the darkness of the grave;
Thou over whom thy Immortality
Broods like the Day.'

Let us, for a moment, turn to Traherne's poetical expression of what thus 'talked with his expectation and moved his desire' in early childhood. 'On News' is the quaint title given to the poem which opens with the words quoted at the beginning of this article, and which, perhaps, the most articulate utterance Traherne has given us of his own 'intimations of immortality.'

'News from a foreign country came,
As if my treasure and my wealth lay there;
So much it did my heart enflame!
'Twas wont to call my soul into mine ear
Which thither went to meet
The approaching sweet,
And on the threshold stood,
To entertain the unknown Good.
It hovered there
As if 'twould leave mine ear,
And was so eager to embrace
The joyful tidings as they came,
'Twould almost leave its dwelling-place
To entertain that same . . .

What sacred instinct did inspire
My soul in childhood with a hope so strong?
What secret force mov'd my desire
To expect my joys beyond the seas, so young?

Felicity, I knew,
 Was out of view;
 And, being here alone,
 I saw that happiness was gone
 From me. For this,
 I thirsted absent bliss,
 And thought that sure beyond the seas,
 Or else in something near at hand
 I knew not yet (since nought did please
 I knew) my Bliss did stand.'

Another poem, from which we have already quoted stanza, is entitled 'Wonder,' and expresses the innocent and wondering delight of a child who feels himself to be 'the heir of the whole world.'

'The skies in their magnificence,
 The lively, lovely air,
 Oh how divine, how soft, how sweet, how fair!
 The stars did entertain my sense,
 And all the works of God, so bright and pure,
 So rich and great did seem,
 As if they ever must endure
 In my esteem.

A native health and innocence
 Within my bones did grow;
 And, while my God did all his Glories show,
 I felt a vigour in my sense
 That was all Spirit. I within did flow
 With seas of life, like wine;
 I nothing in the world did know
 But 'twas divine.'

One who lived in the light of this simple and joyous faith could not

'dream of such a thing
 As sin, in which mankind lay dead.
 They all were brisk and living wights to me,
 Yea, pure and full of immortality.'

'No darkness then did overshadow,
 But all within was pure and bright;
 No guilt did crush nor fear invade,
 But all my soul was full of light.

A joyful sense and purity
 Is all I can remember;
 The very night to me was bright,
 'Twas Summer in December.'

Where Traherne parts company, not only with Herbert and Vaughan, but with all the hierophants—whether poets or philosophers, Anglicans or Puritans—of his time, is in his application of this simple creed of childhood to the conditions of adult life. Peace and happiness, he thinks, can only come to the distracted soul through the recovery of the beatific vision which enables the child to look upon all Nature as his divine and proper inheritance. 'The riches of invention, . . . gold, silver, houses, land, clothes,' etc., as he tells us in his 'Meditations,' have combined to make us blind to the 'riches of Nature.' 'The riches of Nature are our souls and bodies, with all their faculties, senses, and endowments; and it had been the easiest thing in the whole world to teach me that all felicity consisted in the enjoyment of all the world, that it was prepared for me before I was born, and that nothing was more divine and beautiful.' This is no ascetic, but one who believes in the possibility of a perfect correspondence between the natural and the spiritual, and who could say with Rabbi Ben Ezra—

'As the bird wings and sings,
 Let us cry "All good things
 Are ours, nor soul helps flesh more, now, than flesh
 helps soul."'

'Natural things,' he continues, 'are glorious, and to know them glorious.' Let us then enjoy them in the spirit in which God meant them to be enjoyed.

'For God enjoy'd is all His end.
 Himself He then doth comprehend
 When He is blessèd, magnified,
 Extoll'd, exalted, prais'd and glorified.

. For He
 Doth place His whole felicity
 In that,—who is despisèd and defied,
 Undeified almost if once denied.'

These few quotations will serve to show that in Traherne has been discovered, if not a poet of a very

high order of artistry, at least a thinker of rare originality and imaginative power. We cannot here follow Mr Dobell and others in their pursuit of parallels between Traherne and later philosophers and poets—how in many of his fancies and speculations he anticipates not only Wordsworth, but Berkeley and Rousseau, Blake, Browning, and Whitman. Let what Mr Dobell calls ‘a clear prevision of the Berkeleian philosophy’ serve as an instance of the possibilities of such quests. All Nature’s treasures, writes Traherne,

‘Were my immediate and internal pleasures,
Substantial joys which did inform my mind.
With all she wrought
My soul was fraught;
And every object in my heart a thought
Begot, or was: I could not tell
Whether the things did there
Themselves appear,
Which in my spirit *truly* seemed to dwell,
Or whether my conforming mind
Were not even all that therein shin’d.’

The form in this, as in the rest of the poems, may leave something to be desired, but the thought is fine, and is a fair sample of the many precious things which the patient reader will discover in Mr Dobell’s volume. Both Traherne and his editor, as we have hinted, make some demands on our patience, but nowhere to such an extent as to forfeit our interest. The long introduction, notwithstanding some critical indiscretions, is full of matter; and no one can fail to be held by the story of the discovery, or to be convinced by the proofs of the poet’s identification. Should the reader, on the strength of the passages quoted in the introduction, come to the same conclusion as ourselves, that Traherne is a better prose-writer than poet, Mr Dobell cannot complain. He promises an early issue of the ‘Centuries of Meditations,’ and he has revealed enough of their contents to give us assurance that in Traherne’s prose manuscripts he possesses, if anything, a greater treasure than his poetry.

W. LEWIS JONES.

Art. VII.—THE ANIMALS OF AFRICA.

1. *On the Classification and Distribution of the Alectoromorphæ and Heteromorphæ.* By T. H. Huxley. Proceedings of the Zoological Society. London, 1868.
2. *Text-book of Palæontology.* By K. A. von Zittel. Translated and edited by C. R. Eastman. Vols I and II. London: Macmillan, 1900 and 1902.
3. *Anniversary Address to the Geological Society.* By W. T. Blanford. Proc. Geol. Soc. London, 1890.
4. *Geological and Faunal Relations of Europe and America during the Tertiary Period, and the Theory of Successive Invasions of an African Fauna.* By H. F. Osborn. 'Science,' Series 2, vol. XI, 1900.
5. *Extinct Vertebrates from Egypt.* By C. W. Andrews. 'Geological Magazine,' Decade 4, vol. VIII, 1901.
6. *Note on Arsinoetherium zitteli from the Eocene of Egypt.* By H. J. L. Beadnell. Cairo Survey Dept., 1902.
7. *The Law of Adaptive Radiation.* By H. F. Osborn. 'American Naturalist,' vol. XXXVI, 1902.
8. *On Okapia, a New Genus of Giraffidæ from Central Africa.* By E. Ray Lankester. Transactions of the Zoological Society. London, 1902.
9. *The Evolution of the Proboscidea.* By C. W. Andrews. Philosophical Transactions, B., vol. 196, 1903.

DURING the past few years the zoological world has been startled by the announcement of the discovery in central-eastern Africa of an entirely new type (so far as existing animals are concerned) of giraffe-like ruminant, the okapi (fig. 1), and also, in the north-eastern part of the same continent, of the remains of a number of extinct mammals unlike any previously known to science, the latter remains having been obtained from strata of lower Tertiary or Eocene age in the Libyan desert. The okapi, as a living mammal of large size, peculiar shape, and strange colouring, has naturally attracted a large share of popular attention; whereas the extinct forms, in spite of their strangeness, have been but little noticed by the general public.

Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that the discovery of these extinct Egyptian Eocene mammals far outweighs in importance that of the okapi. For instance, certain

fossil ruminants from the Pliocene formations of Greece, Samos, and elsewhere, are so nearly allied in structure to the okapi that the discovery of a living representative, interesting and important as it undoubtedly is, has added little or nothing to our knowledge of the general structure and affinities of the group. It is true that the dry bones of its extinct kindred would never have enabled us to guess at the strange and bizarre coloration of the living okapi, any more than would those of extinct giraffes have



FIG. 1.—FEMALE OKAPI.

permitted us to predicate the nature of the colouring of their existing representatives. But coloration, although of great interest from many points of view, is in the main correlated merely with the adaptation of animals to their natural surroundings, and has little or nothing to do with their general structure and relationships. Moreover, no comparison is possible in this respect between the recent and extinct members of a group. While fully admitting the interest attaching to the okapi, it must therefore be confessed that zoological science would not

have been very greatly the poorer had the creature never been discovered.

On the other hand, the extinct mammals from the Eocene of the Fayum district of the Libyan desert have enabled us to solve a problem which, from the very nature of the case, had hitherto puzzled the ingenuity of the cleverest of zoologists and palæontologists—to wit, the origin of the elephants and their extinct relatives the mastodons. Till the discovery of these wonderful Fayum skulls, bones, and teeth, the Proboscidea, as the elephants and their extinct allies are termed in zoology, formed an entirely isolated group—a kind of no-man's child—whose ancestry it was impossible even to conjecture, although it was known that they were nearly related to the typical ungulates, or hoofed mammals. Our new information enables us to bring them into line with that group, and to point to ancestral forms not differing very widely from several well-known generalised types, although all the branches of the ancestral tree cannot yet be traced into complete connexion with the parent stem. Incidentally, it may be added, these discoveries have enabled Dr Andrews to trace out the evolution of that most wonderful organ, the elephant's trunk.

Nor is this by any means all; for these Egyptian fossils have furnished strong indications of the existence of an affinity between the ancestral Proboscidea and the marine Sirenia, of which latter the manati and the dugong are the sole existing survivors. Although such an affinity had been previously suspected, it had of late years been overlooked; and it was reserved for Dr Andrews to point out how many remarkable resemblances exist between even the existing members of the two groups. As it is, the evidence is not yet fully worked out, but there is good reason to believe that ere long we shall regard manatis and dugongs as nothing more than a highly aberrant and aquatic modification of the proboscidean stock.

To take another instance of the importance of these discoveries: the hyraces—the misnamed coneys of Scripture—forming the Hyracoidea of zoologists, were till lately regarded as another altogether isolated group of ungulate mammals of which the past history was an absolute blank. The aforesaid palæontological discoveries in Upper Egypt, well as others made a few years earlier in Samos and

certain parts of southern Europe, have, however, brought to light the former existence of a whole host of ancestral forms, some of which were of large bodily dimensions; and there seems a probability that this group, too, may prove to be more or less intimately related to the Proboscidea.

This is one aspect of the subject; but there is a second, and not less important aspect, from which the discovery of both the okapi and the aforesaid extinct Egyptian mammals may be regarded. It throws a light on the question of the source whence Africa derived its existing mammalian fauna. In other words, is this fauna wholly or partly indigenous, and has it been a source of supply for other regions of the Old World? or are its members (all or some) comparatively recent immigrants into the Dark Continent from other countries? It is from this point of view that the animals of Africa—and by 'animals' I mean mainly mammals—will generally be regarded in the present article.

Next to Australasia and South America, that portion of Africa lying to the south of the Sahara desert, together with the southern half of the Arabian peninsula (which evidently forms a part of the same great zoological province), differs, indeed, much more decidedly, in respect to the animals by which it is inhabited, from the other three continents of the world than does any one of the latter from the remaining two. Ethiopian Africa, as this portion of the great southern continent is termed by students of animal distribution, is in part the home of a very large number of species and groups of animals quite unknown (with the exception of the comparatively few met with in southern Arabia) elsewhere at the present day. And the question as to the mode in which this peculiarity of the fauna originated is one which has of late years attracted much attention on the part of naturalists. Needless to say, the conditions of the problem have been profoundly modified by the discovery of the Eocene fauna of the Fayum district.

At the outset it may be well to state that the difference between the mammalian fauna of Ethiopian Africa and that of the northern hemisphere generally is in no wise comparable to that which exists between the animals of

South America or of Australasia and those of the rest of the world on the one hand, or between those of South America and those of Australasia on the other. With the exception of the hyraces (which range into Syria), Africa has now, indeed, no absolutely, or even nearly, peculiar ordinal or subordinal groups of mammals of its own comparable to the edentates (sloths, ant-eaters, and armadillos) of South and Central America, or the marsupials and egg-laying mammals of Australasia. The difference between its fauna and that of the northern hemisphere is in general one of degree rather than of kind. Moreover, many of the types now confined to the Ethiopian area, such as hippopotami, giraffes, okapis, various groups of antelopes, and ostriches, were represented during a past epoch in Asia and other parts of the northern half of the eastern hemisphere by more or less closely allied forms. Accordingly, the more advanced students of distribution are now agreed that, from this standpoint, the globe may be divided into three primary 'realms.' These are Notogæa, or Australasia; Neogæa, or South and Central America, together with a portion of Mexico; and Arctogæa, which includes the whole of the land areas of the rest of the world.

As regards the peculiarities presented by the Ethiopian fauna, and more especially mammals, it is noteworthy that, from this point of view, the absence of certain groups is almost as important as the presence of others unknown beyond its limits. Ethiopian Africa, for example, possesses no deer (although its antelopes are constantly so misnamed by sportsmen), no bears, and (with the exception of one species in Upper Nubia) none of the typical swine, that is to say, none akin to the wild boar of Europe. Tapirs form another group unknown in Africa. Wild sheep and, to a great extent, wild goats are likewise conspicuous by their absence; the former being quite unknown, while the latter are represented by only one species in Nubia and a second in Abyssinia; a third representative (belonging to an otherwise Himalayan and South Indian group) occurs within the Ethiopian region in the south of Arabia. Among smaller mammals we observe an entire lack of true shrews, musk-shrews, moles, marmots, susliks, chipmunks or striped ground-squirrels, beavers, voles, and picas. To mention the

absentees in other groups of animals is impossible, but the lack of true geese and of fresh-water crayfish is an important fact to which attention may be directed.

Passing on to a necessarily brief review of some of the more important mammalian types characteristic of Ethiopia, we find, firstly, the two great man-like apes, the chimpanzee and the gorilla, which are now the sole representatives of their kind, although the teeth and jaws of an extinct member of the group have been discovered in the upper Tertiary deposits of north-western India. The baboons and monkeys of Ethiopia are all likewise generically distinct from those of the rest of the world; perhaps the most notable of these being the dog-faced baboons (a few of which range into Arabia) and their relatives the hideous drill and mandrill of the west coast. Here we have, however, to notice the occurrence of fossil dog-faced baboons in India. Of other representatives of the order Primates, the pretty little woolly galagos, together with the short-tailed pottos and awautibos of the west coast (often collectively miscalled sloths), constitute two altogether peculiar groups of the lemur tribe.

No less than three families of insect-eating mammals, namely, the long-nosed jumping shrews, of which there are two or three distinct generic types, the golden moles, recognisable by the iridescent sheen of their fur, and the *Potamogalidæ*, typified by the small otter-like species discovered by du Chaillu in the rivers of the west coast, are practically confined to the Ethiopian region, although a second representative of the third group is a native of Madagascar. In past times, however, jumping shrews ranged into Europe, as is testified by the occurrence of their fossilised remains in the middle Tertiary beds of France.

Among the Carnivora, the graceful genets, of which one species is found in South Europe and North Africa, are otherwise an Ethiopian group; while there is also a West African representative of their cousins the linsangs, the other forms being Indo-Malayan. Of palm-civets there is one exclusively Ethiopian genus; while no less than six genera of mongoose-like Carnivora, among which the elegant little meerkat is the most generally known, are restricted to the region. Remains of both genets and mongoose-like carnivores are, however,

middle and upper Tertiary deposits of Europe and

at ugly and savage brute the spotted hyæna is a characteristic Ethiopian type at the present day, though in the Pleistocene or latest division of Tertiary it was widely spread in Europe and Asia. Allied to it abounded in Europe and Asia at a somewhat earlier epoch. Even more characteristically Ethiopian is a small hyæna-like creature known to the Boers, on account of its burrowing habits, as the aard-wolf. It is regarded as a kind of degenerate hyæna, whose claws have been reduced to an almost rudimentary condition by feeding largely upon white ants, carrion, and substances which require little or no rending or tearing.

In striking contrast to the skulking, solitary, and retiring habits of this species are the boldness and activity of another very characteristic South and East African representative of the Carnivora, namely, the jack-dog, which associates in large packs, and pursues and kills large game. This member of the dog tribe, of which the nearest living allies appear to be the wild dogs of South Africa, differs from all the rest of the family in the position of its toes. In the south it is coloured not unlike the spotted hyæna, but in some parts of East Africa it has the large patches of orange tawny, and becomes black and white. A lower jaw from a cave in Wales has been thought to indicate that an allied species was formerly a contemporary of the spotted hyæna in Europe. A second genus of the dog family, now confined to South and East Africa, and including a single species, is represented by the long-eared fox. Only an extinct species of the same genus occurs in the upper Tertiary deposits of northern India. In the same family two species remarkable for their conspicuous black and white coloration, namely, the striped jackal or zorille, and the striped weasel, each representing a genus by itself, are very characteristic of Ethiopian Africa, although the former ranges into lower Egypt and possibly also into Asia Minor.

It may be well to mention that certain species of Carnivora are common to Africa and India. The most noticeable are the hunting-leopard, or

chita, the caracal, or long-tailed red lynx, the jungle-cat, and the two species of ratel, of which one is Indian and the other African. The lion and the leopard likewise come under the same category, but their geographical range is still larger.

Very brief mention must suffice for the generic types of rodent or gnawing mammals peculiar to the region under consideration. Perhaps the most noteworthy of these are the so-called scaly-tailed squirrels, better known, since they have no near affinity with the true squirrels, simply as scaly-tails. There are three generic types of these remarkable rodents, two of which are provided with flying-membranes comparable to those of the flying-squirrels, while the third is devoid of these appendages, and thus, save for the distinctive scales beneath the tail, much resembles an ordinary squirrel. Scaly-tails, which constitute a family by themselves, take their name from the presence of a few large horny scales on the under surface of the base of the tail, apparently used as aids in climbing. They are exclusively confined to the tropical forest zone, and are most abundant on the west coast, where alone representatives of two of the genera are known to occur. Dormice are very common in Ethiopia, where there is at least one generic type unknown elsewhere. Rats and mice belonging to exclusively Ethiopian types are likewise numerous, but to refer to these *seriatim* would obviously be quite out of place on the present occasion, especially as nothing is known with regard to their palæontological history. An exception may, however, be made in the case of the great Gambian pouched rat *Saccostomus*, and likewise in that of the long-haired crested rat *Lophiomyys*, of north-eastern Africa, both of which represent genera unknown beyond the limits of the Ethiopian region. The tree-mice and the veldt-rats are the types of two peculiar African sub-families of the mouse tribe, namely, the *Dendromyinae* and *Otomysinae*.

Very characteristic, too, of the Ethiopian region are four or five generic types of the burrowing and frequently blind mole-rats, of which the typical genus *Spalax* is East European and Egyptian. Of the four or five exclusively Ethiopian genera, *Bathyergus* is represented by a great sand-mole of the Cape and a smaller

amaraland, the two allied genera having species of about the same size as the latter. Most remarkable of these are, however, the tiny naked sand-rats of Somaliland, which live in tunnels excavated in the burning sand of the desert. Another Ethiopian representative of the same family is much more nearly allied to the Oriental bamboo-rats, with which, indeed, it is sometimes grouped, though naturalists are now disposed to refer it to a genus apart. The curious spring-haas or jumping-hare of the South African veldt indicates a family of rodents (*Pedetidae*) quite unknown elsewhere; and it is much to be regretted that we are still unacquainted with the past history of this interesting form.

Very noteworthy, from a distributional point of view, are the large rodents known as cane-rats (*Thryonomys*), together with their smaller relatives the rock-rats (*Petromys*), and the Somali gundi (*Pectinator*); since all these, together with the true gundi (*Ctenodactylus*) of North Africa, belong to a family represented—outside Africa—only in South and Central America, where they display many modifications, all generically distinct from their Ethiopian cousins. There is, however, one extinct genus of the group in the Pliocene or upper Tertiary of Sicily.

Short as it is, the above outline is sufficient to indicate the clearly marked peculiarity of the rodent fauna of Ethiopia; but, owing to our lack of knowledge of its past history, we are unfortunately unable to draw many deductions of value in regard to its origin and relationships.

A very different state of affairs occurs when we come to take into consideration the larger ungulates, or hoofed mammals, of which Ethiopian Africa possesses a large number of absolutely peculiar types. Taking first the *Giraffidae*, as represented by the giraffes and the okapi, we find this family absolutely restricted at the present day to the Ethiopian region. The giraffe family, it may be observed, appears to be nearly related to the deer tribe, from which it is broadly distinguished by the structure of the horns. These are always covered with skin, and are

branched. In the giraffes there are at least three of these appendages, one (which may be reduced to a stony boss) situated in the middle line of

the forehead, and a pair somewhat farther back. The paired horns, at any rate, are present in both sexes, although much smaller in the females than in the males. From their narrow ears giraffes are evidently adapted to live in open country, or, at all events, in such covert as leaves their heads and necks exposed. On the other hand, the great spreading ears of the okapi proclaim with equal clearness that their owner is a forest animal.* So far as can be ascertained, the male okapi is always provided with a single pair of horns, of some five or six inches in length (fig. 2), while the female is generally hornless, although, as in the case of the American



FIG. 2.—SKULL OF MALE OKAPI.

(After C. I. Forsyth-Major.)

prongbuck, small horns may occasionally be developed in that sex. Sir Harry Johnston is commonly credited with being the discoverer of the okapi, and he was certainly the first to make the entire creature known to European science. It appears probable, however, that a piece of striped skin obtained some twenty years earlier by the German explorer, Dr Junker, and supposed at the time to belong to the zebra-antelope, really pertained to a young okapi, and was thus the first evidence of that animal brought to Europe.

* The absurd idea that the okapi is a hybrid between a giraffe and a zebra still appears to be current. Apart from the fact that hybrids between such widely different animals do not occur in nature, the okapi is essentially a giraffe in structure, and fully a dozen specimens are known. ‡

giraffes and okapis are characterised by the roughness of the enamel of their teeth, the are of which recalls the skin of the large black They are further distinguished by the circumstance the outermost of the four lower pairs of front teeth responding to the canines of other mammals—have d or lobate crowns, probably for the purpose of ng in the combing process in which these animals he leaves from a bough.

regards the past history of the group, it may be that remains of extinct giraffes occur in the Pliocene ts of Greece, Persia, northern India and China, so these animals were widely distributed during the ne division of Tertiary time in Asia. Moreover, some se extinct forms seem to have had shorter limbs heir modern relatives, thus pointing to their being lised ancestral types. Okapi-like ruminants (*Trago- r Samotherium*) are also known from the Pliocene f Greece, Samos, China, etc., in which, as in their g representative, the males were horned and the s hornless. Nor is this all; for there was also a number of allied ruminants of gigantic proportions, s *Sivatherium* and *Helladotherium*, distributed over rn Europe, Asia, and North Africa. But, if we one doubtful tooth from a superficial formation, vestige of any one of these creatures has hitherto detected in a fossil state in Ethiopian Africa or

affes and okapis form but a small group; and by e most numerous of the existing ruminants of south of the Sahara are the various kinds of pes, all of which, with the exception of the true s, belong to groups or genera now unknown l the limits of the Ethiopian region, save for a habiting the northern part of the continent, Syria, among the larger forms may first be mentioned artebeests and their relatives the blesbok and ok. Remains of some members of this group een found in the superficial or Pleistocene beds of but not in lower strata; extinct forms occur, how- n the Indian Pliocene. Of the palæontological y of their near relatives the gnus, nothing what- s known. Passing by numerous smaller forms,

such as the dik-diks, oribis, klipspringers, duikers, etc., of which the past history is likewise a blank, we come to the waterbucks and their smaller relatives the kobas, all of which are exclusively confined to Ethiopian Africa. Here, however, we are confronted with the noteworthy fact that remains of apparently generically identical antelopes occur in the Siwalik Hills of northern India. The sable and roan antelopes, together with their near relatives the addax and the various kinds of oryx, form another characteristic group of Ethiopian antelopes, some of which range, however, into northern Africa and Syria. The roan antelope occurs in fossil form in the superficial deposits of Egypt, while an extinct member of the same group has been recorded from the Pliocene Siwaliks of India. Moreover, an extinct generic type of oryx is met with in the equivalent deposits of Greece. More significant still is the occurrence of remains referred to an addax in the superficial deposits of China; such remains, in common with those of numerous other mammals, having been obtained in the druggists' shops at Shanghai, where they are sold as medicines.

Among the largest and handsomest of all African antelopes are the lordly elands, the brilliantly coloured bongo of the equatorial forest tract, the graceful and more widely distributed kudu, and the equally elegant but more numerous represented bushbucks, inclusive of the water-loving situtunga. All these are strictly Ethiopian forms; but it is noteworthy that they have a near, although less specialised, relative in the Indian nilgai. When we enquire into the past history of this group we find that extinct nilgais occur in India and China, where various types of kudu, eland, and, perhaps, bushbucks, are likewise met with; while elands are found in a fossil state in the Pliocene of Greece, and not improbably also in that of India. The full significance of these facts will be noticed later.

Of the little water-chevrotain of West Africa, which represents a genus by itself, with extinct forms in the Pliocene of Europe, it must suffice to mention that its nearest living allies are the true chevrotains or mouse-deer of south-eastern Asia, which also date from the Pliocene epoch, and have nothing to do with true deer.

Although the common hippopotamus and its pigmy

relative of *Liberia*, are now both confined to Ethiopian Africa, the former was once widely distributed over Europe, while in the superficial deposits of the Mediterranean islands there occur quantities of remains of species more or less closely related to the latter. The earliest known representatives of the group are found, however, in the Pliocene of northern India and Burma; and, as these belong to generalised and ancestral types, while no such fossils are at present known from Ethiopian Africa, the presumption is that the group is of northern



FIG. 3.—HEAD OF MALE WART-HOG.

origin. As to the pigs, it must suffice to say, in the first place, that the hideous wart-hogs (fig. 3), now exclusively Ethiopian, appear to exhibit some signs of relationship with certain Indian fossil swine. And, secondly, that the bush-pigs (*bosch-varks*)—an equally characteristic Ethiopian and Malagasy group—are almost undoubtedly akin to certain extinct pigs from the Pliocene of Europe and Asia.

Highly characteristic of Ethiopian Africa are the various species of zebra and quagga, as well as the typical wild asses. Unfortunately, palæontology is silent as to their past history, not from the lack of fossil remains of

Equidæ, but for the reason that, with the exception of the true horse (which is readily distinguished by the great breadth of the fore hoof-bones), the teeth and bones of most of the existing members of the horse tribe are so alike that, save in the matter of size, it is almost, if not quite, impossible to distinguish one species or, at all events, one group from another in the fossil state. Nevertheless it is quite probable that some of the extinct Asiatic *Equidæ* were really zebras.

More satisfactory is the evidence afforded by the rhinoceroses. Africa, south of the Sahara, is now the home of two species of these monsters, namely, the white, or Burchell's, rhinoceros, formerly abundant in Cape Colony and the adjacent districts, and still surviving in an isolated tract on the equator in the neighbourhood of Lado, and the much more widely spread black or common rhinoceros. These species agree in possessing two horns, as well as in the absence of folds in the skin, and in the lack of front teeth when adult. In the two latter respects they differ markedly from the living Asiatic rhinoceroses, one of which is two-horned, while the two others have only single horns. A fossil rhinoceros closely akin to the black species has, however, left its remains in the Pliocene Tertiary of Greece; while some of the extinct species from the Asiatic and European Pliocene and Pleistocene deposits are also more or less nearly akin. On the other hand, the great extinct woolly rhinoceros of Europe, Siberia, and North China, whose frozen carcasses, like those of one of the other species, are occasionally met with in the 'cold storage' of the Siberian tundras, appears to have been very closely related to the white species. No traces of rhinoceros-like creatures have hitherto been detected in the early Tertiary deposits of Egypt, although such are common in the equivalent formations of Europe and North America.

A decidedly different story is told by the hyraces, which, as already said, form a distinct sub-order of ungulates, and are chiefly Ethiopian, although one species ranges into Syria. All the existing species are small creatures, comparable in size to a rabbit, some being terrestrial and others arboreal. Many of the fossil forms indicate, however, comparatively large animals, of the

size of a tapir, or even greater. Extinct members of this group occur in the Pliocene of Greece, Samos, and other parts of Europe, but not, so far as I know, in the central or [northern part of that continent, or in Asia. On the other hand, fossil hyraces (not yet fully described) are met with in the Eocene deposits of Egypt in company with the remains of ancestral Proboscidea. Moreover, there seem to be decided indications of affinity between the hyraces and a number of extinct South American mammals more or less closely related to the gigantic *Toxodon* of the superficial deposits of Argentina. In the hyraces, then, we seem to have struck, for the first time, a group of mammals whose ancestral home, so far as the evidence at present available goes, appears to have been in the southern hemisphere.

The case of the elephants and their extinct fore-runners demands somewhat fuller discussion than has been accorded to any of the preceding groups. It is hardly necessary to state that Ethiopian Africa at the present day is the home of a single species of the group, which differs markedly from its only living cousin, the Asiatic elephant, not only in external bodily form and the structure of the trunk, but likewise in the conformation of its grinders or cheek-teeth, these latter being of a much more generalised type than are those of the Asiatic species. Fossil remains of the existing African species are met with in the superficial formations of Egypt, Algeria, Spain, and Sicily. Moreover, the dwarf elephants, the remains of which are met with in enormous quantities in the caverns and fissures of Malta, Cyprus, and Sicily, were evidently nearly related to the African species, even if they be more than local races, thus indicating that in early days the African type had a more northerly range. Again, some of the Pleistocene elephants of Europe seem to indicate a transition between the African and Asiatic types of Proboscidea—a transition which is rendered practically complete when we reach the Pliocene Siwalik formation of northern India. More important still is the fact that, in the last-named formation, as well as in corresponding beds in Java, China, and Central Asia, we meet with remains of a group of Proboscidea, the so-called stegodons or ridge-toothed elephants, which, in the structure of their cheek-teeth, imply an imper-

ceptible passage from the modern elephants on the one hand to their generalised extinct forerunners, the mastodons, on the other. As these transitional or mastodon-like elephants are met with only in the aforesaid districts of Asia, the available evidence (and we have no right to go behind this) points unmistakably to the conclusion that the evolution of the modern elephants took place in eastern Asia.

The mastodons, on the other hand, have a very wide distribution, including both North and South America, as well as Europe and Asia; and one of their most generalised representatives occurs in the Pliocene deposits of Egypt. Now comes the important and interesting evidence afforded by the recent discoveries in the Eocene beds of the Fayum district. Before those discoveries, our knowledge of the ancestry of the Proboscidea came to an abrupt conclusion with the aforesaid generalised mastodon, which, by the way, differed from the later and more specialised types by the presence of a pair of tusks in the upper as well as in the lower jaw. From this generalised mastodon, commonly known as *Mastodon angustidens*, but regarded by some as the typical representative of another genus, there is a complete gradation through the pigmy mastodon, *Palæomastodon*, of the Egyptian Eocene, to *Mærittherium* of the same formation. The latter (fig. 4) was a very generalised type of proboscidean, with a full series of front teeth, and the cheek-teeth small in size and all in use at the same time, thus departing almost as widely as possible from the Proboscidea as we now know them. Nevertheless, the modern proboscidean type of dentition is foreshadowed, not only in the form and structure of the teeth, but by the enlargement of the second pair of incisors in each jaw—an enlargement which became more and more conspicuous in each succeeding member of the series till it culminated in the mastodons by the loss of all the front teeth save the two large pairs of tusks; while, as a final development, the upper pair of these was lost in the elephants, with a concomitant increase in the size of the lower ones. *Mærittherium*, then, although displaying distinctly proboscidean affinities, was an extremely generalised type of ungulate, not far removed from certain other early forms. Together with *Palæomastodon*, it serves

monstrate, so far as present evidence goes, that the mastodons originated in north-eastern Africa.

There is, however, another strange ungulate from the Fayum Eocene which is of not less importance from the present point of view. To this strange monster its discoverer (who was of opinion that it was related to the rhinoceroses) has given the name *Arsinoetherium*, derived from the goddess Arsinoë. The skull of this animal, which measures approximately a yard in length, is characterised by the presence of a huge pair of horns



FIG. 4.—DENTITION OF *ARSINOTHERIUM LYONSI*.

i, incisors; c, canine; pm, premolars; m, molars.

the nose, followed by a rudimentary pair at the under end of their bases (fig. 5). To support the weight of these great horns the nasal region of the skull is connected by a bridge of bone with the front of the upper jaw. An important feature of the genus is the uniform series formed by the teeth, which show no canines, and have the canines no taller than the rest of the series, thus not forming tusks. This feature, it may be observed, is a specialised one, which may perhaps be accounted for by the heavy armament of horns rendering unnecessary any further armament of the mouth.

The osteology of the rest of the skeleton of this monster is not yet fully worked out, but it is quite likely that the genus will eventually prove to be distantly related to the Proboscidea, and more intimately to the primitive Eocene group of ungulates known as Amblypoda,* of which the typical genus *Coryphodon* is common



FIG. 5. SKULL OF ARSINOETHERIUM ZITTELI (length, 3 feet).

(This and fig. 1 are reproduced, by permission, from the Guide to the Natural History Museum.)

to the lower Eocene of Europe and North America, while the more specialised Uintatheres (frequently known as Dinocerata) are restricted to the upper Eocene of the latter continent. Although the Uintatheres have long horn-like protuberances on the skull, they retain tusk-like canines, while these teeth are also well developed in *Coryphodon*. Evidently, then, both groups are more generalised than *Arsinoetherium*, to which the latter may

* I am indebted to Dr Andrews for this information.

be ancestral. It may be added that the Amblypoda resemble the Proboscidea in having the bones of the different segments of the limbs placed almost vertically one above the other.

This cursory review of the mammals of Ethiopian Africa may be brought to a close by a brief reference to the strange creatures properly denominated aard-varks, but often termed by sportsmen and travellers ant-bears. Although utterly unlike any other living mammals, it is generally considered that these strange animals may be related to the equally remarkable pangolins or scaly ant-eaters, of which some are African and the rest Asiatic. Whether the presumed affinity of both these creatures to the edentates of South America is founded on fact, is more than doubtful. Aard-varks are found in fossil form in the Pliocene of Samos and Persia; and ancestral types of the same group are said to occur in the middle Tertiaries of France. More remarkable still is the occurrence of an extinct generic type of aard-vark in the superficial deposits of Madagascar. For, although we have not yet had occasion to allude to the fact, the mammalian fauna of that island is totally distinct from that of Africa, consisting chiefly of peculiar types of lemurs, Insectivora, rodents, and mungoose-like Carnivora, together with the somewhat civet-like, and yet altogether peculiar, fossa (*Cryptoprocta*). With the exception of two small kinds of hippopotamus, now extinct, and a bush-pig, both of which may have reached the island by swimming from the mainland, Madagascar possesses none of the large African mammals—a fact which may be taken as indicative of the great length of time during which it has been isolated. This being so, the occurrence of fossil aard-varks in Madagascar proves these animals to be very ancient inhabitants of Africa.

It may be added that this remarkable distinctness of the mammalian fauna of Madagascar from that of the mainland induced Mr Blanford to regard that island as representing a zoological province apart from the Ethiopian region, in which it had previously been included. I feel convinced that this is the right way of looking at the matter, in spite of the fact that, in a paper on the distribution of certain groups of spiders, Mr R. I. Pocock has seen reason to revert to the older view.

We are now in a position to discuss the bearings of the foregoing facts on the past history of the mammalian fauna of Ethiopian Africa.

Writing so long ago as 1868, when the information on the subject was far more incomplete than is now the case, Mr Huxley, in the paper standing first in our list, made the following remarkable statement:—

‘The existence of these western annectent groups, now in many cases confined to the southern parts of the New and Old Worlds, and separated by thousands of miles of sea, is utterly unintelligible and inexplicable without the aid of palæontology, which demonstrates that, in the earlier part of the tertiary epoch, western and northern Arctogæa, from Nebraska through central Europe to the Siwalik Hills, was inhabited by a fauna which, so far as mammals are concerned, was competent to supply Africa and India with their apes, their Ungulata, their Carnivora, and to furnish Austro-Columbia [South and Central America] with the Proboscidea, horses, and *Machairodus*, which it once possessed, and with its existing Tapirs and Cameline and Marsupial quadrupeds.’

The same author subsequently took into consideration the possibility that certain types of birds, now mainly characteristic of the southern hemisphere, might have had a southern origin. He concluded, however, as follows:—

‘The distribution of *Psittacula*, for instance, is quite unintelligible to me upon any other supposition than that this genus existed in the miocene epoch, or earlier, in Northern Arctogæa, and has thence spread into Austro-Columbia, South Africa, India, and the Papuan islands, where it is now found.’

This theory of the immigration—or ‘radiation,’ as it is now the fashion to call it—of northern forms into Africa during the Pliocene epoch was more fully developed by Mr A. R. Wallace, and in this shape was accepted by Mr W. T. Blanford in the address referred to above. Briefly stated, this hypothesis is as follows. During the whole of the latter portion of the Tertiary epoch the Sahara desert (not, as once supposed, in the form of a sea) formed an effectual barrier to the migration of the great majority of terrestrial mammals between Ethiopian and northern Africa, the latter of which

appears at this time to have been connected by land with Europe. At a comparatively early, although unknown, date in the Tertiary period the ancestors of the existing mammalian fauna of Madagascar, such as lemurs, Insectivora, civet-like creatures, the fossa, and, I may add, aardvarks, effected an entrance from the north, probably along the eastern side of the continent, into Ethiopia, which was at that time united with the great island on the east coast. At a later date Madagascar, which may also at the same epoch have been in connexion with India by way of the Comoro and Seychelle islands, became insulated, and was thus prevented from receiving any of the subsequent Pliocene immigrants into Ethiopia, with the exception of a bush-pig and two hippopotami, which, as already mentioned, may have reached the island by swimming across the intervening channel.

During the second, or Pliocene, invasion of Ethiopia from the northward, all or, at any rate, most of the more specialised and larger types of mammals, such as apes and monkeys,* giraffes, okapis, and antelopes, wart-hogs, bush-pigs, and hippopotami, zebras, asses, and rhinoceroses, elephants and hyraces, together with ostriches, obtained for the first time an entry into the central and southern districts of the great continent. Finding the country unoccupied by large animals of their own type, and at the same time eminently suited to their own special requirements, the strangers rapidly developed in their new home to an almost unprecedented extent, with the result that, in the course of ages, there arose the wonderful Ethiopian mammal fauna as it was presented to us in the early days of European exploration and sport in the Dark Continent. Many new generic types of large mammals were, indeed, probably evolved *de novo* in the Ethiopian area, although a large proportion of those now found there were originally represented in their presumed ancestral northern home, where a large percentage of what we now rightly regard as exclusively Ethiopian types appears to have soon afterwards died out. Several of these existing genera are, as already indicated, represented in the Pliocene of Greece, but others seem

* The recent discovery in Madagascar of an animal apparently intermediate between lemurs and monkeys presents a certain difficulty with regard to the date of immigration of the latter group.

to have been restricted at that epoch to Samos, Persia, India, China, etc.; and it may therefore be assumed that their southern migration was by way of Syria or Arabia. It is true Mr Wallace was of opinion that a part of this migration took place to the westward of Tunis, elephants and rhinoceroses being among the forms that effected an entrance by this supposed western route. But elephants are wanting in the Grecian and Persian deposits, whereas they abound in those of India, the Malay countries, and China. Moreover, as mentioned above, remains of the African elephant have recently been discovered in the superficial deposits of Egypt. The evidence is therefore distinctly in favour of this migration (if it ever took place at all) having passed along an easterly route.

Till 1900 this hypothesis of southward migrations of the original mammalian fauna of Europe and Asia into Africa was very generally accepted by zoologists. In that year, however, the well-known American palæontologist, Professor H. F. Osborn, started the theory that Ethiopian Africa, instead of having drawn its mammalian fauna from Europe and Asia, had itself acted as a great centre of development, and subsequently of dispersal or radiation. In other words, the admitted resemblance between the Ethiopian fauna and that of southern Europe and south-western Asia (especially during Tertiary times) may be best explained by an invasion, or a series of migrations, from south to north, coupled with the extension of the Ethiopian climate and flora during the middle Tertiary. In this connexion it may be well to let Professor Osborn summarise his view in his own words. After referring to the occurrence of at least three such invasions from Africa northwards which are presumed to have taken place, he concludes as follows:—

‘It thus appears that the Proboscidea, Hyracoidea, certain Edentata [aard-varks and pangolins], the antelopes, the giraffes, the hippopotami, the most specialised ruminants, and among the rodents, the anomalures [scaly-tails], the dormice, the jerboas, and among monkeys, the baboons, may have enjoyed their original adaptive radiation in Africa; that they survived after the glacial period only in the Oriental or Indo-Malayan region; and that this accounts for the marked community of fauna between this region and the Ethiopian.’

Although the latter part of the passage is not quite clear (seeing that most of the essentially African types are unknown out of Ethiopia after the Pliocene), the general meaning is plain enough. Between the publication of the first and second papers by Professor Osborn and the foregoing list, the first discoveries of fossil mammals in the Fayum district were made; and it is stated in a second communication that these discoveries lend support to the new theory. So far as the Proboscidea and Hyracoidea are concerned, this may be frankly admitted; and it may be added that in this respect Professor Osborn has been almost prophetic.

Even then, however, there is a strong *prima facie* presumption that these ancestral Fayum Proboscidea may themselves have sprung from a northern stock which reached Africa at a very remote epoch. For if *Perissodactylus* be allied to *Coryphodon*, which may itself have been close to the ancestral stock of the Proboscidea, this stock must have been of northern origin. In other words, *Coryphodon* is evidently a very generalised ungulate; and if (as is almost certainly the case) all ungulates are derived from a single stock, that stock was in all probability a northern one. At any rate, there is not a tittle of evidence at present to show that it was African. On the contrary, such evidence as is available suggests an early immigration of very primitive Amblypod ungulates into north-east Africa, where they gave rise to the Proboscidea and Hyracoidea. Probably, however, they never wandered sufficiently far south to reach Madagascar, which then formed a part of the mainland.

Turning for a moment to another aspect of the subject, it may be observed that the occurrence of ancestral forms of hyrax in the Fayum Eocene lends support to the view I have elsewhere expressed* that the peculiar types of ungulates characteristic of the middle Tertiary formations of Patagonia, some of which appear to be allied to the Hyracoidea, may have reached their American habitat, in company with the groups of rodents common to Africa and South America, by a land route across the Atlantic.

To revert to the consideration of the history of the

* See 'South American Animals,' 'Quarterly Review,' January 1903.

Proboscidea, we have seen reason to believe that the earlier forms of that group were evolved in Africa itself, this conclusion being reached from the circumstance that remains of the earliest types are met with there and there only. On the other hand, as regards the later members of the group, the evidence, as I have indicated above, points to an exactly opposite conclusion—that is to say, to the inference that, after the evolution in Africa of the mastodons from the ancestral Proboscidea, the former animals migrated into Asia and there gave rise, first to the stegodons, and then to the true elephants. If this be the true explanation of the facts—and it is difficult to see how it can be controverted—it follows that the modern African elephant must at a later epoch have been an immigrant from the north-east into Ethiopia, the land of its great-grandparents.

But this is by no means all. As already mentioned, the palæontological history of the northern hemisphere shows a yawning gap in the case of the early stages of the Proboscidea and Hyracoidea. In the case of the other groups of ungulates, on the contrary, no such marked gap exists; and we are able to trace, with fair completeness, the evolution of ruminants from pig-like forms, and of horses from small tapir-like creatures. Not a trace of any such evolution is afforded by Africa; and hence it is highly probable that the camels, true ruminants, and horses were evolved in the northern, and not in the southern hemisphere. If this be so, it follows as a matter of course that these animals must have been immigrants into Africa from the north.*

If we enquire what is at present known with regard to the past history of the existing Ethiopian genera of these and other groups, we find that the earliest forms of ostriches, hippopotami, rhinoceroses, probably zebras, giraffes, okapis, kudus, elands, roan-antelopes, oryx, addax, waterbucks, etc., with which we are acquainted

* Since this passage was written, Mr Madison Grant, the Secretary of the New York Zoological Society, has suggested ('Rep. N. York Zool. Soc.', 1903, pp. 22 and 23) that while the *Cervidae*, or deer, originated in Europe and Asia, the oxen and antelope group (*Bovidae*) were developed in Ethiopia. Convenient as it would be to account for the absence of the former group in Ethiopian Africa, this theory has at present no palæontological support, while the distribution of sheep is against it.

come from southern Europe and Asia. Consequently, till remains of earlier forms of these groups are found in Africa (and if they were so found an opposite conclusion would by no means certainly follow), the presumption seems still to be all on the side of the Huxleyan hypothesis, namely, that the immediate ancestors of their modern Ethiopian representatives were immigrants—at a much later period than the ancestral Proboscidea and Hyracoidea—from the north and east. This view of the case is strengthened by the absence of practically all the aforesaid types from Madagascar; and the advocates of an autochthonous origin for the modern Ethiopian fauna have to show how, on their hypothesis, its ancestors failed to obtain an entrance into that island while it still formed part of the continent.

There is, however, yet another argument in favour of the Asiatic origin of the modern Ethiopian ungulate fauna. As we have seen, kudus, elands, and bushbucks (or 'harnessed' antelopes) are near relatives of the nilgai; and remains of extinct species of both groups are known from the Tertiaries of India and China, where those of nilgai have hitherto alone been discovered. On the hypothesis that Africa was the great centre of development and radiation for the antelopes, it is necessary to assume that all these animals (together with many others mentioned above) were new arrivals in Asia in the Pliocene epoch; and that, soon after they arrived there, they all died out with the exception of the nilgai, which, although an apparently primitive type, must have been a new development in that continent. This, it need scarcely be said, is absolutely opposed to all that we know in regard to the history of groups of animals when they reach a new country, where they appear, if conditions are favourable, to start on a fresh course of development, and at the same time tend to die out in their old habitat.

On the other hand, if we regard the aforesaid ruminants (with the exception of the nilgai, which appears to have stayed behind in the ancestral home) and other animals as immigrants, during the Pliocene age, from Asia into Ethiopian Africa, we find them developing, as we should expect, to a marvellous extent in the new land, and gradually dying out in their original habitat,

where the country, from some cause or other, may have become unsuited to their existence. For not only is it conceivable, but it is highly probable that, as pastures (even of large extent) become in course of time unsuited to the rearing and maintenance of blood-horses, so entire countries in the course of ages may become unfitted for the existence of the large mammals they have hitherto nourished.

Special importance must, I think, be attached to the case of the Indian nilgai; for, on the hypothesis of an African radiation, there could scarcely have been time for the development of this new type in Asia during the Pliocene, in deposits of which age its remains occur over a large area in that continent. Moreover, as already said, it is apparently a primitive type, and therefore ought to be at least as old as the elands, kudus, and bushbucks—as, indeed, it is on the hypothesis of an Asiatic origin for the whole group.

The scope of this article might be further extended so as to include a discussion of the reason why deer, bears, true swine, and tapirs have always been unrepresented in the Ethiopian fauna. It may be mentioned, by the way, that both ancestral antelopes and ancestral deer are met with in the middle Tertiary deposits of Europe, which is a fact fully in accord with the theory of a migration from Asia to Africa, but very difficult to reconcile with a migration in the opposite direction. We might also take into consideration the extraordinary difference between the Malagasy and the Ethiopian mammalia, and the modes by which this has been brought about. Such discussions would, however, necessarily occupy much space, and would, moreover, to a great extent tend to divert attention from the main issue raised in this article, namely, whether the Huxleyan hypothesis as to the origin of the Ethiopian fauna is true or false.

With certain modifications rendered necessary by the new palæontological discoveries in Egypt, this hypothesis, it may be submitted, not only remains unshaken, but is actually strengthened by the evidence afforded by recent investigations into the past history of the mammalian fauna of the northern half of the eastern hemisphere. At any rate, I venture to think, the onus of demonstrating the falseness of this theory rests entirely with those who

would have us believe that the Dark Continent was the birthplace and the centre of dispersal not only of the majority of the modern larger mammals of the Old World, but likewise of many of those of the western hemisphere.

The question will probably be asked by readers of this article whether there is any trustworthy text-book in which they could find fuller descriptions of the wonderful extinct mammals to which I have had occasion to allude. To this I must reply that, owing to the comparatively recent date at which the extinct Eocene mammals of Upper Egypt were discovered, there is no work of this nature in which they are noticed; and reference must accordingly be made to the original memoirs in which they are described, three of which are quoted in the list at the commencement of the article.

The work standing second in our list is, in the main, a translation of the late Professor Karl von Zittel's invaluable 'Grundzüge der Palæontologie,' which is an abbreviation of the equally well-known 'Handbuch' by the same author. The translation and editing of the English edition have been undertaken by the well-known American palæontologist Dr C. R. Eastman, with the assistance of the author and a number of specialists.

As we learn in the preface to the first volume, it was at first intended to bring out a literal translation of the original work. But palæontology is a constantly progressive science; and, as it was doubtless found that many portions of the original work were more or less out of date, it was resolved, with the assent of Professor Zittel, that a large portion of the translation of the first volume (which is devoted to the invertebrates) should be remodelled, enlarged, and brought as nearly as possible up to date. As a matter of fact, only the chapters on the Protozoa and Coelenterata have been left in anything like their original condition; while those on the Molluscoidea, Mollusca, and trilobites have been entirely rewritten.

As being somewhat more akin to the subject of the present article, a rather fuller notice may be given of the second volume, which includes all the vertebrates with the exception of mammals. In this volume we are told in the preface that, while the translation has been carried

out on the same general plan as in its predecessor, with considerable enlargement where necessary, yet, on the whole, the original text has been more closely followed, the classification departing only in a few minor particulars from that adopted in the 'Grundzüge.' Indeed, the chapters on fishes and amphibians are almost in the nature of a literal translation; and it is only in the sections treating of reptiles and birds that we encounter, and then only in places, a marked departure from the original text. In this more conservative spirit we are sure the editor has been well advised.

In securing the services of Dr Smith Woodward of the British Museum, the most eminent authority on the fossil members of that group, for the revision of the fishes, the editor has been specially fortunate. As an example of the manner in which Dr Woodward has discharged his task, we may cite the case of the so-called Palæozoic lamprey, which is left practically as *incertæ sedis*; the wisdom of this being demonstrated by the result of recent investigations.

The amphibian section was revised by Dr E. C. Case, a well-known American authority, who also assisted in the translation of the chapters devoted to the reptiles. In connexion with the latter, the editor deplures the untimely death of the late Professor G. Baur. His place has, however, been filled, so far as possible, by Messrs Hatcher, Osborn, and Williston, whose names are a sufficient guarantee for the manner in which their portions of the great task has been carried out. Birds fell to the lot of Mr F. A. Lucas.

While we cannot refrain from deploring the great changes from the plan of the original made in the first volume, we shall be only expressing the opinion of all palæontologists in emphasising the value and importance of this English edition of the most famous palæontological work that has ever been published. And we shall look forward to welcoming the third and final volume of what must long remain one of the most valuable textbooks of its kind in our language.

R. LYDEKKER.

Art. VIII.—THE COMING PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN
THE UNITED STATES.

1. *Addresses and Presidential Messages of Theodore Roosevelt*, 1902-4. With an introduction by H. C. Lodge. New York: Putnam, 1904.
2. *Greater America*. By A. R. Colquhoun. New York: Harper, 1904.
3. *Organised Labour*. By John Mitchell. Philadelphia: American Book and Bible House, 1903.
4. *The Social Unrest*. By J. G. Brooks. New York: Macmillan, 1903.
5. *Protection in the United States*. By A. M. Low. London: King, 1904.

IN the Presidential campaign the Republicans have the prestige of office and the advantage of unified organisation. Such disagreements in regard to policy as may exist have, for the present, been settled behind closed doors. They claim that their tenure of power has conferred upon the country at home a new policy in regard to the preservation and reclamation of public lands, more effective regulation of the trusts, and reorganisation of the army and of the militia; abroad, the settlement of the Alaskan boundary dispute, the strengthening of the Monroe doctrine, the establishment of the Cuban Republic, the establishment of civil government in the Philippines, arrangements for an isthmian canal, and successful policy in regard to China.

As for the Democrats, it was eight years ago that their Radical western wing captured the party organisation; and in a fit of frenzied enthusiasm the Democrats declared for free silver. Ever since that time the Democratic leaders, who, for the most part, took up the silver cry simply as a political expedient, have, in their desire for office, endeavoured to shelve this issue. Now the Democratic leaders desire such a reconstruction as will unite the Democrats of the south and west with the Conservative element of the north and east.

Ex-Senator Hill, who stands for political expediency rather than for political principles, has, in the management of the campaign which led to the nomination of Mr Parker, endeavoured to avoid anything which might

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The platform of the New York Democratic Convention contained no reference to the money question. At the National Convention it was contended, on the same ground, that the credit of settling the money question pertained to a Democratic president who would deal through the renewal of the Sherman Law, and the money question had been set at rest by the act of increasing the money supply. Even the statement that the increase in the money supply removed the matter from the arena of political controversy was considered dangerous to political harmony. Finally, all reference to the matter was dropped from the platform, on the ground that it was not proper in the campaign. While the statement of Mr. Parker, after his nomination, that he regarded the gold standard as firmly established, and would act accordingly, it would make clear his own position and strengthens him with the eastern wing of the party, the object throughout was, as Mr. Williams, the Democratic leader in the House of Representatives, said, to make 'a platform, not as the monetary standard was concerned, upon which William J. Bryan could have stood, upon which Grover Cleveland could have stood.'

But the real question for the Democrats was how to win. Therefore, compromise on compromise is the history of the Democratic platform. The money question was dropped in order to hold the western wing. The income-tax proposition was dropped to hold the eastern wing. Mr. Bryan, who, apparently unaware of his failing hold on the Democratic organisation, had opposed the choice of Mr. Parker on the ground that the platform on which his name was brought forward by the New York Democrats would prevent his nomination unless the Democratic party decided 'to attempt a confidence game on the public,' found the necessities of party regulation superior to his publicly expressed opinion.

In the campaign of 1900 the Democrats alleged that Imperialism was the 'paramount issue'; and they were defeated. But the action of Bryan in forcing a free silver plank into the platform prevented the electorate from giving a clear expression of opinion on the question of Imperialism. In the present campaign the Democrats have again taken a stand against Imperialism. They

to distinguish between the Imperialism which aims at the acquisition of non-contiguous territory, and the acquisition of being governed upon American laws, under the American constitution, and Expansion which aims at the acquisition of contiguous territory capable of being organised as a part of the United States. But this is a distinction which the popular mind does not make. The silence of the Democratic platform of 1892 on this question showed a belief, on the part of the astute politicians who framed it, that a campaign on this issue would not be popular. In fact, so far as the Eastern states are concerned, there is no widespread objection to the present status of the Philippines. Apart from the trans-Mississippi West, the other sections of the country are on the whole favourable to this phase of Republican foreign policy. The grounds upon which support is given vary. Some believe in Imperialism because of the opportunities for commercial expansion that it is assumed to give; others welcome anything which will increase the foreign prestige of the United States; there are others again, who desiring the ultimate independence of the Philippines, feel that a steadfast pursuit of the present policy is necessary to that end.

In the Philippines the Republicans have been feeling their way. The tariff policy which has been applied is anomalous. Sufficient attention has not been paid to the colonial experiences of other nations. In this respect also, as Bagehot said, the United States tries over again the old experiments. As Mr Colquhoun points out in his excellent work on 'Greater America' (p. 110), there has been too much dependence on 'American civilisation,' and too much reference to general phrases, with an insufficient appreciation, in some quarters, of the difference in governmental aptitude between the Filipinos and the people of the United States. But, for all this, in the short time since the occupation, much has been done to improve the condition of the people. Probably, from the standpoint of selfish trade interest, it would have been better had the United States retained Manila, with a surrounding belt of territory, as a place of trade, leaving the remainder of the country to the Filipinos. But the march of events has prevented this; and now the American people has to face the profitless yet inspiring task of governing and protecting the Filipinos from themselves. The civilising

is more important than the commercial phase of the American occupation. The part which nations of higher civilisation must play in the world's development has for years been clear to President Roosevelt, and has done much to shape policy in the Philippines. In December 1898 he said :—

'I have scant sympathy with that mock humanitarianism . . . which would prevent the great, free, liberty and order-loving races of the earth doing their duty in the world's waste places, because there must needs be some rough surgery at the outset. . . . I hold that throughout the world every man who strives to be both efficient and moral . . . should realise that it is for the interests of mankind to have the higher supplant the lower life.'

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century the history of the United States has been one of steady accretion of territory. Down to the period of the Civil War, the large acquisitions of territory were made under Democratic administrations. It is true that the territory so acquired was contiguous; but this must rather be ascribed to the fact that there was plenty of contiguous territory still to be acquired, than to any definite ideas in regard to the acquisition of non-contiguous territory. The Democratic contention that only such territory should be annexed as could be erected into states was but little considered when in 1854 Buchanan, Mason, and Soulé issued the Ostend Manifesto, urging that Cuba, with her alien population, should be acquired by force, if necessary; or when, in 1848, President Polk proposed the acquisition of Yucatan.

While the Democrats contend that the Philippines should be left, without delay, to their own resources, the Republicans contend that time is needed. President Roosevelt has already warned the American people that no questions of sentimentalism should cause the Filipinos to be granted a universal suffrage for which they are unfit. The political doctrinairism which, after the Civil War, conferred the suffrage on the negro, destitute of governing aptitudes, has taught its own bitter lesson. The American people, fresh from their own experiences in Democratic government, are still enthusiastic as to the application of their formulas to new conditions. But,

even in their brief experience of non-continental possessions, modifications have crept in. Hawaii and Porto Rico are governed on the Crown Colony system. For the Philippines the ideal of the Republican party is the relationship which exists between Cuba and the United States. Mr Colquhoun has said (p. 60) that 'one of the most pressing problems of Greater America is that of the government of alien races.' This is true; and it is already being appreciated that things must be taken as they are. The Democrats in this matter regard the words of the fathers of the Constitution as the final revelation. The Republicans find that new needs demand new policies. The American people are willing to give time to work out the new experiments.

Until the Spanish-American war, the United States had been for years practically a hermit nation. Foreign policy was not a matter of serious moment. Resolutions on matters pertaining to the internal politics of foreign countries, for example the Irish question, were dealt with in a perfunctory manner when home politics seemed to demand such action. It was considered 'good politics' to drag a too easily hoodwinked ambassador into making statements which could be used in a political campaign. Foreign policies changed as secretaries of state changed; and the tenure of secretaries of state depended on domestic, not on foreign, politics. But the events of 1898 placed the country in a position where, if the nation's prestige is to be preserved, continuity in foreign policy has become necessary. In the development of a saner appreciation of foreign policy, and of its necessary continuity, the Republican party has been peculiarly fortunate in possessing such a Secretary of State as Colonel John Hay, who, even if he has shown—as when he telegraphed to Morocco the message, 'Perdicaris alive, or Raissuli dead'—that he can employ diplomacy in order to gain an immediate party advantage, has certainly manifested distinguished ability at a difficult time. But perhaps the highest credit is due to President Roosevelt. President McKinley, whose training had been that of the American politician interested in domestic politics, showed that he was slowly adjusting himself to changed conditions. Mr Roosevelt's point of view on foreign affairs is wider; and circumstances have

enabled him to impress it on his party. So early as 1890 he said :—

‘We cannot lie huddled within our own borders and avow ourselves merely an assemblage of well-to-do hucksters who care nothing for what happens beyond. Such a policy would defeat even its own end; for, as the nations grow to have ever wider and wider interests, and are brought into closer and closer contact, if we are to hold our own in the struggle for naval and commercial supremacy, we must build up our power without our own borders. We must build the isthmian canal, and we must grasp the points of vantage which will enable us to have our say in deciding the destiny of the oceans of the East and West.’

In the record of foreign policy which the Republican party claims there are undoubtedly actions which savour of the unscrupulous. But these will not weaken the Republicans in this campaign. The Republic of Panama came into existence after a revolution singularly opportune for the fortunes of the isthmian canal. Had the territory in question belonged to some strong European Power, the outcome would have been different. The steps connected with the signing of the treaty show how singularly elastic is international law. Yet, when the Democrats assert that, in so acting, the Republicans

‘violated a statute of the United States as well as plain treaty obligations, international usages, and constitutional law, and have done so under pretence of executing a great public policy which could have been more easily effected lawfully, constitutionally, and with honour,’

this criticism implies no general repudiation of the result. When Senator Gorman endeavoured to unite the Democratic party in opposition to the Panama treaty, he found that the people of the southern states were more desirous of the result than critical of the means.

The increasing importance of the part which foreign policy will play in the United States makes the adherence to the Monroe doctrine professed by both parties a matter of international concern. But the expressions used in the respective platforms with reference to the Monroe doctrine show the party bias. While the Democrats make a general demand for the reduction of both

army and navy, the Republicans urge, as one reason for the increase of the navy, the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine. In the councils of the Democrats the western wing was able to force another compromise, for at first the commercial interests of the eastern Democrats caused them to demand a larger navy. The Monroe doctrine, while it is one of the fixed tenets of American political belief, is one which is much in need of definition. The doctrine which is now put forward is in reality a creation of later years. Calhoun, who was a member of Monroe's cabinet when the declaration was issued, stated subsequently that it was intended simply to apply to the conditions existing at the time of its issue.

'They were but declarations, nothing more; declarations announcing in a friendly manner to the Powers of the world that we should regard certain acts of interposition of the allied Powers as dangerous to our peace and safety. . . . We are not to have quoted to us on every occasion general declarations to which any and every meaning may be attached.'

The Monroe doctrine, then, meant simply that the United States, like any other nation, was free to do what it considered expedient in its own interests. When Seward objected to the French occupation of Mexico, it was national expediency, not the Monroe doctrine, which was invoked. It has remained for President Cleveland, in the Venezuelan matter, and for President Roosevelt to give a new vitality to what was becoming an obsolete abstraction. The addresses delivered by President Roosevelt during the past two years have impressed the public, in an increased degree, with the value of a formula from which the recent world-expansion of the United States has removed all logical foundation.

The part taken by the United States in the international complications which recently arose in Venezuela is appealed to by the Republicans as a vindication of their loyalty to the Monroe doctrine. But there is still unsettled the larger question, What is the relation of the United States, as the exponent of the Monroe doctrine, to foreign Powers? That opportunities for raising difficulties will constantly arise has been recognised by Mr Roosevelt, who has called the South American Republics

'a squabbling multitude of revolution-ridden states.' In discussing the Monroe doctrine in 1896, he said:—

'The United States has not the slightest wish to establish a universal protectorate over other American states, or to become responsible for their misdeeds. If one of them becomes involved in an ordinary quarrel with a European Power, such quarrel must be settled between them by any one of the usual methods.' ('American Ideals,' p. 230.)

The old argument that the establishment of new European possessions in the Americas might endanger the integrity of the United States no longer exists. Under the newer conditions, then, the Monroe doctrine, as at present promulgated, means simply a declaration of the paramountcy of the United States in the Americas. The sympathy which was expressed by the other South American Republics for Columbia in connexion with the Panama affair shows how they appreciate this claim. There is a jarring note of hostility on the part of these countries to the assumed designs of the United States. When the *soi-disant* Republic of Panama gives up its present anomalous position to become in reality part of the United States, this feeling will be intensified.

But it is to questions of domestic policy that most attention in the coming election will be turned. On the money question the Democrats occupy the ignominious position of deserting an issue to which they were attached for two campaigns; and this without any profession of new faith or recantation of old belief. It is true that the Republican leaders, by coquetting with the silver movement when votes could be obtained thereby, did much to make it a political issue; it is true that they took up the gold standard issue in 1896, not from principle, but from expediency. But, in so doing, they ranged themselves with the conservative thought of the country. It may be admitted that in one sense the Democratic contention that the money question is not an issue in the campaign is true. But the Republican party is in no position to take credit for this result.

The points of domestic policy round which discussion will centre—the trusts and the tariff—are closely connected. For a high protective tariff the Republican party has a strong predilection. Its present platform recites that

it replaced a Democratic tariff based on free-trade principles . . . by a protective tariff; and industry, freed from oppression and stimulated by the encouragement of new laws, has expanded to a degree never before known.' Undoubtedly protection has been a potent factor in the development of diversified industries. At the same time there is a large section of the Republican party which regards the present tariff as a finality.

The allegation that the Democrats are the party of free trade is unfounded. It must be remembered that the Wilson Bill, when (in 1894) it passed the Democratic House of Representatives, contained rates of such a nature that, in a country less ardently protectionist than the United States, they would have been regarded as protective in the extreme. There is, it is true, a free-trade element in the Democratic party; but this is much less prominent now than ever before. There is a general acquiescence in the results of protection; and the desire for reform proceeds along the line of revision, not of abolition. Senator Bailey, of Texas, one of the Democratic leaders, said at the recent Convention, 'Free trade is an idle dream under our constitution.' The Democratic platform, as adopted, does indeed 'denounce protection as a robbery of the many to enrich the few,' and favours 'a revision of the tariff by the friends of the masses, and for the common weal.' This traditional phrase is, however, but one more of the compromises made to hold the western wing in line. The declaration as it originally stood, favoured a gradual revision, 'keeping in view existing conditions, however wrongfully, mistakenly, brought about,' and remembering throughout that 'due regard must be paid to actually existing conditions.'

This careful statement recognises not only the general sentiment of the country, but also conditions in the Democratic party itself. In the hitherto 'solid South,' the stronghold of the Democratic party, protectionist sentiment is increasing. The sugar interests of Louisiana, the iron interest of Alabama, the cotton manufacturing interests of Georgia and the Carolinas, are all favourable to protection. In Arkansas, where the transition from the agricultural to the industrial stage is just beginning, the ex-chairman of the Democratic National Committee was defeated in the senatorial campaign of 1902 by a

fellow Democrat, partly owing to the allegation that, when the Wilson Bill was under discussion in the Senate, he had not striven to obtain adequate protection for the lumber interests of his state. The language used in the South with respect to economic policy dates from the time when agricultural interests were dominant in that part of the States. But, whenever southern interests are affected, we observe the anomalous combination of free-trade utterances with a desire for the protection of special interests. The presidential and vice-presidential candidates of the Democrats adopt also a conservative attitude towards tariff revision. This is another compromise. The platform statement pleases the Radicals; the Conservatives look to the candidates.

In the South, however, any hopes of political alignment with the Republican party through a change of attitude towards the tariff question is prevented by the 'race question.' The precipitate grant of the suffrage to the unprepared negro in 1864 was in part attributable to an idealism which saw everything in the light of a formula, in part to a political opportunism which hoped, by means of the enfranchisement, to build up a Republican party in the South. The race question is a political question because the Republican party has made it so. The South is honestly attempting to settle the negro question by education, and by training for good citizenship. Among the Republicans of the South the negroes have no status except at election times. Any one who has lived in the South, and who has become acquainted with southern conditions at first hand, knows that, in the main, the restrictions which the southern states have placed on negro suffrage are justifiable. It is unfortunate, indeed, that the South has had to rectify the political mistake of the North. The Republican party, in its most recent platform, has, with a view to political advantage, inserted a plank calling for congressional intervention in regard to the restrictions placed upon negro suffrage. But behind all political discussion, and outside the realm of political abstraction touching the rights of individuals, there remains the significant fact that there is no section of the Union to-day in which the colour line is not drawn, and in which discrimination in favour of the white is not made.

Among the western supporters of the Republican party, especially in the Central West and the North-west, there is an increasing desire for a revision of the tariff; and in particular a demand for the reduction of duties on articles produced by the trusts. In this movement the state of Iowa has been prominent. Opposed to these are the 'stand patters'—those who, following the advice of the late Senator Hanna, 'stand pat,' and believe in retaining the tariff as it is. Coupled with this movement for revision is that for reciprocity. In the development of his policy of pan-Americanism, James G. Blaine laid great stress upon reciprocity. The matter was, however, given a place in more recent political discussion by President McKinley, who, trained up in the strictest of protectionist schools, showed in his later years a growing appreciation of the changes in industrial policy which industrial expansion inevitably brings in its train. In his address at the Buffalo Exposition, given on the very day on which he was assassinated, he said:—

'Reciprocity is the natural outgrowth of our wonderful industrial development under the domestic policy now firmly established. . . . Reciprocity treaties are in harmony with the spirit of the times; measures of retaliation are not. . . . If perchance some of our tariffs are no longer needed for revenue, or to encourage and protect our industries at home, why should they not be used to extend and promote our markets abroad.'

But the Republican party fears to make any concrete application of the reciprocity idea, lest it should undermine the protectionist structure. It states that it favours commercial reciprocity 'whenever reciprocal arrangements can be effected consistent with the principles of protection, and without injury to American agriculture, American labour, or any American industry.' The Republican majority in the Senate refused to pass the reciprocity treaties which had been negotiated with the approbation of President McKinley. The Republican attitude shows that any detriment, no matter how infinitesimal, to any American industry by a reciprocity agreement is sufficient objection. The Democrats have declared for reciprocity with Canada. While the New England wing of the Republican party, resident in a district whose connexion

with Canadian trade has always been intimate, favours such a suggestion, the Republican party in general holds aloof for fear of endangering protection. It is probable also that the proposal would in practice arouse discontent and opposition in the Democratic party. Already the pine interests of the South feel keenly the competition of the lumber output of Washington and Oregon. A reciprocity agreement with Canada would enable Canadian lumber to compete in southern territory.

In dealing with protection the Republican party has shown more weakness than in any other line of policy. It has declared for such changes as may be necessary in the public interests, but it is afraid to make any changes. This appears in the question of trust regulation. There is, for example, no justification, from the standpoint of comparative costs of production, for the retention of the present rates of duty on iron and steel. Nevertheless, the Republican party, fearful of revisionist inroads, contents itself with a statement that combinations are subject to the laws and cannot be permitted to break them. The Democrats have always looked to tariff revision as one means of trust regulation. They now also accept a phase of policy on which the Republicans have laid stress, namely, the prevention of illicit advantages obtained through rebates and discriminations made by transportation companies. Following the precedents established by the Post Office in the case of the lotteries, they also urge that, when it is judicially found that a trust is monopolising inter-state business, it should be debarred from such business.

In his message of December 1901, President Roosevelt said, 'Reciprocity must be treated as the handmaiden of protection.' The extreme protectionist would place reciprocity in a very subordinate position. It required all the force and influence of President Roosevelt to drive through Congress the reciprocity agreement with Cuba. Even then he would probably have been unsuccessful had it not been that the interests engaged in refining cane-sugar, which were in favour of such an arrangement, came to an agreement with the beet-sugar interests which were opposed. In the mind of the extreme protectionist, any tampering with the tariff is dangerous. The tariff plank of the Chicago Convention, with its

promise of revision, is intended simply to appease the tariff revisionists. Whenever the question of revision is taken up, any change in the schedules will be actively opposed. The downright declaration against protection in the Democratic platform will stand the Republicans in good stead in this campaign, since it will prevent quarrels within the party in regard to details; for the revisionists are none the less believers in protection. The inevitable division is, however, only postponed.

The recent decision of the United States Supreme Court, upholding the legality of the exclusion of an alien on the ground that he was an anarchist, serves to show that the United States is being compelled to face the difficulties and dangers of the older world. Other old world-wide difficulties there are which, while they do not sap the foundations of organised government, intensify a friction between classes which is of serious concern. Foremost among these is the question of the relation between labour and capital.

It is only of recent years that labour in the United States has become thoroughly self-conscious. In the earlier days, when the amount of capital required in business was but small, the transition from labourer to employer was comparatively simple. Then, again, there was the regulating effect on the level of wages exercised by free land. The labourer, if dissatisfied with his wages, might betake himself to the free land which existed in abundance. But now there is no such opening; and, under changed conditions, organised labour has so flourished that there are now over 2,000,000 unionists in the United States. Of recent years there has at times been a veritable craze for organisation in some districts, which has been disconcerting to the older labour leaders. As conditions have become more and more stratified, especially in the eastern states, the labourer has had to look more and more to improvement in his condition from within the trade. While there is no doubt that, to the labourer of high ability and initiative, the door of opportunity is still open, to the routine toiler the prospect of having to subsist on a mere living wage is nearer than ever.

No labour leader stands more conspicuously before the American public to-day than John Mitchell, whose

success in the anthracite coal strike, in which he ably handled an organisation so heterogeneous that nine different languages are used in publishing its announcements, has given him a national position. In his recently published book, 'Organised Labor,' he asserts that the labour union movement is essentially a class struggle.

'Were the working men of the United States not a separate class with separate class interests, there would be less necessity for their separate organisation. . . . The average wage-earner has made up his mind that he must remain a wage-earner. He has given up the hope of a kingdom to come, where he himself will be a capitalist, and he asks that the reward for his work be given to him as a working man.' (Preface, and p. 93.)

In the pursuit of their class interests the unions are at one with the industrial combinations; a practical monopoly is the end that both have in view. Consequently the problem of unionism is being considered by the general public less from the standpoint of sympathetic acquiescence in a policy intended to benefit labour than from that of its effects on the consumer.

While unionism has increased in numerical force, it is unwilling to assume legal responsibilities. Still more important is the tendency which some of the unions have manifested to make their exemption from legal responsibility an excuse for violation of contract. In general, the standards of trade-union morality in regard to the binding obligations of contracts are lower in the United States than in England. The Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers has stated, through its president, that, no matter what contract is entered into, the obligation to obey the union always takes precedence. The large increase in membership has brought with it great dangers for the unions. Prompted by a spirit of narrow particularism, unions have fought against unions. They have in many cases gone too far in their demands. The Indiana organiser of the American Federation of Labour was compelled to say last year that 'there have been many strikes and labour difficulties in the gas belt which would have been avoided by a greater display of tact and cool-headedness on the part of the leaders.' Confidence in the integrity of the unions has been diminished when, as in New York, trade-union

officials have used their official position to exact payments on the threat of declaring a strike on some trumped-up pretext. It is still more serious to find that the members of these unions condoned such actions on the ground that it was the employer who paid.

It is true that, in public statements, the labour leaders have discouraged extreme measures likely to deprive them of public support; it is true that most of the leaders are averse to policies which encroach on public rights. But the labour leader, in order to lead, must in many cases follow. The declaration of the men, when the anthracite coal strike was commenced, was against the judgment of John Mitchell; while the action of local unions in such cities as New York, Chicago, and San Francisco has added largely to the popular bill of complaint. Arbitrary boycotts and far-reaching sympathetic strikes have been frequent. Not long ago a New York firm dealing in steam-pipe fittings was notified that it would be boycotted unless it refused to deal with firms which were not in good standing with the unions. In a wage dispute which arose between some coal operators and their employés in Indiana, the latter agreed to the choice of a neighbouring storekeeper as an arbitrator. Since they dealt with him they assumed that his award would be favourable. When the award went against them they boycotted his store, and imposed a penalty on every member of the union dealing with him. In Chicago an attempt was made to induce the grocers to refuse to supply the necessities of life to the families of freight-handlers who remained at work during a strike. 'If,' said the strikers, 'we cannot reach them [those who remain at work], we can reach their families.' In the city of San Francisco there is at present scarcely a street which is not perambulated by a sandwich-man bearing a statement that some firm is 'unfair' and therefore boycotted. In many cases this has stirred up public sympathy and support for the boycotted firm. These words have been written with a full recognition of the worthiness of many trade-union aims, and of the value of the results obtained, and with no desire to compose a mere *chronique scandaleuse*. It must, however, be recognised that the large increase in union membership brought with it, in many instances, a regrettable

readiness to employ murderous violence, and a scandalous disregard of public rights.

Out of this situation there have developed in recent years associations intended to cope with the unions. In Dayton, Ohio, the unions had been unusually aggressive; expensive strikes had been carried on; and the effects upon business had been serious. In June 1900 thirty-eight employers formed the Employers' Association. Since then there have come into existence various national organisations—the Manufacturers' Association, the Anti-boycott Association, the Citizens' Industrial Association. All these organisations object to such trade-union methods as the boycott and the sympathetic strike. Their allegations that the unionists have in many cases endeavoured to limit the output are undoubtedly true. But, while these associations started by protesting against the excesses of unionism, they have already shown that they identify those excesses with unionism itself, and desire the extirpation of unions. They put forward as a principle the 'endeavour to make it possible for any person to obtain employment without being forced to join a labour organisation, and to encourage all such persons in their efforts to resist the compulsory methods of organised labour.'

The demand that employment should not be restricted to unionists appeals to the general public, which knows that the unions are endeavouring to ensure their monopoly and at the same time to restrict their membership. The policy of the 'open shop' has obtained a strong sanction from the award of the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission, which resolved 'that there shall be no discrimination against or interference with any employé who is not a member of a labour organisation by members of such organisation.' The public has become irritated by the dictatorial tone of a note such as follows, which was addressed to a Detroit firm early this year.

'You have in your employ a man who is not a member of our brass-makers' union, and whom we have urged to join, and he has not done so or given us any positive promise that he will. We . . . demand that he either join our union before Wednesday night, or that you discharge him. If this demand is not complied with, the members of our union will quit work in your factory until the above conditions are complied with.'

While the unionists regard the 'union' and the 'closed shop' as essential to their success, they have had more than once, as in the agreement between the New York Metal Trades Association and the Brotherhood of Boiler-makers, to be content with the statement that, while the employer will not discriminate against labour organisations, he is to have full power to employ or discharge such workmen as he may see fit.

It is not among employers alone that such associations are to be found. There exists also the Citizens' Alliance, composed of members of the general consuming public as well as of the employing class. This organisation has a rapidly growing membership in the country west of the Mississippi. It is of peculiar interest that the denunciations of trade-union aggression are most bitter among the non-employing members of this organisation. In its methods of organisation it closely follows those of the unions. The union endeavours to compel acquiescence through boycotts. At Denver, merchants were induced by thinly veiled threats of pressure to join the Alliance.

In the mining regions of Colorado there has long been friction between the employers and employés, which has in many cases culminated in open violence. In the miners' union there was a strong socialistic element, which readily countenanced recourse to violence. The local civil officials, elected by labour votes, were afraid to perform their duties. Finally, the employers invoked the assistance of the governor of the state; and the state militia was finally called in to quell the troubles. Since that time many of the marks of an insurrection have been visible. Dynamite has been used to assassinate non-union men and unionists have been deported from the state. Civil officials who were favourable to the unions have been summarily driven out of office. The writ of *Habeas corpus* has been disregarded. The military power has been supreme. Throughout these troubles the Citizens' Alliance has been active. It alleges that it was its threat of defeating Governor Peabody, when a candidate for re-election, which finally induced him to send troops into the disturbed districts. It further alleges that it has been instrumental in electing a judge favourable to its cause in place of one who had been opposed. Ostensibly non-political, its political activity is on the increase.

A feature of growing seriousness is the distrust of the law-courts manifested by the labour organisations. While this distrust is directed more particularly against the Federal Courts, it extends also to those of the states. It is alleged by the unions that judges who, during their professional career were attorneys for corporations, retain their corporation bias when raised to the bench. But the most concrete cause of this distrust is the attitude shown by the courts in regard to injunctions. While an injunction is traditionally limited to matters involving property rights, there has indirectly been transferred to the equity side a criminal jurisdiction; in accomplishing this the judges have laid stress both upon conspiracy and the public rights involved. It was found that preventive, not punitive, measures were needed in order to stop the destruction of property and the imperilling of public interests. In the development of this jurisdiction, however, there has undoubtedly been a serious infringement of private rights. A great growth of injunction proceedings is to be noted in the period between 1890 and 1894. The process was so broadened that by 1894 the so-called 'omnibus Bill' of the injunction issued by the Federal Courts in the Chicago strike of that year applied to twenty-three railways centring in Chicago. In this Bill, while some of the employés were mentioned by name, the process was so sweeping that it applied to all, named or unnamed, who should commit the prohibited acts. By putting those who violated the injunction in contempt of court, the summary procedure available soon put an end to the strike. While the judges have been under the necessity of guarding public rights, unionists have certainly had some reason for their attitude of suspicion, as, for instance, when they found a district judge in West Virginia denouncing labour leaders who were brought before him as 'vampires that fattened on the honest labour of the coal miners.'

In the injunctions which have been issued, the courts, both Federal and state, have forbidden by their preventive jurisdiction many of the devices upon which the unions have depended for success. In the Teamsters' strike in Omaha, in May 1903, the Federal Court granted an injunction which in substance forbade the posting of pickets, violent interference with employés, threats of

personal injury, or any other conduct intended to prevent employes from continuing in employment. In an injunction granted by a state court in Minnesota, in June 1904, it was stated that it was illegal for strikers

'to conspire to injure a contractor's business; to interfere with such business by threats directed against customers; to notify customers that contractors are unfair; to go on premises where contractors are employed to interfere with their business; to order union men to quit work because certain contractors may be employed thereon.'

In April of this year a New York court decided that an injunction might be issued to prevent a strike called to force the recognition of a union. In July of this year a Wisconsin judge decided that contracts made by incorporated labour unions with manufacturers to prohibit the employment of non-union workmen were void because they tended to create a monopoly.

Within the past ten years the courts have become increasingly critical of trade-union methods. The serious results involved in modern industrial disturbances, and the public interests concerned, which have led the courts to employ their preventive jurisdiction, have also led them to pay increasing attention to the question of responsibility. In Louisiana a firm of stevedores had made a three years' contract with the longshoremen's union. Owing to troubles not connected with the firm in question, the longshoremen were called out. In April of this year damages amounting to \$12,000 were awarded against the union. In Indiana it was held, in a case which came up in April 1903, that a labour union, even though unincorporated, may be sued when the suit pertains to questions affecting the relations of the union membership to public safety and order. In December 1903 a fine of \$1000 was imposed by an Illinois judge on the Chicago Pressfeeders' Association for violating an injunction. In Vermont the courts have awarded damages for injuries inflicted by a boycott.

So far, the labour unions have not taken part in politics as a distinct party; nevertheless they have obtained many concessions through political pressure. The union label idea, which originated with the cigar-makers of San Francisco, nominally to indicate to the

public that the cigars bearing the label were made under sanitary conditions, but in reality to force a discrimination against Chinese labour, has played a prominent part in city and in state politics. The unions have been successful in obtaining ordinances and laws requiring that the printing of the city or the state, as the case may be, shall bear the union label—in other words, shall be done in union printing shops. But recently a number of decisions have been given to the effect that this is class legislation, and therefore invalid. In many of the state laws against trusts the labour unions have been successful in obtaining exemption from such legislation.

Attempts have also been made to obtain legislation establishing the eight hours' day. At present twenty-one states have such legislation. In some cases the legislation is limited in its effects to work performed for governmental bodies; in others to specified employments, e.g. mining; while in others it is provided that the legislation shall apply in all cases unless otherwise stipulated in the contract. During the last session of Congress a Bill was unsuccessfully introduced, providing that on all government work, whether done by the Government directly or by private contractors, there should be an eight hours' day. In New York the courts have held a law of this nature to be invalid on the ground that, while the state might prescribe regulations for the conduct of its employes where it carries out the work itself, it has no such right, unless specifically reserved in the contract, when it lets out the performance of such work to a contractor. Labour influence in New York led to the passing of a law prohibiting the use, in the construction of public buildings, of stone dressed outside the state. The state courts have declared this law also invalid, as being in conflict with the Federal constitution. In Indiana an Act providing a minimum wage for unskilled labour employed on public works was declared unconstitutional on the double ground that it was class legislation, and that it also interfered with liberty of contract. It will be found that in the various legal decisions limiting the scope of labour-union activity the idea of freedom in regard to contractual relationships plays a very prominent part. Organised labour was active, during the last session of Congress, in a fruitless

attempt to obtain the enactment of an anti-injunction law. This measure was intended to restrain the meaning of the word 'conspiracy,' and to forbid the use of restraining orders from a Federal Court in equity in relation to a trade dispute. In several states unionists have been successful in obtaining the enactment of anti-injunction legislation, the constitutionality of which the courts, however, are unwilling to uphold.

When the labouring classes regard themselves more and more as separate, and promote their interests by methods which bring them into conflict with the conservators of established order, it is natural that the labour question should be actively forced upon the attention of the politicians. The labour vote has hitherto had most influence in local affairs, but it is becoming more prominent in national politics. In the present campaign the Republicans, after classing combinations of capital and of labour as results of normal economic conditions, state that such combinations are subject to the law. With this as an abstract proposition no one can disagree. It is, to use the phraseology of American politics, simply a 'straddle.' The Democratic platform was at first equally vague. The 'rights of labour' were no less 'vested,' 'sacred,' and 'inalienable' than those of capital. Later, at the instance of the western wing, this was amended by the addition of a thorough-going denunciation of the supersession of the civil by the military authority in labour disputes. This is directed at the conditions existing in Colorado. The platform also calls, although in milder tones than in 1896 and 1900, for the limitation of the use of writs of injunction in labour troubles. At the same time an attempt is made to appease the employers of labour by a statement that the denial of the right to labour by any individuals or organisations is improper.

The Republicans claim support from the labourers on the ground of the industrial activity due to the tariff. The 'full dinner-pail' argument, so much used in 1900, will again be used in the present campaign. While the United States have been going through a slow crisis, the industrial condition is, on the whole, satisfactory. The iron and steel industry has been in an unsatisfactory condition owing to a falling-off in home demand; but at the

same time the exports of iron and steel have been increased by the much discussed practice of 'dumping.' The machine shops of the eastern states many men out of work. There has been a curtailment in the labour forces of the railways. At the same time the prospect of satisfactory crops, and the greater ease in financial circles consequent upon the forced liquidations, which have removed much of the trouble caused by the speculative craze for industrial combinations, have put business in a condition sufficiently satisfactory for a political argument. Mr Hearst, one of the Democratic candidates for the Presidency, made a special effort to obtain the support of organised labour. His failure to obtain the nomination shows that, while the Democrats appear to make greater concessions to labour, its candidates in the present campaign were especially chosen with a view to appeasing the industrial employers of the East.

John Graham Brooks has said in his work on 'The Social Unrest' (p. 16) that 'the last [i.e. the anthracite coal] strike marks an epoch in the development of socialistic thought in this country.' This statement is amply justified by the state of opinion at the time. Under the pressure of a common need, the extra-legal action of President Roosevelt in intervening to bring about a settlement obtained general commendation. There is a growing feeling also—not organised, it is true—that the public interest in the necessities of life is too vital to be jeopardised by the dubious outcome of obstinate contests between capital and labour. The tendency to attribute more and more power to the Federal Government, to look to it more and more for active intervention in the affairs of daily life, has long been apparent. The outcome of the internal improvement experiments of the states, whose failure in the forties led to restraints upon their spending powers, was but one phase in that course of action to which the Civil War gave a more decisive impetus. The increasing complexity of industrial activity has promoted the centralisation of power. Inter-state organisation of industry and the problems connected therewith cannot be adequately dealt with by the legislative process of the individual states. In the working of the Federal Government itself, centralisation has been

necessary in order to obtain results. The one-man power of the Speaker of the House of Representatives has been developed in order to prevent that body from degenerating into a mere house of debate. The Democratic party, in its philosophy of state-action, clings to worn-out phrases. But it was a Democratic president who, by ordering the intervention of Federal troops in the Chicago strike, gave the most conclusive evidence that 'state rights' discussions were of abstract interest alone, and that a state could not be permitted to interfere with the proper pursuit of Federal interests.

While the Democratic party clings to the old phraseology, a division of opinion really exists in the party. The conservative element of the East would minimise the sphere of Federal activity. In part this is attributable to reasoned conviction, but also in part to selfish interest anxious to evade rigid supervision. In the western wing of the party there is in reality a willingness or, more exactly, a desire to extend the scope of government activity. There the distance from the seaboard and the lack of local capital have accustomed the people to depend upon the Federal Government for assistance, as, for example, in the case of the Pacific railways and the recent undertaking of irrigation in the arid lands. In the radical wing of the Democratic party Mr Bryan stands foremost; and he has already stated his intention of endeavouring to commit the party in 1908 to a policy of government ownership of the means of transportation. This attitude is an astute one, because, serious and disastrous as would be the results of such a policy if adopted, it commands more support than it would have had five years ago. The recognition of the fact that the anthracite coal beds in the United States are of such limited area as to confer upon their owners a monopoly steadily increasing in value, was a shock to the supporters of *laissez-faire*. In railroads the people saw with alarm a constantly narrowing concentration of control. Apart from the question of economic justification, the political effect of the decision in the Northern Securities case was undoubtedly very great. People were asking why, if, under existing laws, the control of railroads may be centralised in the different groups in the hands of a few men, that centralisation should not go on until the control

of all the railways comes into the hands of one set of men; and why, when this takes place, the ultimate control should not be at once transferred to the Government.

Apart from this subconscious socialism—if the acquiescence in the constantly expanding powers of the Federal Government may be so called—there has been a development of conscious socialism. The American Federation of Labour, the strongest labour organisation in the United States, is based on the autonomy of the skilled trades. Its attitude towards trade problems is that of trade selfishness. Like the labour unions of England before the 'new unionism' began, it holds out no hope for unskilled labour. It opposes any extension of the powers of the state, except in regard to legislation intended to guarantee labour rights. As one of its officials has said, the only representatives of state activity that it recognises are the health officer and the policeman. It has opposed political action on the part of its members as forming a separate political party. It is of opinion that any action of this kind would inevitably break up the organisation. It believes in advancing union interests through existing political parties. But, while its attitude is so far individualistic, the individualistic wing has not held control without a contest. Though as yet in the minority, the socialistic element is increasing in strength. The development of socialism in the labour unions has been most marked since 1890. Debs, the leader of the Chicago strike of 1895, has been active in socialistic propaganda. Moreover, the movement has become more dependent on the leadership of native-born Americans. In Colorado the backbone of the present labour troubles is the Western Federation of Miners. This organisation, which is an offshoot of the American Federation of Labour, is strongly socialistic in its aims. The American Labour Union, the Western Federation of Miners, and the United Brotherhood of Railway Employés are socialistic organisations whose membership amounts to about 300,000. While the regular trade unionists, such as Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labour, or John Mitchell, look to a rise of wages and to labour legislation through influence on the existing political parties, the Western Federation of Miners, at its convention in Denver in 1903, resolved that

political independence is a bauble and a delusion while the toiling millions bear the yoke of wage-slavery in the industrial field. . . . Capitalism can never be dethroned and wage-slavery abolished until the natural resources of the earth and the machinery of production and distribution shall be taken from the hands of the few by the political power of the many, to become the collective property of all mankind and to be utilised for the use and benefit of all humanity.'

The leaders of the trade-union movement feel, however, that the socialistic movement is endangering the fortunes of trade unionism, for public opinion unthinkingly lumps all unionism together. The leaders of the American Federation of Labour will admit privately that the overthrow of such socialistic organisations would be beneficial. These organisations, on the other hand, openly assail the regular trade unionism with such remarks as that 'conservatism in a labour organisation is rapidly becoming a synonym for cowardice.'

The Populist party, which for a time represented the discontent of the farming class, conducted its propaganda along the lines of state socialism. This party has, however, practically disappeared as a separate organisation. Its former members have to a great extent joined the radical wing of the Democratic party. The strength of socialism does not really appear in the Presidential elections. In 1900 the distinctly socialistic vote was less than 125,000. But many socialists align themselves with the more radical minor parties. While the Populistic party does not go so far as the extreme socialists, it has, at the same time, obtained a considerable socialistic support. In local affairs the socialistic vote and influence are increasing. At the most recent election to the mayoralty of Minneapolis, it was only by a combination of the Republicans with the Democrats that the socialistic candidate was defeated.

The personality of President Roosevelt is, however, more potent than any platform statement or partisan argument. He has done more than any other occupant of the White House to confer a status on organised labour. He is an honorary member of the locomotive firemen's union. His support of the anthracite coal strike added to the miners' union.

Nevertheless, he is opposed to the exclusion of individuals from work on the ground of lack of union affiliation. In dealing with the claims of labour unions to establish 'closed shop' in the government service, he threw political opportunism to the winds, and greatly strengthened himself thereby. In 1903 one Miller, who had been an assistant foreman in the bindery of the government printing office, became involved in difficulties within his union, because he had caused his workmen to do more than the union permitted. For this and other minor reasons he was expelled from the union. The public printer, at the request of the union, dismissed him from the public service. When the matter was brought to President Roosevelt's attention, he ordered Miller's reinstatement, and in so doing said:—

"In the employment and dismissal of men in the government service, I can no more recognise the fact that a man does or does not belong to a union as being for or against him, than I can recognise the fact that he is a Protestant or a Catholic, a Jew or a Gentile, as being for or against him."

In more than one instance, equally to his credit, but to which less publicity has been given, the President has intervened to counteract the petty arrogance of those unions whose members were in the government service. His record in matters pertaining to labour has compelled the respect of employers and employed.

It may be said with truth that the Democrats have insisted in forcing President Roosevelt the issue. Denunciation and criticism of his methods and of his policy are to be found throughout their statements. There is doubtless room for criticism. To that publicity which he has recommended for the trusts, he has exposed in a still greater degree his own public actions. There has been somewhat too much of conscious effort and fussy activity over things that could have been more quietly done. By nature he demands an audience. In his essays, or rather moral discourses, it is his elaboration of the obvious which has given him a hold on the public imagination. He has preached to the American people the doctrine of the 'strenuous life'; and that people, which has been talking and acting strenuously for more than twice forty years, hails it as a gospel. But these

are, after all, personal matters, and do not greatly affect his public efficiency. He has the cardinal merit of having done things. He has enforced the laws, letting the consequences look after themselves. He has brought to all his actions honesty of purpose and steadfastness of endeavour. He is a politician, it is true; but it has been the higher, not the lower, expediency that he has kept in mind. He has always worked through the party organisation, and has believed it better to share the control of his party than to follow illusory hopes of reform independent of party ties.

He was elected to the Vice-Presidency because it was thought it would be his political death. The Republican party has for years been the party of 'vested interests.' In his endeavour to serve the public interests he has alienated those whose personal aims were best furthered by non-interference. Those who endeavoured to shelve him by nominating him for the Vice-Presidency in 1900 would gladly have prevented his receiving the presidential nomination this year. But his choice by the Republican Convention was as nearly a popular choice as any convention choice can be. The fervid eulogies conferred upon him by the members of that body, while savouring in some instances of party necessity rather than of personal belief, show that the Republican party has been forced to recognise him as perhaps its best asset. He has been described as the master of his party, not its servant. A few years ago there were those in politics who vulgarised a high position by calling the President 'the nation's hired man.' The progress of the nation and the larger problems now presented to it are more and more insistently demanding a leader in the presidential chair. In relation to his party he has fairly taken such a position. In the present campaign the platform is practically his. It is also his nominee who will conduct the campaign. The Democratic platform is apparently more congregational in its origin. But it must be remembered that it was not only the task of the Democrats to find a candidate acceptable to the majority, but also to construct a platform which those who would support this candidate would accept.

While there is but little that is not known about President Roosevelt, there is little that is known about

Mr Parker. A successful judge of an eminently judicial tone, he has kept aloof from active participation in political affairs for many years. He comes to the campaign as a Democrat whose 'regularity' cannot be impeached, and who, fortunately, has not been mixed up in the Democratic factional squabbles of the last eight years. The party which for eight years appealed to the radicalism of the West now appeals in its candidates to the conservatism of the East. But, while it appeals to the East, it is a question whether it can retain its hold in the West. Here the personal influence of Mr Bryan is of great importance. The castigations of 'Wall Street influence,' which have become chronic with Mr Bryan, are now directed against elements in the party he is pledged to support. Party discipline prevents his abstaining from voting for the selected candidate. But, as regards active participation in the campaign, it is probable that he will be a sulky Achilles, yet vocal with discontent.

Though President Roosevelt is a New Yorker, there is considerable probability that he will not carry his own state. It is likely that some of those interested in industrial combinations may array themselves against Roosevelt, and this notwithstanding the statements in the Democratic platform. This will be owing partly to annoyance with the President, and partly to the position which Mr Parker is presumed to hold in regard to trust regulation. It may be deduced from some of his judicial decisions that he believes in a stricter construction of the Federal constitution. The New York platform, while declaring for the maintenance of state rights and home rule, also asserts that corporations chartered by a state must be subject to the regulation of that state in the interest of the people. Since there is no Federal corporation law, this means that the control should be in the hands of the states. But this attitude inevitably carries with it the result that, since no uniformity of action can be expected from the individual states, no real regulation can be expected from this policy. The Republican party, while urging that trusts are the outcome of world conditions, has, under President Roosevelt, endeavoured to regulate them by a domestic remedy, and therefore believes in control by Federal legislation. A steadfast attempt to control the trusts has actually been made.

But even if the doctrinaire attitude of the Democrats, as indicated in the opinions of their eastern wing, should, by appealing to selfish interests, attract any considerable support from those interested in trusts, this would strengthen Mr Roosevelt in the Central West, where there is among the farming classes a growing feeling of anxiety in regard to the effects of concentrated industry. While it is true that the Democratic party has effected a reunion of its scattered forces, the compromises are so obvious that it remains to be seen how effective the organisation will be. Democratic attacks will, to a great extent, be concentrated on President Roosevelt; while the balanced character of the Democratic platform will make the personality of Mr Parker an important factor in the campaign.

It is only in the presidential year that the American public takes a keen interest in general politics. The present campaign has so far been characterised by singular quietness and lack of fervour. In 1896, when Mr Bryan effected his spectacular *coup* in the Chicago Convention, the political caldron was boiling from July until November. In the present year it was not until the latter part of August that the field work of the two political parties began. From the business stand-point this has been fortunate, in that there has been less industrial disturbance than is common in the presidential year. The presidential nominees have given a tone of quietness to the campaign. Mr Roosevelt, who in 1900 went on a protracted speech-making tour in the western states, has now attained to a conception of the dignity of the presidential office which prevents him from claiming it in speeches delivered from the rear platforms of railway trains. Mr Parker's judicial training, added to his high opinion of the dignity of the office, prevents his emulating Mr Bryan's exploits during the campaign of 1896.

When Mr Parker, by declaring his acceptance of the gold standard, strengthened a plank in the Democratic platform which was weak to the verge of cowardice, exaggerated opinions of his power were created. Of his honesty of purpose, and of the high ideals which he connects with the presidential office, there has been increasing proof. But it is also apparent that his strength was greatest when he was silent. While it is the fortune

of those in opposition to criticise, Mr Parker has been forced, if not to bless, at least, in essence, to acquiesce in some of the Republican policies which he at the same time criticises. Mr Roosevelt, in his thorough-going acceptance of Protection, showed the politician's insight by connecting the Democratic position with the statement that Protection is robbery. Mr Parker's attitude towards the tariff is in substantial agreement with that of the revisionist wing of the Republican party. He desires 'a reasonable reduction of the tariff.' At the same time he states that between the date of the enactment of such amending legislation and its enforcement there should intervene a sufficient length of time to permit business to be adjusted to altered conditions. Appealing to the business interests of the East, he at the same time further qualifies his position by saying that, even if the Democrats should be elected, the Republican majority in the Senate would prevent any modification for at least four years. While the Democratic party calls for further legislation to curb the trusts, the Democratic nominee thinks that 'the common law as developed affords a complete legal remedy against monopolies.' Yet, while this is the reasoned outcome of his judicial experience, he is still open to conviction that further legislation along constitutional lines is justifiable. While the Democratic party has pronounced for the immediate independence of the Philippines, Mr Parker's statement on this question has been so cryptic that a number of the leading Democratic newspapers are at a loss to interpret it. President Roosevelt reiterates his position that the Filipinos are being steadily prepared for self-government.

'We have established in the islands' (he says) 'a government of Americans assisted by Filipinos. We are steadily striving to transform this into self-government by the Filipinos assisted by the Americans.'

He declares that the Filipinos have already been given a large share in the government of the islands, and that it is the intention of the Republican party to increase this share as rapidly as they give evidence of increasing fitness for the task. While Mr Parker states that 'the government was not created for a career of political or civilising evangelisation in foreign countries or among

alien races,' he at the same time recognises that the accident of war which brought the Philippines to the United States brought with it a responsibility which the latter cannot disregard. When he adds that this responsibility 'will be best subserved by preparing the islanders so rapidly as possible for self-government, and giving to them the assurances that it will come so soon as they are reasonably prepared for it,' his position is distinguishable from that of President Roosevelt only by the ingenuity of partisan logic.

The Democrats have reason to expect gains in the eastern states. While the support of Massachusetts is always pledged to the Republican party, the interest which the merchants and manufacturers of that state have taken in closer trade relations with Canada have forced the Republican leaders, for example Senator Lodge, to pay attention to a question which it was hoped the platform declaration would shelve until after the election. Conditions are favourable to the Democrats in New York, New Jersey, Maryland, and West Virginia. The reorganisation of the Democratic party has brought into prominent advisory positions a number of leading 'gold' Democrats. The Democrats, who under Mr Bryan prided themselves on being a 'poor man's' party, now bring to bear as much wealth and corporate influence as ever characterised the Republicans in the days of Mr Bryan's fiercest denunciations. But, while this means the rallying to the Democratic standard of a strong support among the business interests of the East, it also presents difficulties. Though Mr Bryan has been eliminated by the Democratic leaders, he has a considerable following among the rank and file. Mr Watson, of Georgia, the Populistic nominee for president, who is in sympathy with many of Mr Bryan's views, may attract sufficient votes from the Bryanite element to place the Democratic fortunes in the East in jeopardy. In the western states the influence of Bryan is still strong among those who do not belong to the party organisation. This element has been so accustomed to denunciation of corporate influences that it is now showing great sullenness and recalcitrancy in placing itself in the Democratic line; and many members of this section have declared their intention to vote for Mr Roosevelt, on the

ground that he is less subservient to corporate influences than Mr Parker. In the states of the Pacific slope there is no great enthusiasm for Mr Parker. He is unknown, while Mr Roosevelt is known and commands respect.

The Republican party has decided to make Protection the issue in the time yet to elapse before the termination of the campaign. It has already been indicated that it is the policy of the eastern Democrats to minimise the platform declarations on this topic. It is in the eastern and in the western states that the main interest of the campaign is to be found. While the Republicans are not willing to give up the East to their opponents, the latter will probably make substantial gains. In New York, whose political affiliations have been extremely changeable, Mr Roosevelt is weak. When he was elected Governor on his Spanish-American war record, his majority was less than eighteen thousand votes.

But even if, as seems probable, the Democrats carry New York, this state has no longer such pivotal importance as it once possessed. The exhibition now being held in St Louis commemorates the most significant fact in American development. The industrial prominence which is increasingly characteristic of the Mississippi valley reflects the importance of the part which that district plays in the councils of the nation. Here the general average favours the Republicans. In Indiana the Democratic chairman, a resident of that state, has hopes for his party's success. On the other hand, the Republicans hope that the fact that their vice-presidential nominee is a native of Indiana will keep it in line. Indiana is one of the pivotal states in the campaign. While its vote in the electoral college is not large, the capture of this state will give the Democrats a fighting chance in the central West. It is also a state of varying political fortunes. In the eight presidential campaigns between 1872 and 1900 it gave a majority for the Democrats on three occasions and for the Republicans on five. The most decisive election was in 1900, when, out of some 640,000 votes cast, the Republicans received a majority of 26,000. The uncertainty is also increased by the fact that Indiana has the evil prominence of possessing a comparatively large number of corruptible voters.

In Wisconsin and Washington, the Democrats hope

in because of internecine struggles in the Republican y. But while these may mean a loss so far as the idates for state office are concerned, the party dis- ne is too efficient to permit these conditions to affect choice of presidential electors. In Colorado the labour bles are expected to assist the Democrats; and a lar outcome is expected in connexion with the strike e packing industry in Chicago. On the other hand, y pressure is being exerted to prevent the labour bles in New York City from affecting the Democratic y adversely. While the Democrats hope for gains in Rocky Mountain states generally, it has to be recog- d that Roosevelt has a strong hold on the confidence he people of this district. This is attributable to onal reasons, not the least of which is his somewhat trical connexion with the 'Rough Riders' in Cuba, the fact that he was at one time engaged in ranching e Dakotas. But this attitude is strengthened by the sh interests of the people. Under the Wilson Bill l was placed on the free list; the farmers of the ral West and of the far North-West, who are engaged eep-raising, are afraid of any such change in tariff y as will again depreciate the value of their product. he Republican party has made mistakes. There have unsavoury scandals under its administration; but ne is more in earnest than President Roosevelt in the avour to eradicate such evils. Since 1896 it is the blican party which has been characterised by govern- ability. The present campaign is one in which the s, as stated in the platforms, are for the most part tious. The interest centres in personalities. The ome of the contest, it can hardly be doubted, will be rther mandate to the Republican party to carry out policy which it has undertaken.

Art. IX.—BRITISH RULE IN EGYPT.

1. *England in Egypt*. By Lord Milner. Seventh edition. London: Edward Arnold, 1903.
 2. *The Story of the Khedivate*. By Edward Dicey, C.B. London: Rivingtons, 1902.
 3. *The Binding of the Nile, and the New Soudan*. By the Hon. Sidney Peel. London: Edward Arnold, 1904.
 4. *The Expansion of Egypt under Anglo-Egyptian Condominium*. By A. Silva White. London: Methuen, 1899.
 5. *Egypt and the Hinterland*. By Frederic W. Fuller. London: Longmans, 1901.
 6. *Situation Internationale de l'Égypte et du Soudan*. By Jules Cocheris. Paris: Plon-Nourrit et C^{ie}, 1903.
 7. *La Transformation de l'Égypte*. By Albert Métin. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1903.
 8. *Les Anglais aux Indes et en Égypte*. By Eugène Aubin. Paris: Armand Colin, 1900.
 9. *Convention and Declarations between Great Britain and France*. Presented to Parliament, April 1904.
 10. *Reports by His Majesty's Agent and Consul-General on Egypt and the Soudan*. Presented to Parliament, 1904.
 11. *Report by Sir William Garstin upon the Basin of the Upper Nile*. Presented to Parliament, 1904.
- And other works.

MORE than threescore years ago the author of 'Eothen' sat beneath the Sphinx and mused as follows in prophetic inspiration:

'And we, we shall die, and Islam will wither away, and the Englishman, leaning far over to hold his loved India, will plant a firm foot on the banks of the Nile, and sit in the seats of the Faithful; and still that sleepless rock will lie watching and watching the works of the new, busy race, with those same sad, earnest eyes, and the same tranquil mien everlasting. You dare not mock at the Sphinx!'

This prediction has been in course of gradual fulfilment during the last quarter of a century—not, as many able and intelligent persons on the Continent have persuaded themselves to believe, through the deep-laid schemes of perfidious Albion, but in spite of the efforts of many successive party administrations in this country to discharge the engagements, made in good faith and sincerity,

to withdraw the British army of occupation as soon as possible after the suppression of the rebellion of Arabi. The stars in their courses appear to have fought stubbornly against evacuation; while the efforts which we have made to disembarass ourselves of what the majority of the nation regarded as a dangerous incubus, and to accelerate the moment of departure, and still more, the petulant and harassing agitation fostered by all who were disaffected to a continuance of our rule, have resulted in strengthening and consolidating it. Our occupation of Egypt has thus eventually become a notable example of the truth of the proverb, '*Il n'y a que le provisoire qui dure.*'

British interest in Egypt has an intimate connexion with the growth of our Indian Empire. It began, curiously enough, on the farther side with the development of the maritime commerce of India with the Red Sea ports; and the rivalry with France was antecedent to the Napoleonic invasion. That operation, however, may be taken as the substantial commencement of serious competition between England and France for influence in Egypt—a competition which endured actively for more than a century, but has now happily been laid to rest by the agreement of April 8, 1904, with France. It is singular to observe what a powerful factor maritime predominance has been in the contest.

Napoleon landed in Egypt on July 1, 1798. On the 1st of August Nelson defeated the French fleet at the battle of the Nile. From that day the eventual fate of the French army in Egypt was inevitable, although the defeat of the French on land by Sir Ralph Abercromby did not take place until March 8, 1801. In the war of Greek independence Mehemet Ali's fleet shared the fate of the Turkish navy at Navarino. From 1832 to 1841 the Pasha of Egypt was in rebellion against the Sultan; and the decisive actions of that long campaign were the capture of Acre by the British and the blockade of the Egyptian fleet in Alexandria by Sir Charles Napier, which compelled the evacuation of Syria. Mehemet Ali was, however, established as hereditary ruler of Egypt, mainly by Lord Palmerston's influence; and modern Egypt came to being as a separate state.

Meheinet Ali abdicated in 1848 and was followed by

his grandson Abbas, who came to a mysterious end in 1854, and was succeeded by his uncle Said, the youngest son of Mehemet Ali. Said, on his death in 1863, was succeeded by Ismail the son of Ibrahim, the adopted son of the founder of the dynasty. These inheritances were according to the usual rule of Islam, viz. the senior male descendant. Ismail obtained from the Sultan the title of Khedive, the rule of succession by primogeniture, and a further degree of independence, in consideration of an increase of the tribute from 80,000 to 150,000 purses. The subsequent firmans of investiture, granted to Tewfik and Abbas Hilmi, are similar in essentials. All contain reserves in favour of the Sultan. The Egyptian flag is that of the Ottoman Empire. Taxation is levied in the name of the Sultan; money is minted with his superscription; military and honorific titles are conferred in his name. Conventions made with foreign Powers must not infringe upon Turkish treaties, and must be communicated to the Porte before promulgation. To contract fresh loans is forbidden. The number of the military forces is not to exceed 18,000. No territorial concessions are to be made.* The terms imposed by the paramount sovereign appear to leave extremely little independence to his vassal; but in reality Egypt passed in 1840-41 from the status of a dependent province of the Ottoman Empire into that of a state under tutelage more or less international.†

At first the Powers were concerned with the control and protection of a powerful and rebellious feudatory; but in 1854 a fresh interest was created by the concession for the construction of the Suez Canal; and in 1862 the first foreign loan was contracted—3,292,000*l.* at 7 per cent.—by Said. When Ismail succeeded in the following year, he plunged at once into a career of reckless borrowing, which raised the external debt to a little short of 100,000,000*l.* sterling. To these foreign loans may be attributed in the main the changes which have since come over Egypt. The last notable contribution to Ismail's funds was obtained by the sale of his shares in the Suez Canal. He had offered them to France; and the Duc Decazes, who was then Foreign Minister, had

* Paragraph iv, firman of 1879.

† Hatti Cherif, July 15, 1840; Memorandum, January 30, 1841.

them.* Lord Beaconsfield had no hesitation in
them; and the transaction was concluded with-
y. Some months before the purchase of the
ares, the Khedive expressed a wish to have an
official to advise the Egyptian Treasury. Mr
s entrusted with a mission to enquire into the
of Egypt; and his report affords the first impar-
w of the situation. It showed that the embar-
s of the Khedive, though not irretrievable, were
le of liquidation only by external assistance,
that moment was not forthcoming.

ril 1876 Ismail committed his first overt act of
ey by suspending the payment of interest upon
Bonds. The creditors in Paris and London
agitate for intervention; and a fresh enquiry
tuted by the Goschen-Joubert mission. Ismail
g to the retention of uncontrolled authority
finances of Egypt, and threw difficulties in the
obtaining information and realising assets, but
y agreed to govern by a responsible ministry,
glish and French members. This lasted but a
ths, and was then summarily dismissed. At the
of Germany, England, and France, Ismail was
by the Sultan; and Tewfik was named as his
on June 25, 1879.

mission of liquidation, nominated by England,
Germany, Austria, and Italy, was appointed by
Khedive; and the law of liquidation was evolved,
n the indebtedness of Egypt was settled at
M. The interest upon this sum absorbed about
%, or half the whole revenue of the country.
urse of the proceedings in bankruptcy, a body
ting the interests of the international creditors
ed which has, under the well-known name of the
le la Dette,' since then exercised a predominant
in Egyptian finance; and France and England
d and obtained the appointment of two super-
icials, with considerable powers over the Egyptian
ration. This dual control subsisted until the
bellion was suppressed by the naval and military
Great Britain in 1882, wher

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to co-operate. Lord Dufferin was then sent on a special mission to Egypt to advise the Khedive in regard to arrangements for re-establishing his authority. Upon Lord Dufferin's recommendation the dual control was abolished, and a British financial adviser was substituted. France, which had borne no part of the burden of suppressing the rebellion, made a formal protest, but accepted the change. With the exception of entrusting the re-formation of the Egyptian army to British officers, no other change was then made. The administration of the 'Caisse de la Dette,' the Domain, the Daira, and the railways was continued unaltered; and the Capitulations and the mixed tribunals remained unchanged. Nothing can be more absolutely certain than that the earnest desire and intention of Mr Gladstone's Government, and indeed of the vast majority of Englishmen at that time, was to withdraw from Egypt as soon as possible; and that the suspicions of France and Turkey—that our military operations for the suppression of anarchy in Egypt were the outcome of a long-cherished design for obtaining possession of that country—were entirely groundless. There were, however, some few persons who held that the British occupation could not be terminated within any limit of time which it was then possible to forecast, without a recurrence of the conditions which led to it; and that party, though at first very small, has gradually gained general support. The nature of our responsibility as the occupying Power was clearly recognised in a despatch from Lord Granville to Sir Evelyn Baring, dated January 4, 1884, in which he wrote:—

'I hardly need point out that, in important questions, where the administration and safety of Egypt are at stake, it is indispensable that H.M. Government should, so long as the provisional occupation of the country by English troops continues, be assured that the advice which, after full consideration of the views of the Egyptian Government, they may feel it their duty to tender to the Khedive, should be followed. It should be made clear to the Egyptian Ministers and Governors of provinces that the responsibility which for the time rests upon England obliges H.M. Government to insist on the adoption of the policy which they recommend, and that it will be necessary that those Ministers and Governors who do *not* follow this course should cease to hold their offices.'

is, as Lord Milner observes, was plain speaking. It meant that the representative of H.M. Government must be consulted and obeyed; and it was in fact a realisation of what Lord Dufferin had aptly described as 'the masterful hand of a Resident.'

Happily for Egypt, for Great Britain, and indeed for the whole world, the mantle fell upon the shoulders of

Evelyn Baring, whose intimate acquaintance with the country and with the difficulties which it presented, as well as his administrative and financial experience, rendered him eminently fitted for the rôle of a benevolent spot. He entered upon his duties at a troublous time. The finances were burdened by the expenditure occasioned by the rebellion, by the Alexandria indemnities, and by the military operations in the Soudan; and the deficits were entirely beyond the margin left to defray administrative charges by the law of liquidation. A cash loan and a readjustment of the incidence of the debt were indispensable to solvency. A conference was held in London in 1884 at which we proposed a reduction of the rate of interest on the external debt and a suspension of the sinking fund, coupled with an undertaking to fix a date for the withdrawal of our troops. No agreement was arrived at; but in the following year the discussion was renewed. By the Convention of London in 1885 the Powers agreed to a modification of the law of liquidation, in the sense that a reduction of interest was accorded for two years, a scale of administrative expenditure was authorised, the surplus arising from the excess of the assigned revenues over the interest and other calls upon the Caisse de la Dette was divided in equal moieties between the Government and the Caisse, and a loan of 9,000,000*l.* was guaranteed by the Powers. This settlement, although it alleviated the stringent provisions of the law of liquidation, still contained many crippling restrictions which have impeded the progressive improvement of the financial position. It may, however, be regarded as the turning-point from insolvency to prosperity, mainly because it enabled a commencement to be made in the development of the natural resources of the country by reproductive expenditure upon irrigation, for which 1,000,000*l.* sterling was provided.

The English had now been three years in Egypt. They were troublous years in many ways; and the desire to be relieved of the many embarrassments occasioned by the occupation was very strong. The finances were burdened by the cost of the Arabi revolt, by the Alexandria indemnities, by the Mahdist movement, by the defeats of Hicks and Baker, by the two British Souakin expeditions, by the Nile expedition, and by the very measures which were taken to lessen responsibility by evacuating the Soudan. At home attention was diverted from Egypt by the apprehension of war with Russia; and a sum of 11,000,000*l.* was voted for military preparations. It was held by the highest military authorities that, in the event of European war, our small army could not carry on operations in the Soudan at the same time. Sir Henry Wolff was therefore sent to Constantinople to negotiate an arrangement with the Sultan; and, after two years of discussion, a convention was signed on May 22, 1887, by which the British army of occupation was to be withdrawn in three years, and the British control over the Egyptian army terminated after a further period of two years. The Powers were to be invited to guarantee the territorial security of Egypt. If further occasions arose for military intervention in Egypt, Turkish troops were to be sent, in concert with British, who were to have a power to re-occupy. This was a sincere attempt to fulfil our engagements. It was supported at Constantinople by Germany, Austria, and Italy, but opposed by France and Russia. The Sultan refused to ratify, and the Convention became abortive.*

To many in England the failure was a relief. Internationalism in Egypt had already revealed many weak and objectionable features; and the formal recognition of Turkish intervention was a distinctly retrograde step. Looking back upon the conditions of the Wolff-Mukhtar Convention, we cannot but be astonished that the opposition to it was due to the very countries—France and Turkey—which would have profited most by it, from their points of view. For Egypt, it will now be recognised, the Convention would have been a grave misfortune, and for England a hampering embarrassment. We have

* Blue-book, May 31–August 1, 1887.

among ourselves a considerable number of persons whose conception of political duties is always coloured by instinctive opposition to all measures emanating from the Government in power. In France a similar and, at times, a very strong and influential party cherished a traditional antagonism to the English and all their works in Egypt. For many years this party had a predominant influence over the policy of France. It opposed every reform in Egypt, not because the proposals were regarded as unreasonable, but because they had been made by the English. The abolition of the *corvée*, the taxation of foreigners, the improvement of the finances, besides a multitude of measures of minor importance, were systematically obstructed by France, notwithstanding the obvious fact that French interests would suffer, in common with all the rest, by the delay and opposition. It was a policy of pin-pricks, annoying but ineffective, and was disapproved by many French statesmen.

There was, however, one particular act which merits a passing mention, as its details appear to be imperfectly known in England. It is what we know as the Fashoda incident, which both countries are now content to bury in oblivion. M. Jules Cocheris, in his exhaustive volume on the 'International Situation of Egypt and the Soudan,' devotes a whole chapter to the subject. He attributes the conception of forming a belt of French territory across northern Africa from Senegal to Jibuti to President Carnot in the spring of 1893. It will be recollected that the fall of Khartoum, the surrender of Kassala to the dervishes, and the withdrawal from Dongola to Wady Halfa had occurred in 1885. The evacuation of the Soudan was complete. Some held that it remained under the paramount sovereignty of the Sultan; others, that it was a *res nullius*. The President, however, wished to re-open the Egyptian question; and he thought that the future of France and her position in the world were at stake. The project of an all-British railway from Cairo to the Cape of Good Hope, initiated by Cecil Rhodes, and the acquisition of Uganda and the equatorial sources of the Nile by Great Britain were regarded with much suspicion in France; and the French Colonial party desired the interruption of continuity of control over the Nile as the only way in which the

Egyptian question could be satisfactorily settled, and England compelled to evacuate Egypt.

Preparations for the immediate execution of this bold and ingenious project were made, but they were not, for various reasons, put in effect. Two years elapsed before Her Majesty's Government made a pronouncement upon the matter, when, in the clearest and most definite manner, Sir Edward Grey declared that the despatch of such expeditions would be regarded as an unfriendly act. Nevertheless the fascinations of the combination proved to be too attractive, and the two expeditions were shortly afterwards despatched.

In the following year, 1896, the campaign against the dervishes for the reconquest of the Soudan was renewed; and on September 23 Sir Herbert Kitchener entered Dongola. The year 1897 witnessed the inception of the desert railway and the recapture of Abou Hamed and Berber; and on September 2, 1898, the Sirdar totally defeated the combined forces of the Khalifa at Omdurman. Meanwhile the Franco-Abyssinian expedition had reached the junction of the Nile and Sobat on June 22, but, owing to sickness and want of provisions, had to withdraw without effecting the contemplated junction with Marchand, who arrived, by the Bahr-el-Ghazal, at Fashoda on July 10, with a very small force. Two months later Kitchener explained to him the situation in the Soudan, and, after leaving a small garrison at the mouth of the Sobat and hoisting the Egyptian flag, returned to Khartoum, leaving the intrepid explorer to await the commands of his Government. The Marchand expedition aroused much admiration and patriotic feeling in France; while in England it was universally resented and elicited strong expressions of disapproval. Happily the adjustment lay in the hands of statesmen of calm temperament and conciliatory intention, whose experienced sense of proportion reduced the incident to the insignificant proportions which it really merited in the relations between the two great countries they represented. Not long after the reconquest of the Soudan, under these wise and sensible influences, a further step was taken to reconcile the rivalries of the two Powers. On March 21, 1899, Lord Salisbury and M. Cambon signed a declaration by which France engaged herself not to

acquire either territory or political influence to the east of a line drawn from the southern confines of Tripoli, between Darfour and Wadai, to the water-parting between the Nile and the Congo.

This settlement was adversely criticised, but it was the commencement of friendly relations which have since then received considerable development, culminating in the agreements entered into on April 8, 1904, by the Marquis of Lansdowne and M. Cambon, on behalf of their respective Governments—agreements inspired largely by the interchange of friendly visits between His Majesty the King and the President of the Republic, and manifesting on both sides an admirable spirit of conciliation on the part of the negotiators.

It is only with those sections which relate to Egypt that we are here concerned; and it is impossible to describe them more clearly than in the words of Lord Lansdowne's despatch forwarding them to Sir Edward Monson, from which the following quotations are extracted:—

‘From a British point of view there is no more remarkable episode in recent history than that which concerns the establishment and the gradual development of British influence in Egypt. Our occupation of that country, at first regarded as temporary, has, by the force of circumstances, become firmly established. Under the guidance of the eminent public servant who has, for the last twenty years, represented His Majesty's Government in that country, Egypt has advanced by rapid strides along the path of financial and material prosperity. The destruction of the power of the Mahdi and the annexation of the Soudan have increased that influence and added to the stability of our occupation.

‘But while these developments have, in fact, rapidly modified the international situation in Egypt, the financial and administrative system which prevails is a survival of an order of things which no longer exists, and is not only out of date, but full of inconvenience to all concerned. It is based upon the very elaborate and intricate provisions of the Law of Liquidation of 1880, and the London Convention of 1885. With the financial and material improvement of Egypt these provisions have become a hindrance instead of an aid to the development of the resources of the country. The friction, inconvenience, and actual loss to the Egyptian Treasury which it has occasioned have been pointed out by Lord Cromer on many occasions in his annual Reports. It is well

described in the following passage which occurs in Lord Milner's standard work on Egypt :—

“The spectacle of Egypt, with her Treasury full of money, yet not allowed to use that money for an object which, on a moderate calculation, should add 20 per cent. to the wealth of the country, is as distressing as it is ludicrous. Every year that passes illustrates more forcibly the injustice of maintaining, in these days of insured solvency, the restrictions imposed upon the financial freedom of the Egyptian Government at a time of bankruptcy—restrictions justifiable then, but wholly unjustifiable now. No one would object to the continuance of the arrangement by which certain revenues are paid in the first instance to the Caisse de la Dette. But as long as these revenues suffice to cover the interest on the Debt, and to provide any sinking fund which the Powers may deem adequate, the balance ought simply to be handed over to the Egyptian Government to deal with as it pleases, and the antiquated distinction of ‘authorised’ and ‘unauthorised’ expenditure should be swept away. No reform is more necessary than this, if the country is to derive the greatest possible benefit from the improved condition of its finances, which has been attained by such severe privations.”

Lord Lansdowne proceeds to explain the anomalies and inconveniences which are connected with the Caisse de la Dette and other international administrations in Egypt, and the manner in which it was proposed to remedy them, so as to give the Egyptian Government a free hand in the disposal of its own resources, while safeguarding the interests of the bondholders. He specially calls attention to the recognition by the French Government of the predominant position of Great Britain in Egypt, and their acknowledgement that it is not of a temporary character.

It is not necessary here to discuss the other subjects dealt with in the agreements between Great Britain and France. At the time of the Arabi rebellion and for many years afterwards public opinion in England was unmistakably opposed to prolonging the occupation of Egypt; and public opinion in France was as unmistakably anxious to procure our withdrawal. Happily for Egypt, the eminent statesmen who negotiated the recent agreements have recognised the force of circumstances, and have merited the approbation of both countries by evolving a practical solution

advantageous to all. The other Powers whose consent was requisite have raised no difficulties; and the incubus which has long weighed upon Egypt has been removed. No further questions are to be asked as to the date of evacuation. Cavillers may still harp upon the inconsistencies of the juridical position, and enquire whether we mean tutelage or protection. The answer is that His Majesty's Government have declared that they have no intention of altering the political status of Egypt. Externally, the Great Powers are content. Internally, those concerned may refer to Lord Granville's despatch, of which a quotation has already been given.

Herodotus informs us that the Oracle of Jupiter Ammon, in reply to an enquiry as to the boundaries of Egypt, pronounced that 'Egypt is the country watered by the Nile.' Thousands of years have since then passed away, but the definition is still exact. The line to which the fertilising waters can be made to reach marks the limits of the productive area. From the earliest times the attention of both rulers and subjects has been constantly directed to the utilisation of the great river upon which the very existence of Egypt depends. The *shadoof* and the *sakiyeh*—simple contrivances which enabled man and beast to lift water upon the land—formed, from remote antiquity, the adjuncts of cultivation; and these simple, cheap, and efficient machines are still to be found at work all over Egypt. Embankments and canals, implying the control of property and labour, were works whose execution lay with the rulers. Works of art in the shape of regulators, sluices, siphons, and the machinery connected with them, belong to modern times. To the French engineers, Linant, Mougel, and others, is to be attributed the initiation of hydraulic works of a scientific nature. The great Delta barrage was their conception; but, owing to an inadequate appreciation of the insidious force of the great river, to defective workmanship, and to the captious interference of the despotic Mehemet Ali, this monumental work proved to be incapable of sustaining the strain which it was designed to bear. The losing of the sluices was immediately followed by the development of subsidences, cracks, and failures in the masonry, which defied all attempts to remedy them at

the time ; and, after an expenditure of 4,000,000*l.* sterling, the attempt to control the Nile was abandoned, and the Delta barrage remained as a stately bridge and a useless fortress. In that condition it stood until the Public Works Department came under British control.

Sir Evelyn Baring had long known the vital importance of irrigation to Egypt. In the position which he had last filled, that of financial member of the Viceroy's council, he had controlled the expenditure of India, including that of the Public Works Department, and had recognised the skill and devotion of the staff of that great organisation, and the success which had followed the scientific development of irrigation in India. To that body he looked to obtain engineers capable of advising and executing what was wanted in Egypt. Nor did he look in vain. The names of Colin Scott-Moncrieff, Garstin, Willcocks, Ross, Brown, Foster, Western, and Reid are now well known throughout the world for the astonishing changes which they have wrought in the development of Egypt under the masterful hand and fostering support of Lord Cromer.

The project of the barrage was excellent. Its practical execution was faulty, but its renovation was not impossible for experienced and resourceful engineers. This great work, above a mile and a half in length, crosses the head of the Delta some ten miles below Cairo, at the point where the Rosetta and Damietta branches diverge, and was intended to dam up the river at low Nile so as to ensure a perennial minimum flow of water through three great canals—the Behera, irrigating the land west of the Rosetta branch ; the Menoufia, providing for the tract between the two rivers ; and the Tewfikia, watering the country east of the Damietta branch. At the same time the sluices had to be capable of allowing the full discharge of the river at the time of highest flood, when over 13,000 cubic metres per second are passing, or about 10,000 in an average flood. The quantity discharged at low Nile falls to an average of 400 cubic metres per second, or, in exceptional seasons, as low as 200. The average maximum is therefore twenty-five times as much as the average minimum discharge. While at high Nile there is more water flowing through the river than is wanted, at low Nile the quantity is insufficient ; and the function of a barrage is to store up a

portion of the excess and maintain the level of the water in the canals during the period of low Nile. The problem before the Anglo-Indian engineers was further complicated by the condition that the operations must not interfere with the existing supply, upon which the cultivable area depended. The work was undertaken with skilful foresight and carried out in successive years, during the season of low Nile, by the employment of various ingenious expedients. The result of the first year of operations was that the acreage of summer cultivation was doubled; and by 1900 the area had increased to 1,700,000 acres from the 600,000 which had produced crops in 1883. This extension of cultivation is profitable to every one concerned, the annual yield of land under perennial irrigation being worth from 5*l.* to 7*l.* an acre.

The primeval method of cultivation was to wait until the annual inundation had subsided and sow the seed in the moist mud. To this succeeded the system of basin irrigation, the basins being formed by earthen embankments dividing the strip of land lying between the river and the desert into compartments which could be filled and emptied at appropriate times during high Nile. These compartments were allowed to remain full for forty days, in which period the injurious salts were dissolved out and the fertilising sediment deposited. In years when the rise was insufficient the higher basins remained dry, produced no crops, and were not taxed. The sterile area amounted in bad years to as much as 1,000,000 acres, entailing a loss of 1,000,000*l.* to the revenue. By an improved system of canals, regulators, sluices, and drains the loss has been and is being greatly curtailed. Inundation cultivation, however, produced but one crop in the year, and was exposed to considerable dangers from neglect and causes beyond control. It was, besides, unsuitable for cotton and sugar, which require watering but not flooding. The final stage of regulation was perennial irrigation, which not only permitted the growth of the valuable cotton and sugar crops, but of one or two other crops besides, thus doubling the value of the land. As soon as this was realised by the rulers and large landowners, they became zealous to apply the profitable system to their own land—not, however, for the general benefit of the country, but purely for their

own advantage. Mehemet Ali and, in a greater degree, Ismail regarded Egypt as a private domain to be administered for their own personal profit, the labour being provided by their subjects. Large and influential land-owners took the same view. New canals were in their time constructed with a total disregard to any object but the enrichment of the Khedive and the favoured few; and the interest of the population at large was entirely neglected. The idea that a despot should be a benevolent ruler of his people, or that property has its duties as well as its rights, never entered into the mind of the rulers of Egypt or of the proprietary classes. The labour of the many supplied the essential water to the few.

On the surrender of the Khedivial property for the service of the debts incurred by Ismail, and the advent of the Anglo-Indian engineers, the evil, short-sighted, and corrupt methods of administering the irrigation service were soon swept away. It is indispensable that the control of the distribution of water in a country like Egypt should remain entirely under the control of the Government; and it is essential to the general prosperity that the control should be scrupulously equitable, and that no favour should be shown and no surreptitious advantages permitted. No one who remembers Egypt under the rule of Ismail, when *corvée*, *courbash*, conscription, and corruption reigned supreme, and who has again seen it under existing conditions—attained not without much opposition on the part of those who might have been expected to co-operate—can fail to be deeply moved by the immense change which has been wrought under the British régime, which has recently attained its majority, and is now free to continue its beneficent labours. Perennial irrigation is now a reality whose judicious extension is only limited by capacity of supply. The compulsory, unpaid labour of the *corvée*, by which the clearing of the canals and a vast number of subsidiary works were formerly executed, has been abolished by the substitution of paid labour. The *courbash* has been prohibited. Water is fairly and impartially distributed to the lands of the fellah and those of the bey.

Although the description of Lake Mœris given by the ancient historians proves that the construction of a reservoir, in which the excess of water at high Nile could

be stored to supplement the deficiency of low Nile, had actually been put into execution forty-six centuries ago, and was personally seen by Herodotus twenty-five centuries ago, that historian appears to have been more struck by the labyrinth and the great catch of fish in the channel connecting the reservoir with the Nile than by the utilitarian object of the lake. The problem in modern times arises from the fundamental condition that at low Nile there is not in the river enough water to go round, even though none be allowed to flow into the sea; and there can be no extension of perennial irrigation and no further reclamation of land until the minimum supply is supplemented. Nor must the flow of fertilising matter held in suspension in the flood be diminished by its deposit as silt. To meet these requirements Sir William Willcocks, after mature preliminary examination, designed the great dam across the river at the first cataract, immediately above Assouan. The original project would have submerged all the temples on the island of Philæ. Public opinion supported the archæologists against the utilitarians and procured a great reduction in the height of the dam, a decision which hereafter may have to be reconsidered.

The dam has 180 sluices, capable of allowing the maximum discharge at highest flood to flow through. During that period of the year all the gates are open, approximately, for the months of August, September, October, and November; and the dam is merely a long bridge through which flow in every second from ten to fifteen thousand tons of water.* As the flood subsides the sluices are gradually closed, until, by February, the water held up by the dam reaches its highest level, or about 65 feet above the lowest. The volume thus stored up amounts to between a thousand and twelve hundred millions of cubic metres or tons; and the effect extends 140 miles up the river. Then supervene the four months of low Nile, March, April, May, and June, during which the discharge falls from about 1200 tons per second to 400, or, in very low years, to 200 tons per second at the end of May—the last figure being disastrous to cultivation.

* A cubic metre of water weighs a ton.

In twenty-four hours there are 86,400 seconds, so that the discharge of 100 tons per second means 8,640,000 tons per day. The water stored up in the reservoir would, at this rate, last for 115 days, or the whole of the low season. But it is only urgently required when the Nile is extremely low, yielding only from 200 to 300 tons per second. This discharge might be supplemented by another 300 or 200 tons, so as to bring it up to 500 tons per second for about 50 days. The reservoir, therefore, affords an absolutely trustworthy insurance against very low Nile, which occurs about once in five years, and, under former conditions, meant a certainty of loss to all concerned. In ordinary years the water stored by the Assouan dam affords the possibility of converting nearly 1,000,000 acres to perennial irrigation and increasing the value of the produce by about 2,500,000*l.* sterling, which is about cent. per cent. upon the cost of the work. It will naturally be asked, How was this money found? The Egyptian Government could not touch the accumulated reserve, could not borrow without the consent of the Caisse, and could not raise money for annual expenditure without an increase of taxation equal to double the amount wanted, for half the amount raised would go to the Caisse. The solution was discovered by Lord Cromer. Sir E. Cassel found the requisite 2,000,000*l.*, and agreed to repayment by a deferred annuity for thirty years, commencing in 1903, the year following the completion of the reservoir by Sir John Aird. The direct annual gain to the revenue is 378,000*l.*, the annuity being 156,000*l.* The net profit of the Egyptian Government is therefore over 200,000*l.* per annum.

Simultaneously with the construction of the Assouan dam, two important works were undertaken in order to co-operate with it. At the head of the Ibrahimiyah canal has been built the Assiout barrage, and at midway between the Delta barrage and Damietta the Zifta barrage, at a cost of about 900,000*l.* for the former and 500,000*l.* for the latter. Both are already remunerative. Besides these great works for getting water on the land, a no less important feature in the work of the engineers, and one which had, until their advent, been much neglected, is getting the water off. More than 600 miles of drains have been added to the already enormous number

of water channels in Egypt; for every irrigating canal requires a drain as its complement.

There is still a vast field for further reclamation in the Delta; but it cannot be undertaken until the supply of water under control has been increased. For many years this question has occupied the attention of the Anglo-Indian engineers; and so recently as August in this year there has been presented to Parliament a fresh contribution to the voluminous literature upon the subject in the shape of a report by Sir William Garstin on the basin of the Upper Nile.

Lord Cromer, under whose fostering hand the development of all branches of the administration has been encouraged and controlled, reviews the proposals in a covering despatch to Lord Lansdowne, which tersely and lucidly explains the situation. It may seem almost a work of supererogation to remark that the very table of contents of this compendious collection, comprising as it does the whole of the great lakes and rivers which feed the Nile, demonstrates the indispensable necessity of unity of control over its waters. In the treaty with Abyssinia of May 15, 1902, it is provided that no work shall be constructed across the Blue Nile, Lake Tsana, or the river Sobat, except by mutual agreement. It is not, however, in contemplation at present to regulate Lake Tsana. All the rest of the country watered by the Nile is in British or Egyptian hands. It is calculated that between three and four thousand millions of cubic metres of water over and above the present summer supply, including the Assouan reservoir, would suffice for all Egyptian requirements; but to this must be added the needs for the development of the Soudan. Sir William Garstin's estimate for further works connected with the Nile amounts to 21,000,000*l*.

Lord Cromer holds that the aim of the Egyptian Government should be to work gradually up to this programme; but he adds that only a part of it requires early treatment, and that railways must share in the expenditure, notably the completion of the line from Souakin to Berber, the execution of a line along the Blue Nile to Medani, and the refitting of the Egyptian railways. In addition to the works for introducing perennial irrigation into Middle Egypt and for raising the

Assouan dam so that it may store another 1,000,000,000 of cubic metres, and to the remodelling of the Rosetta and Damietta branches of the Nile. In the more remote future Lord Cromer places an important but costly project for obviating the enormous waste which the Nile is subject to by its passage through the Sudd region, where from 50 to 80 per cent. is lost through dispersion and evaporation. The remedies proposed are the excavation of a perfectly new channel, or the adaptation of the derivative Bahr-el-Zaraf. The regulation of the lakes, the formation of a reservoir at Rosaires, a barrage on the Blue Nile, a canal system for the Gezireh, the regulation of the River Gash, weirs between Assiout and Keneh, and a reservoir in Wady Rayan, are also discussed. These projects, as Lord Cromer says, are sufficiently ambitious for the present. He will provide a large sum for additional staff to study the various projects, which are of such magnitude as to impose the policy of *festina lente*. Sir William Garstin remarks that, even if the money were available, it is scarcely possible that these works could be executed under a period of ten to fifteen years under the most favourable circumstances. When the whole of his scheme is completed he estimates that in Egypt 750,000 acres will be converted from basin into perennial irrigation; that 100,000 acres will be made capable of being irrigated by pumps; that 800,000 additional acres will be brought into cultivation; and that, at very moderate rates, the increased revenue to be derived from taxation will be 1,205,000*l.*E. a year.

In the Soudan 1,000,000 acres will be brought under cultivation, the return of which in land-tax will be 500,000*l.*E. a year—a sum which will render that country, for so many years a burden upon Egypt, self-supporting. Lord Cromer anticipates that the Souakin-Berber railway, which will cost 1,750,000*l.*E., will be open by the spring of 1906. The construction of that line will afford a new and shorter outlet for the produce of the Soudan. Berber is about 330 miles from Souakin by the alignment of the new railway, and 1400 miles from Alexandria. The length of the latter route is practically prohibitive for goods of small intrinsic value, but it has long been used for ivory, ostrich feathers, gum, and other valuable produce, which passed through the hands of the merchants of Lower

Egypt, whose interests were therefore opposed to the construction of the line to Souakin. When this line is open, both imports and exports will receive a considerable impetus from the diminished cost of transport; and cereals, cotton, sugar, coffee, coal, petroleum, hardware, textiles, and fancy goods will afford abundant occupation for it. The maritime trade passing northward from Souakin will, however, have to pay Suez Canal dues, which amount at present to $8\frac{1}{2}$ francs per ton, as well as the Egyptian customs at Souakin. As Lord Milner says,

'any improvement in his water supply is a thing which goes straight home to the heart of every Egyptian. It is the one sort of benefit which you can confer upon him of which the value is not only indisputable but universally recognised. The most successful, the most creditable, and the most unquestionably useful of all the services rendered by our country to Egypt have been connected with this vital problem of water.'

Among other material improvements which have been made during the period of our occupation, means of internal communication occupy a conspicuous place. The Nile valley railway, which formerly terminated at Assiout, has been extended to Assouan, or rather to Shellal, whence a regular service of steamers runs to Wady Halfa. From that place the Soudan military railway, one of Lord Kitchener's brilliant conceptions, runs across the Nubian desert to Abou Hamed, and thence to Khartoum, a distance of 575 miles, which is now traversed in from twenty-eight to fifty hours. The rapidity and economy with which this line was constructed, under the direction of Sir Percy Girouard (since then so conspicuous in South Africa), has probably never been exceeded. For more than four months it advanced at the rate of more than a mile per day—not a light line, but solidly laid with fifty-pound rails, for powerful, heavy engines, some of which can run 240 miles without watering. The earlier line from Wady Halfa to Kerma, near Dongola, was also begun by Lord Kitchener, in connexion with the Dongola expedition in 1897. It will probably be continued along the river to Abou Hamed.

In Lower Egypt it had long been a grievance to those concerned that Port Said had been kept in the background. When we came to Egypt, not only was there

no railway communication, but the water supply was restricted to the outflow of a couple of iron pipes which ran along the banks of the Suez Canal from Ismailia. There was an apprehension that Alexandria might be supplanted by Port Said; and this engendered a passive resistance to the removal of any disabilities—a resistance not disapproved by Egyptian Ministers. However, in 1884, an arrangement was made for the construction of a small sweet-water canal from Ismailia to Port Said. In 1891 the Egyptian Government consented to a narrow-gauge steam tramway; and in 1902 it was agreed that this should be transformed into a line of standard gauge, in connexion with the Egyptian railways, at the cost of the Suez Canal Company. The line will be completed this year; and Port Said will take its proper place as an Egyptian harbour. The rivalry of Alexandria is ceasing for want of further space there; and it is not improbable that branch establishments will grow up at Port Said as the port is extended. This work is now in progress; and the great discomforts to which the very important passenger traffic at Port Said has long been subjected will soon be removed. The Suez Canal Company has already sanctioned improvements which will very greatly increase the accommodation and facilities of the port. As feeders to the main lines, a considerable network of light railways has been constructed by various companies in the Delta and in the Fayoum; and a large mileage of agricultural roads has been made on which the wagon and the cart supersede the ancient pack transport on the camel and the donkey.

In the class of administrative reforms, great and necessary ameliorations have been introduced in almost all departments of the state—public security, police, justice, prisons, education, sanitation, and last, but most important, finance. When we consider that Egypt has been under the rule of Islam for over 1200 years, and that Cairo was the seat of the Khalifs for half that long period, it will occasion no surprise that the institutions of the Mohammedan religion are deeply rooted there, or that the teachings of the Koran and the manners and customs of the 'Thousand and one Nights' still permeate the life of the people. While Christians recite with apathetic concurrence the exaltation of the humble an

been reached, but considerable progress has been made. Codes and procedure are being evolved on civilised models; legal education is producing capable lawyers and judges; and the realisation of the project is recognised to be within the sphere of practical politics. But, in Lord Cromer's opinion, the time is not ripe for any organic changes.

In the Soudan there are no Capitulations, no Consuls, no Caisse de la Dette, and no Mixed Tribunals. The country is governed by a benevolently administered martial law, while a suitable system of civil and criminal codes and procedure is being evolved. The Cadi or judge who administers the Sacred Law is now a salaried official. His jurisdiction has been safeguarded; and his education in the future is provided for by the new training departments of the Gordon College at Khartoum, which is already diffusing wisdom and educating teachers for the schools which are being founded throughout the country. Many of the aboriginal tribes are purely pagan and altogether illiterate. For them the personal supervision of the benevolent despot is infinitely more suitable and more acceptable than any premature attempt to introduce laws whose aims and even whose justice they must long remain entirely incapable of appreciating. Most of the administrators of the Soudan are British military officers in the Egyptian army. The innate capacity of these gentlemen for positions of responsibility entailing the most various duties, and the admirable manner in which they perform them, reflect credit upon the race they spring from, the system in which they have been trained, and the commanders under whom they have served—Evelyn Wood, Grenfell, Kitchener, and Wingate, who have succeeded one another in the position of Sirdar.

The growth in efficiency of the Egyptian army under English officers is best evidenced by its deeds, which may be found set forth in Mr Charles Royle's 'Egyptian Campaigns,' interspersed with much other valuable matter concerning the military operations in Egypt from 1882 to 1899, which space forbids us to dwell upon. The disasters of Arendroop in Abyssinia, of Sinkat, of Mahmoud Talma near Tokar (when Captain Moncrieff was killed), of Suliman Pasha near Tamanieb, of Valentine Baker at El Teb, of Hicks Pasha near Obeid, of Khartoum and the Soudan garrisons, are sufficient to indicate that the military

forces of Egypt were formerly unable to face brave and fanatical barbarians at the period which preceded the reorganisation. Their subsequent exploits at Souakin, Argin, Toski, Firket, Dongola, Abou Hamed, Atbara, and Omdurman showed that a new spirit had been infused into them, and that, under competent instruction and leading, they could be moulded into reliable troops. In serious contests we have, however, found it advisable to add a strengthening of British soldiers.

At the time of our arrival in Egypt the prisons, lunatic asylums, hospitals, and sanitary services were inconceivably bad. Considerable progress has since then been made in remedying the evils and deficiencies, which are mainly of a nature inherent in the religion and customs of the people, whether Moslems or Copts. The former, indeed, are enjoined to perform ablutions before prayer; but the observance is merely a perfunctory ritual, and the general habits of the fellah are in flagrant violation of the most elementary sanitary rules. The same stagnant puddle furnishes drinking water and is contaminated by pollutions of every kind. It is not surprising that infectious and contagious maladies were propagated with rapidity. Among them may be mentioned ophthalmia, whose ravages in the past were very great, about half of the whole population having their sight impaired. Plague, cholera, typhus, enteric, typhoid and malarial fevers, and small-pox appeared from time to time as epidemics, and swept away enormous numbers. Perhaps the most frightfully insanitary district which it is possible to conceive was that part of Cairo which lay adjacent to the Khalig canal (now filled up), in which most of the ancient mosques were situated. In the cholera epidemic of 1883 this tract enjoyed a relative immunity, it being said that every one susceptible to any sort of infection must have died long before the outbreak. In the mosques a supply of pure water has been laid on to replace the basins, which were little removed from cess-pools. Waterworks have been constructed for the supply of several towns. Remarkable success has attended the remedial measures suggested by the discovery that malarial fever was propagated by mosquitoes. At Ismailia, where it had raged for many years, and few escaped its attacks, the Suez Canal Company, which has pre-

dominant authority there, on the advice of Major Ronald Ross, took measures for the extirpation of the breeding grounds of that pest by filling up stagnant pools, spreading a film of petroleum over such stationary water as remained, and enforcing simple and salutary rules as to the use of quinine as a prophylactic. The result has been marvellous. Mosquitoes and malarial fever have disappeared; and the general health of the town has greatly improved. Elsewhere, hospitals, dispensaries, and sanitation have extended under Dr Sandwith, Dr Milton, Sir John Rogers, and Sir Horace Pinching; and recent epidemics have not been able to attain the magnitude which formerly characterised them.

Education of a very primitive and elementary kind had long been confined to the mosques and kattabs, in which the learning by heart of some extracts from the Koran—whose language differs so much from the vernacular as to be unintelligible to the majority—formed the principal subject of instruction. Public instruction is now recognised as a branch of the government; and the schools are conducted on sound principles, French and English being taught as the vehicles for acquiring that wider knowledge of which Arabic does not even furnish a vocabulary. Law, medicine, engineering, agriculture, and technical subjects are taught in colleges; and an impetus is given to their acquisition by the establishment of examinations for entry into the public service, thus substituting the principle of appointment by merit for the old system of appointment by favour. Training colleges for teachers have been established; and their influence will permeate into the village schools. The progress made in the last twenty years is very noticeable in every branch of life; but the rate of expansion will depend upon what the finances can afford.

It will be recollected that Lord Dufferin devised, in 1883, a constitution for Egypt embodying representative institutions in the form of a Legislative Council and a Chamber of Notables. The former, on which fourteen out of thirty members are nominated by the Government, meets once a month. It is not empowered to initiate legislation, and the Government is not bound to accept its views. Many of its proposals have been useful and practical; sometimes, however, they have been extra-

ordinarily grotesque. The Chamber of Notables consists of forty-six members popularly elected, besides the Ministers and Legislative Council. It has no legislative functions; but no new taxes can be imposed without its consent, which has not hitherto been required in any notable cases.

These representative institutions, though still in their infancy, will have the effect of training the upper classes of the Egyptians to gain an intelligent comprehension of the conduct of public affairs; and the establishment of self-governing municipalities will conduce to the same end. In the same connexion the devolution of authority to the Mudirs or provincial governors, to the police, to the Mamours or sub-governors, to the Omdehs or heads of villages, and to the Ghaffirs or watchmen, has been systematised and their supervision provided for, with a marked increase in the public security, a diminution in corruption and oppression, and assured position and emoluments to those so employed.

Our occupation commenced in the reign of the Khedive Tewfik, who was fully conscious of his father's extravagances, had felt the vicissitudes of the Arabi rebellion, and had been restored by British bayonets. Tewfik Pasha kept whatever aspirations he may have had for personal control in the background, submitted gracefully to the rôle of reigning without governing, and earned general respect and popularity. On his untimely death, which was a misfortune to Egypt, his son Abbas Hilmi was recalled from his studies at Vienna to take his place.

Now, although we can hardly dignify them as political parties, there are in Egypt various bodies, such as the Nationalists, the Young Egypt party, the fanatical Moslems, who profitably exploit the protection afforded them by the Capitulations, and others, who have this in common, that they resent control, desire that sort of liberty which would enable them to oppress others, and prefer being badly ruled by their own party to being well ruled by any foreign influence. When Abbas Hilmi succeeded to his inheritance, his aspirations for independence and his conceptions of patriotism led him to sympathise to a considerable extent with these parties and to adopt a somewhat recalcitrant attitude towards the occupying Power, which was evidenced by several incidents not now

necessary to recall. He had to be reminded by Lord Rosebery that in all important matters, such as the formation of his ministries, he must act with the knowledge and approval of the British authorities; and it was made perfectly clear to him that the position of Viceroy of Egypt, while in British occupation, was subordinate to the authority of the occupying Power. Since then the relations between the Khedive and the British authorities have been harmonious; and his Highness no doubt now understands that the security and prosperity which the country enjoys are due to the special efforts of a single nation, and that the various great works which have transfigured the face of the country and raised it to undreamt-of prosperity would never have been initiated, and could never have been completed, by any of the reactionary elements in the land. Nor will he fail to recognise that a relapse into the former system of autocratic oriental government would, in a brief space, reproduce the old abuses and nullify the reforms which have been introduced. We shall continue to look forward to the time when Egypt can govern herself, but we must admit that we have vastly underestimated it in the past, and that for many years the 'masterful hand' of the Resident must continue to guide her destinies.

Egypt was densely populated in ancient times. In the reign of Augustus there were 18,000,000 of inhabitants; at the time of the Arab conquest, half that number; at the date of the expedition of Napoleon, 2,460,000; at the first official census in 1846, 4,463,000; at that of 1882, 6,806,000. The census of 1897 shows a population of 9,734,000, or an increase at the rate of about 3 per cent. per annum during the period of British occupation. In the same period, under the tyranny of the Mahdi and the Khalifa, Sir Rudolf Slatin estimates that three quarters of the population of the Soudan perished. There remained but 1,870,500 inhabitants in a territory of 1,000,000 square miles; and the progress of the country will long suffer for want of hands.

The finances of Egypt, under the general control of Lord Cromer and the supervision of Sir Auckland Colvin, Sir Edgar Vincent, Sir Elwin Harvey, and Sir Eldon Gorst, have undergone continual and consistent improve-

ment. While the revenues have increased, the burdens of taxation have decreased. The area of cultivated land has risen; its produce has been increased by the extension of perennial irrigation; its value, whether for purchase or rental, has largely augmented; and the average tax per acre has fallen 20 per cent. The incidence of taxation, being spread over a largely increased population, has fallen 25 per cent. per head. Compulsory gratuitous labour in the shape of *corvée* has, so far as possible, been abolished: 281,000 men were called out in 1881, and only 11,244 in 1893. The debt attained its maximum in 1891, when the amount in the hands of the public reached 105,609,100*l.* It now stands at 93,383,000. Reckoned per head of population, the indebtedness has fallen from above 14*l.* to below 10*l.*, and is annually decreasing. The interest charges on the debt amounted to 4,235,921*l.* in 1881, when the revenue was 9,000,000*l.* They have now fallen to 3,719,503*l.* out of a revenue amounting to 11,500,000*l.* in 1904. Within the last eighteen years a sum of 8,000,000*l.* has been expended out of revenue upon reproductive works of irrigation.

Imports and exports together were valued in 1882 at 17,417,100*l.* By 1903 their value (35,265,400*l.*) had more than doubled, irrespective of tobacco, which now brings in more than 1,000,000*l.* to the Treasury. The British share of the trade is about one half the whole, and the French one tenth. At Cairo and Alexandria the octroi duties, which brought in about 200,000*l.* a year to the Government, have been abolished, with the singular result of a rise, in place of the anticipated fall, in the price of provisions, thus showing that this artificial barrier unduly depreciated prices below their natural level and weighed heavily on the producer.

Agricultural banks have been established, guaranteed by the Government, and authorised to lend up to 500*l.* on landed security at 9 per cent., a rate of interest which, though it may appear high, is vastly less than that formerly demanded by the local usurer. The experiment proved successful. At the end of 1902 the outstanding loans exceeded 1,000,000*l.*; at the close of 1903 they exceeded 2,000,000*l.*

lands of the Domains and Daira administrations
surrendered by Ismail to the Government)

are being gradually sold—generally in small plots averaging sixteen acres; and the sugar factories have also been disposed of to a corporation for a sum of 850,000*L*. The proceeds are applied to the reduction of the debts which were secured upon them to the amount of 18,000,000*L*. This indebtedness has already been reduced to 7,000,000*L*.

The tolls formerly payable for the navigation of the Nile and the canals have been almost entirely abolished. They had been imposed with a view of diverting the transport traffic to the government railways. The number of cargo-boats has greatly increased, and they act as feeders to the railways.

The various government administrations, comprising railways, telegraphs, posts, lighthouses, ports, and hall-marking, bring in a total revenue of 2,740,000*L*., and involve an expense of 1,506,000*L*., leaving a net profit of 1,234,000*L*., which will shortly be at the disposal of the Egyptian Government. The farming of the fisheries, which had existed from remote antiquity, has been suppressed, and a simple boat-tax substituted, which sits lightly on this large industry. Post-office savings banks have been established; and the Grand Mufti has pronounced an opinion that the participation in profits which the investors enjoy is not contrary to the religious laws against usury. It is hoped that this measure will bring a large amount of hoarded money into circulation. In the last five years the imports of gold have exceeded the exports by more than 12,000,000*L*.; and this vast sum is withheld from circulation owing mainly to religious scruples as to receiving interest.

This long review of beneficent administration might be considerably extended; but sufficient has been said to prove beyond any cavil that the prosperity of Egypt and the Egyptians has increased by leaps and bounds since the period of British occupation, in spite of much harassing opposition. To those who have witnessed the extravagance, the waste, the oppression, and the corruption of the days of Ismail; who have watched the dawn and the development of wise, prudent, honest, and equitable administration; and who have returned to see the extraordinary metamorphosis which the country, the

cities, the towns, and the villages have undergone in the last twenty years, there can be but one conclusion—that the British have performed their task well.

After giving every credit to the brave soldiers, the able administrators, the skilful engineers, and the other men of energy and resource who have co-operated with him—as Lord Cromer throughout has liberally and generously done—the broad fact remains that, for more than a quarter of a century, he has been the moving spirit, the central figure in this admirable transformation. That no changes in our system of party government should have impaired in any way the confidence reposed in him by the successive occupants of the position of Foreign Secretary is a fact which reflects equal credit on the judgment of our statesmen and on the capacity and tact of the pilot who has steered with such uniform success through so many storms, and who has chosen to abide by his post and carry on the great work which none but he could have performed so well, rather than accept the higher positions which were offered to him and the easier duties which they entailed.

The motto of the Barings is 'Probitate et Labore.' Surely no words can more appropriately describe the long career of devotion to the public service which has earned for the Earl of Cromer the honours and dignities he enjoys. But the public is not fully aware of the magnitude of the debt which they owe to the man who by his far-sightedness, discrimination, and unerring judgment, by his imperturbable serenity and moderation, and by his resolution and persistence, has surmounted the innumerable difficulties that stood in the path along which he has guided the destinies of Egypt from misgovernment and bankruptcy to order and prosperity.

This work of many years has now been happily crowned by the *entente cordiale* brought about by His Majesty and Lord Lansdowne with the French Republic. We have reason to hope that this auspicious agreement will furnish a new point of departure for a still more prosperous future, and for the removal of the anomalies and disabilities which still survive.

Art. X.—FATIGUE.

1. *Fatigue*. By A. Mosso, Professor of Physiology in the University of Turin. Translated by Margaret Drummond, M.A., and W. B. Drummond, M.B. London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1904.
2. *Weariness*. The Rede Lecture, delivered in the University of Cambridge, 1893. By Professor Sir Michael Foster, K.C.B., 'Nineteenth Century,' September 1893.
3. *Remarks on Replies by Teachers to Questions respecting Mental Fatigue*. By Francis Galton, F.R.S. 'Journal of the Anthropological Institute,' vol. XVIII, 1889.

FATIGUE is a phase of life to which few are strangers. That which the word denotes is an experience only too familiar to most persons, but in varied character and degree. It is a feature of perfect health, and yet is a link with disease, since it is produced with undue readiness in morbid states, and in some it constitutes a conspicuous symptom. Not only is it varied in its manifestation, but it has many-sided relations; and some of these involve considerable scientific interest. As a result of activity in the normal state, it is a part of physiology, the study of the living body in health; and as such it has been recently made the subject of much research, which has resulted in discoveries of considerable importance. It is a difficult subject for investigation, for reasons which will presently be mentioned; and it is curious that the study it has received has been chiefly at the hands of Italians. That nation has shared conspicuously the impulse to scientific research that has recently affected all civilised peoples, and has extended even to the state that is now so prominent in the eyes of the world—Japan. Italy has grand traditions to inspire her; and the degree in which she excelled in the study of life three centuries ago may have inspired the noteworthy work in physiology which her sons have lately achieved.

Contagion is not confined to disease; it is manifested also in tendencies of thought and work. The special study that has been given by Italians to the subject of fatigue seems chiefly due to the fact that one of their best known physiologists, Professor Mosso, has made it for many years a favourite subject of investigation. He has

published the results of his work in many papers, and has condensed them in a small volume designed for popular consumption, which has been translated into English. But fatigue is largely a feeling, a fact of sensation; and our meagre knowledge of the processes which underlie its sensory phenomena was admirably described by Sir Michael Foster in his Rede Lecture on 'Weariness,' given before the University of Cambridge. This lecture is a remarkable example of the use of simple, apt language to describe recondite scientific facts.

It is curious that a fact of life so keenly and generally felt as is fatigue should have received systematic study only in recent years. The cause of its neglect becomes perceptible when we discern how little even the latest research can teach us of the nature of weariness, how little science can add to that which every one knows by experience. We may find an inkling of this in the words we use to designate the condition. The word 'fatigue' and all its synonyms, 'tiredness,' 'weariness,' 'exhaustion,' and the like, are positive terms. They are designations of the definite sensation which attends over-exertion. Yet, when we think of fatigue and exhaustion, we think of the inability for further exertion which accompanies the sensation quite as much as of the sensation itself. There are thus two sides to our perception of fatigue—a positive side, the sensation of weariness, and a negative side, the diminished power of exertion. Each is prominent in our thoughts. When we speak of being 'tired,' we mean, generally, that we cannot go on with the effort; yet only the definite sensation finds expression in our words. 'Exhaustion' is the nearest approach to a distinctly negative term we use, but this is really positive. The fact is, indeed, an illustration of the way in which all sensations dominate our thoughts and the words which convey them. Our feelings are the most definite realities to our consciousness; they govern our language and often exert a strong influence on more than our words.

Unfortunately for science, feeling or sensation for the most part eludes our grasp. The actual sensory functions of the nerves can be tested—the sensitiveness of the skin to touch or pain, of the auditory nerve to hearing, of the eye to light and colour; but the multitudinous sensations of which the brain may be conscious elude the

methods of scientific research even in its latest elaboration. They cannot be described in words, for our feelings altogether transcend the capacities of language; and only similes can be used, which mislead rather than inform. To this class of uncomprehended sensations belong those which are caused by over-exertion. The 'feelings' of fatigue constitute an obstacle to exertion often insuperable, but their purely subjective nature makes their scientific investigation almost impossible. That which is only felt cannot be recorded, and eludes the precise observation that is necessary for accurate study.

Hence the only aspect of fatigue which is open to research is its negative nature, the diminished power which results from over-exertion. The fact that strength is lessened by continued effort, even in moderate degree, is a matter of familiar observation. Animal life sometimes affords us striking examples; and one pertinent instance is the utter exhaustion of migratory birds when they have had to fly against an adverse wind. Birds vary much in their power of long flight; and the distance travelled by swallows and swifts is less marvellous than that covered by birds such as quails, which seem to have no great strength of wing, and yet are migratory. On reaching land they are often scarcely able to move; and many fail, simply from exhaustion, to reach the shore. Carrier pigeons, which have flown long distances, present the same symptoms of exhaustion; and the effect of over-work has been found by Mosso to be shown in them by increased temperature, and even by an altered colour of the muscles which move the wings.

But such observations are not definite enough for modern science. The influence of muscular exertion can be observed, measured, and recorded with precision. The aid which mechanics have given to the study of life is remarkable. It is not a jest, but a sober fact, to say that the science of physiology has been revolutionised by a revolving cylinder. Moved by clockwork at varying speeds, this simple apparatus has opened up a range of precise observation which has almost transformed the investigation of vital phenomena. To those who know anything of physiological science, the use of such an apparatus is so familiar that they have perhaps never thought of what physiology would be without it.

the knowledge gained by its means could be eliminated, that which remains would be little more than was perceived fifty years ago, except in the domain of the chemistry of life. It is, indeed, strange how deep a debt physiology owes to simple mechanics.

For those who are not familiar with practical physiology it may be said that the cylinder is covered with paper blackened by the soot of such a smoke as is given off by burning camphor. On this black surface, as the cylinder revolves, a white line is traced by a point attached to a lever; this lever magnifies, perhaps a dozen times, the movement to be recorded. The cylinder, about two feet in circumference, may be made to revolve once a minute or oftener, even once in a few seconds; and any process which can cause a movement can thus be made to record itself in the variation of a definite line. Two processes can be made to produce a record at the same time; and thus the interval which separates them is revealed, although it may be far smaller than could be distinguished by the eye. If twenty-four inches of paper pass beneath the writing points in a second, a difference in space of one tenth of an inch will correspond to one 240th of a second, a period far too short to be discerned by the eye. Moreover, to aid the comparison of space and time, the science of acoustics is called into service. Every tuning-fork vibrates a definite number of times in a second. It may be made to record its vibrations on the cylinder while the observations are made; and thus an absolute measure of time is written simultaneously on the blackened surface, which indicates, with perfect certainty, the interval of time to which a given space corresponds. By this means facts have been ascertained regarding every process of the animal body which can produce a movement. Even the rate of the transmission of a nerve-impulse has been measured. Although a touch, and the feeling it produces, seem simultaneous to the most careful observer, they are found to be separated by a large fraction of a second.

By an ingenious contrivance, which he calls the 'ergograph,' Mosso has recorded the strength exerted by the muscles which bend one of the fingers. If a weight is attached to the instrument, the exhaustion of the muscles during contractions can be ascertained and indicated

by the height to which the weight is raised; and this is recorded by the tracing of the lever. The gradual diminution of the strength which can be exerted, slow or quick, according to the various conditions of the body, is presented in a large series of diagrams in Mosso's book. The diminution occurs equally, whether the muscles are set in action by the will or are stimulated by an electrical shock to the nerves. The features of their exhaustion have been studied more completely by experiments on animals, in which, indeed, Mosso was long anticipated. The frog is a convenient agent for such observations, because it will go on living for a long time after being killed. The statement may seem somewhat Hibernian; but the division of the spinal cord from the brain does not end life at once, as it would in a higher animal. The heart continues to beat and the muscles to contract, although the brain cannot act on the body, and no sensation can reach the brain. This fact is extremely convenient for physiologists. They can study many of the facts of life, and yet know that they are causing no pain, and that the will of the subject does not influence the facts they observe.

One of these facts is perhaps the most important that has been ascertained regarding the exhaustion which accompanies what we call fatigue. If the muscles of the leg of a frog, thus deprived of conscious feeling, are stimulated by electricity so as to cause contractions in quick succession, these steadily diminish in strength. The height to which the attached lever rises diminishes rapidly, as is shown by the tracing which it records on the cylinder. The diminution goes on until the contraction no longer occurs. The same electrical current passed through the nerve, which at first produced energetic movement, no longer causes contraction in the muscle. If, then, the artery of the limb is divided and distilled water is injected until it flows out freely from the veins, muscular contractions can again be obtained, and they continue for a short time. The significance of this fact is clear. Distilled water cannot renew the contractile elements of the muscle. All that it can do is, so to speak, to wash out the muscle. Hence it is certain that the cessation of the contractions, under rapid stimulation, is due not to exhaustion of the muscle, but to the presence

which hinders the response and can be removed by simple irrigation.

This fact makes us consider more closely what occurs in the muscle when it contracts. The manner in which these wonderful fibres of the muscular substance shorten and widen under a stimulus, is a marvel of which we understand but little. An impulse comes to them through the nerves—an impulse which may be produced by the will or generated by an electrical stimulation of the nerve; and the fibres with one accord become broader and shorter, drawing together the ends of the muscle and thus moving whatever is mobile to which the muscle is attached. By this simultaneous action, united in the vast number of fibres that compose a muscle, these microscopic bands exert a force that is marvellous. The single fibres are far too small to be visible to the naked eye, yet they are so disposed as to pass into synchronous contraction, and furnish a striking example of the way in which number replaces size. Indeed, multiplicity is size. Yet it needs an effort to comprehend that a collection of fibres, each comparable in dimension to a gossamer thread, just visible as it floats in the sunbeams, should be capable of raising half a hundred-weight or more.

Whence comes the energy thus exerted? The question may be unnecessary; the answer may be well-known. Yet upon it depends in part our explanation of fatigue. That force which moves a weight cannot arise *de novo* is now a matter of common knowledge. It can only be produced by being transformed, by undergoing a change in its relation to matter. Radium, indeed, gives a startling shock to our conceptions, but we are beginning to perceive that it does not really disarrange our old ideas, whatever it may add to them. We can still trust our old conclusions as to the source of muscular energy. Atoms form closer combinations. In the muscle, before it contracts, they are held apart by interatomic motion, minute in degree but vast in total amount, in the elaborate compounds of which muscle consists, and also in the oxygen which comes in the blood to the muscles. When that we call a 'stimulus' acts on the fibres, the atoms nosing them suddenly form closer compounds by the adjacent oxygen. This has a potent attraction, to which they could not yield until the

'stimulus,' as it were shaking them, set them free. Their closer union liberates the force which kept them separate. The mystery of muscle is that the released energy is so seized and united as to make the whole muscle shorten with a force proportioned to its size. We do not know how this combination of the energy released is effected; but we can see its analogy when coal-gas, mixed with air, is exploded in the cylinder of a gas engine. The atoms of coal-gas and of the oxygen of the air are kept apart by interatomic motion, 'latent energy'; the spark is here the stimulus which disturbs the balance; closer combination releases the energy, and the piston is moved, while carbonic acid and water result from the union of the atoms previously kept apart.

Between this process and that in the muscle there is a wide and unbridged gulf. Yet there is an analogy sufficiently close to be instructive. The carbonic acid formed in the gas-engine would extinguish any light placed in it; through it no other spark could pass. The combination of atoms in the muscle which releases energy produces substances that interfere with a repetition of the process. They are toxic to the muscle in so far as they hinder the process which causes contraction. They result from chemical union, less direct and less close than what we call 'combustion,' and yet analogous. But the process takes place in the living tissue; and life shrouds with its veil of mystery all that occurs within its domain.

The hindering effect of the products of muscular action is peculiarly instructive. We can understand that their removal, even by the agency of distilled water, may enable the muscle again to respond to a stimulus which reaches it; and we can understand that, if not removed, these products hinder, in all animals, the ability to maintain continuous effort. At the same time it must be remembered that another and perhaps the most potent factor in the decay of strength caused by over-exertion is the exhaustion of the elements of the muscles from which the energy is derived. Their renewal under the influence of life is speedy, but it needs time. The quick repetition of muscular exertion does not permit the living tissues to appropriate, in adequate degree, the elements presented to them; and thus exhaustion is induced is the essential cause of the failure from fatigue.

its influence is accompanied, and to some extent anticipated, by the hindering effect of the products of action.

These facts enable us to understand better the sensation of fatigue, although their application has hardly yet been fully recognised by the students of the subject. They are of interest, also, as an example of the relation which one branch of science bears to another. Facts which seem isolated are found to be connected; one discovery may lead to another quite different in character. We all know that a prominent effect of over-exertion is true muscular weariness, a sensation experienced in the muscles themselves. As a feeling, this eludes investigation, as do all our pure sensations; but the discoveries of histology, the branch of science which is concerned with the minute structure of the tissues, enables us to form a definite conception of its place of origin. All sensations due to the muscles must be conveyed by the sensory nerves which belong to them. These are distinct from the motor nerves, which convey the impulses that excite contraction. The sensory nerves pass down to peculiar structures in the muscles, which have been thoroughly studied only during the last few years. The nerves terminate in peculiar long enclosures, tapering at each end, and bounded by a definite wall. These have received the name of 'muscle-spindles' from their pointed ends. Into each of these passes a contractile muscular fibre, which divides within the spindle; around it the nerve ends by a peculiar arrangement of its fibrils. These nerves, passing into the spindles, seem to be the only sensory nerves of muscles, the only nerves which can carry sensations from them. The probable explanation of the function of these structures is that the contraction of the contained muscular fibre generates in the nerve fibre, by pressure on it, impulses which correspond in intensity to the degree of contraction, not only of the fibre contained within the spindle, but of the whole muscle. It has, therefore, been suggested that they are of the nature of 'muscle-meters,' analogous to the meters of an electrical current, which divert a small portion, and estimate it, as an index to the strength of the whole. These nerves carry all impressions from the muscles which reach the brain. If a muscle is pinched, the pain is felt in consequence of the compression of these nerves; and it is also their com-

pression which gives rise to the intense pain of cramp. It must be through them that we receive the sensation of muscular fatigue familiar to every one as a result of over-exertion.

The fact, already noticed, that muscular action gives rise to a waste product which has a toxic influence on the fibres, affords a clue to the origin of this sensation of fatigue or weariness. The muscle-fibres within the spindles must contract with the rest of the muscle. Although motor nerve fibres have not yet been proved to pass within the spindle, yet the effect of stimulation passes along a muscular fibre, throughout its length; and thus the effect of the stimulation of the fibre outside the spindle must extend through the portion within it. The contraction here inevitably gives rise to the same waste product, with the same toxic influence. It is only through the sensory nerves of the spindle that the feeling of muscular fatigue can be perceived; and we may safely conclude that it is through the influence of the toxic product on the sensory nerve endings that the sensation of muscular weariness is produced, which so distinctly arises in the muscle. These products of muscular action can escape less readily from within the capsule of the spindle than from the rest of the muscle, and have thus a special opportunity of acting on the sensory nerves. We can therefore understand that the sense of muscular weariness persists so long after exertion has ceased. It probably lasts longer than the actual exhaustion of the muscle, in harmony with our experience that the sensation left by exertion endures after the power for renewed exercise has been regained. Such an influence may well be salutary, inducing rest until the nutritional capacity for energy is fully restored. Hence we can conceive that these muscle-spindles not only are 'muscle-meters,' informing the brain of the degree of contraction of the muscle, but also constitute a mechanism having the effect of a danger signal, giving warning of the need for rest, and keeping the signal up until the capacity is fully restored.

The facts of fatigue in the brain are less so far more difficult to investigate and understand; we cannot measure and record the power of the

can that of the muscles. Prolonged exertion is known to cause analogous disability, but it may be counteracted for a time by the strange power of the nerve elements to respond to powerful stimulation, at the cost, however, of ultimate greater collapse. Before considering the features of brain fatigue, it is interesting to note the connexion between muscular exertion and cerebral activity. Mosso mentions that birds at the end of a long migratory flight, when utterly fatigued, seem unable to see, or, at any rate, to perceive the nature of what is before them. They will fly against a house or rock or other object, and fall dead.

Apparently the effect of the excessive muscular effort is to lessen or abolish the sensory power of the cerebral centres. It is said that Alpine climbers sometimes remember very little of the incidents of the last part of a fatiguing ascent; in this case, however, other causes, as the state of the air, may co-operate. But it is easy to understand that prolonged muscular effort may cause grave interference with brain function. The products of muscular activity, which have such a restraining influence on the muscular fibres, pass readily into the blood, and reach all parts of the body, including the brain. The influence they have on the muscle is doubtless also exerted on the cerebral structures. The muscle substance more nearly resembles nerve tissue than does any other substance in the body; but that tissue exceeds muscle in sensitiveness to harmful substances. We can understand that the muscular products should have a similar, and perhaps greater, effect on the cerebral tissue, and that when the plasma which bathes the nerve elements is charged with these materials, the action of the structures of the brain should also be affected.

We should also remember that the muscles are excited to contraction by the brain; cerebral action is involved in all exercise, even in the work of the treadmill, and to a greater and wider degree in proportion as the muscular work needs mental supervision. School games, for instance, involve a wide range of brain activity. Most of the senses are called into action; comparison and judgment are needed, and the sources of nerve activity are more or less exhausted. The double influence of games, the demand on brain and muscle, and the hindrance to

each which results from the products of their action, enable us readily to comprehend the failure of the cricketer's dexterity after a long day's play, and the inability of the schoolboy to work well after hard exertion. Indeed this lesson is one of great importance. It is not reasonable to expect mental work to be well done after exhausting muscular exercise.

Of all the processes of nature that we can study, perhaps the most mysterious are those chemical changes which occur under the influence of life. There are very few rifts in the cloud that envelops and obscures this occult interchange of material, and the energy which waits upon it. At this we have already glanced in speaking of muscular action. Some investigators believe that all chemical change, when thoroughly known, may be found to be of quite other nature, and to consist really of electrical processes. But whatever discernment may come, with the growth of knowledge, concerning physical processes, these have little relation to vital action. Electricity in relation to life is as mysterious, as dim, as any other form of force. For definite knowledge we shall have apparently to wait, and to wait long—perhaps until we have learned whether there is such a thing as matter at all.

Meanwhile these processes which go on under the influence of life are recognisable by us only in dimly discerned outline, and in their definite results. We can perceive that all action of the nerve elements in the brain is attended by chemical change, just as is the activity of the muscular substance. The molecules composing them break up; atoms pass away in lower compounds, just as from the muscles. Energy, previously held latent, is released as nerve force, the mysterious form of energy which traverses the nerve fibres and stimulates the muscles to energetic contraction. Of its nature we know really nothing. We must conceive it to be a form of energy, most slight in absolute degree, but most potent in its effect on the susceptible structures. It is doubtful whether any measure of force is sufficiently delicate to express the degree of that which, passing down a nerve, will excite a large muscle to strong contraction. It may be no exaggeration to say that a force which, expressed in terms of motion, would

milligramme (say a grain of salt) a millimetre high (i.e. through a space equal to the thickness of a postcard) would suffice to excite a muscular contraction that would raise a pound weight through a foot. So great is the disproportion between the two—between the energy of the excitant and the energy liberated through its influence. This nerve force is the most delicate of all the dynamical processes of life. It is easy to conceive that the structures that evolve it should be equally delicate in equilibrium, most readily excited, and also most readily hindered. They may thus be hindered by the presence of any substances that have a restraining effect, such as result from muscular activity, and especially by such as are formed by the action of the nerve tissue itself.

As with the muscle, so with the nervous elements; their action generates their own products hindering activity. These result from all action; in slight amount they have little influence, in greater amount they restrain. After great muscular exertion the influences of the two products, those of muscular and of nerve action, coincide. The greater delicacy of the higher structures makes them extremely sensitive to such toxic agents. The nerve substance is susceptible to many organic poisons; and this susceptibility varies even in different parts, between which our coarse methods of analysis can find no difference. Strychnia, which excites the spinal cord to intense activity, has no action on the pupil of the eye; but the pupil is widely dilated by the stimulus of a small quantity of atropin, even by the five-thousandth part of a grain, which has no influence on the spinal cord.

But in the nerve structures, as in the muscles, the exhaustion of the capacity for action must be regarded as the chief cause of the inability which brain-work itself entails. We cannot here measure the relative effect of the two influences—the exhaustion of the tissue power, which is the expression and result of true brain-fatigue, and its hindrance by the products of its own action; but one tangible proof of brain-exhaustion is afforded by the fact that brain-work lessens the power of maintaining muscular action. This fact is clearly shown by some of Mosso's observations with his ergograph. The ^{10th} of successive movements of the finger diminishes rapidly after energetic mental labour than

under normal conditions. This can only be ascribed to a lessened degree of the nerve energy which stimulates the muscles. It is not easy to understand how purely mental work should lessen the power of the nerve structures which have only a motor function; but the evidence that it does so is strong. We know, moreover, that the association of various parts of the brain is close. The motor and psychical functions are intimately united; and the action of each may be more necessary for the other than we can yet discern. The strength of a chain is that of its weakest link.

Diminished muscular power is perhaps the least important of the results of brain-fatigue. Those who experience these effects are chiefly brain-workers; and the indications of weariness are more direct. But they are various in their forms, protean to a degree which transcends description. They vary according to the peculiar condition and constitution of the individual; and that which arrests the labour of one person may never be experienced by another. Common to most persons, however, is a sense of diminished brain-power; the 'mental grasp' is lessened, and a greater effort is needed for mental work; the memory will not respond readily in voluntary 'recollection.' Of this, many illustrations are given by Mosso from the experience of his medical friends as to the influence of their lectures and examination work on themselves. Indeed these experiences transcend those of our own countrymen in a degree which suggests that the Italians put more energy into their teaching than we do, and suffer from it far more. One professor who can lecture easily and happily to forty students, finds the task of lecturing to two hundred so severe a strain as to leave him utterly exhausted. The fact is described as independent of the vocal effort to reach the larger number, and as a mere result of the conscious demand of the larger audience. Most Englishmen, we think, would be stimulated by a large number of auditors in a degree that would facilitate the task, and leave them less tired at the end than they would be after driving the subject, without this stimulus, into a small number. But national temperament is responsible for many differences; and it is important that idiosyncrasies of race should not be assumed to be universal.

There is a Yorkshire saying, 'Don't measure my corn in your skep,' the spirit of which is of wide application.

The extreme variety of the subjective manifestations of mental fatigue experienced by different persons, even of the same race, is forcibly illustrated by a collection of facts made by Mr Francis Galton. He chose teachers as the persons most likely to give records of the signs of mental fatigue, owing to their double range of observation—on their pupils and on themselves. He obtained replies from more than a hundred, and carefully analysed them. Some evidences of brain-weariness in pupils, which the teachers record, are to be ascribed rather to imperfect attention than to real fatigue. Restlessness is most commonly adduced as a sign of weariness; but the inattention of children, which causes their mobility, is rather to be ascribed to deficiency in the teacher than to fatigue in the pupil, as was pointed out by Sir Joshua Fitch in the discussion which followed Mr Galton's paper. The involuntary muscular actions, which we comprehend under the term 'fidgets,' are natural to children; but they lessen as years go on. Mr Galton has himself made some interesting observations on the stillness of learned audiences under a 'stiff' lecturer, compared with the constant restlessness of a juvenile audience. Indeed the relation of attention to fatigue is very misleading. The concentration of the mind on a single subject prevents the perception of other sensations. These are felt if the attention is incompletely occupied; they induce involuntary movements which are mistaken for indications of fatigue. They are no doubt signs of mental weariness, but not of true fatigue. The fact brings out the difference of meaning of the two words and shows that they are not interchangeable. We are often weary when we are not fatigued, and sometimes even because we are not.

The replies given by the teachers to Mr Galton regarding their own sensations, and the numerous experiences collected by Mosso of the character of personal sensations produced by fatiguing brain-work, show their extreme variety. Their diversities are so great as to make their systematic study extremely difficult; and it is evident that they are largely determined by personal peculiarities. The most definite effect of excessive brain-
 exertion is imperfect brain-power, analogous to the

diminished strength of muscle. But it has features which clearly depend on the characteristics of the individual, unsuspected until thus revealed. The most common feature is failure of memory in its voluntary use, and a weakening of that comprehensive activity in the brain which is described as the 'power of grasping a subject.' The defect in the volitional memory which is called 'recollection' shows itself especially in the use of words, and first, of those that are more special. It often proceeds to a derangement of the secondary symbolism of writing. The writer of a letter produced during thorough brain-fatigue, who is so wise (or unwise) as to read it over, will be surprised to find that he has left out words or miswritten them. He thinks he has misspelt them, and so he literally has; but it is generally an imperfect control of the process of visualising the letters in words, so that, of two words beginning with the same letter, the first is made to end with the termination which belongs to its successor. When there is no fatigue, such mistakes are never made. Those who never read through their letters surprise their correspondents; those who do, alarm themselves. The processes for using words as symbols of thought involve many and various forms of brain-activity which are very easily deranged. Thought is symbolised in words, and these are re-symbolised in writing; the double process thus affords evidence of brain-fatigue at once delicate and obtrusive.

When we pass to other manifestations of fatigue, we find that they largely depend on personal weakness, and we meet with many varieties which are of no general significance; they are, indeed, only important in their negative character, and their peculiarities are purely due to idiosyncrasy. For example, among the facts collected by Galton as signs of fatigue is a tendency for the letters of print to run together when the reader is tired. This is simply due to overwork in the muscle within the eye which adjusts the focus. The muscle is inherently weak in that particular individual, and it fails before other parts in consequence of general nervous fatigue; but the failure has no other significance. Other personal effects of fatigue which he mentions, such as transient colour-blindness, are susceptible of the explanation.

By far the most common effects of over-use of the brain are sensory in nature, definite 'feelings.' They are almost appalling in their variety and degree. The distress they cause suggests the thought that the human brain has been compelled to work too soon, before the lower functions of the nervous system have been developed enough to counterbalance the employment of the higher, so that the weight of mind is more than can be borne. The most common of these sensory effects of fatigue is headache. Common as it is, there are many persons to whom it is unknown; and its actual origin is still a mystery. The brain can be handled and cut without pain, and yet is, in some way, the source of severe suffering in mere functional disturbance. But other parts of the body present the same strange feature. The intestines normally give rise to no sensation, and yet undue contraction causes intense agony. A healthy person is not aware that he has a delicate membrane covering the lung, called the 'pleura,' which is stretched when the lung expands in breathing without the least sensation being produced. But if this membrane is inflamed in what is called 'pleurisy,' acute pain is produced each time the breath is drawn—an experience which has been endured by the majority of persons of middle age. The occurrence of headache, of pain in a brain that seems insensitive, is thus not a unique event, and yet it is hard to understand. It is often replaced by other sensations almost as distressing. But one character of these sensations, which is a matter of common experience, is very curious; it is the sensation of 'thickness' or 'cloudiness' or 'denseness' of the brain which results from overwork. It is a purely physical sensation, which seems to be in the brain itself, and yet it corresponds very closely to the condition of the mental processes.

These cerebral sensations which fatigue produces are almost inexplicable, but they naturally turn our thoughts to those that are felt in the muscles after much exertion, to which they bear some resemblance. We have seen that these may be ascribed to products of muscular work acting on the sensory nerves. It is reasonable to think the brain sensations are produced by an analogous action of the cerebral structures must be of lower chemical compounds

analogous to those which are produced in muscle. The nerve tissue is more sensitive, and must be more readily influenced. But our present difficulty is that we do not know where the perceptive element exists in the brain tissue. A few years ago, however, we did not know where the sensory element existed in the muscle; and we may hope that the mystery which has there been solved will also be made clear in the brain. In all sciences the first essential element is the discernment of facts. When these are clearly seen, our work must be guided by them; or our efforts are futile. The old saying that 'facts are stubborn things' is always true. When their existence and form are discerned, all theory must adapt itself to them and explain them, or be dismissed, in Ruskin's phrase, as 'thistle-down without seed.'

Precise observation is however much baffled by varieties in the sensory susceptibility of individuals. It is probable that these depend on differences in the actual constitution of the nervous tissue—more minute than we can well conceive, and yet causing effects that are obtrusive. In different persons there may exist diversities of tissue which give rise to great differences in the products of action, rendering these much more harmful in one person than in another. The same diversity may render the sensory structures far more prone to disturbance, and to more distressing disturbance. Thus an original variation which, if it could be discerned, would be minute almost beyond conception, may entail a profound difference in ultimate effect. Such considerations may help us to conceive the way in which the effects of fatigue are manifested, although they constitute little addition to our knowledge.

Another class of fatigue effects can only be understood on the same hypothesis of peculiar constitution. Instances of disturbed function in the organs of the body figure frequently among the facts that Galton has gathered from the personal experience of teachers, and that Mosso has recorded as the results of lecturing and examining, felt by himself and his colleagues. Mosso has investigated them with precision; but he has ascertained little more than the bare facts. The action of the heart, the functions of the stomach, and the work of the liver and other organs, are disturbed in various ways;

and even the temperature of the whole body is sometimes altered by hard mental work. But such derangements of organs produce their own independent effect; they act especially on the blood, and thus prolong the discomforts due directly to fatigue. One great function of the liver is to eliminate the harmful products of muscular action; and whatever interferes with this process augments the amount of toxic substance in the blood.

It may be reasonably asked, What is the relative importance of the signs of brain-fatigue? We cannot doubt that any indication of failure of brain-power transcends all others in absolute importance. The physical sensations that occur are of slight and merely personal significance compared with defects of memory, of concentration of thought, or of the use of the muscles for such processes as writing. But, to the individual, the varied sensory disturbances which are produced by overwork are equally important, because they are equally distressing. They tend to grow by the fostering effect of repeated production; and those which are of no intrinsic significance may, by the distress they cause, be utterly disabling.

Another question often asked is, What amount of truth is there in the familiar doctrine that fatigue is prevented by change of work? If only the work is not too heavy, we can discern the reasonableness of this belief. Any special form of mental occupation involves the use of the nerve structures in a definite degree and a particular combination. Even the nerve elements in the same region of the brain may be active or not, intensely energetic or slightly active, according to the precise character of the cerebral process. All functional action stimulates nutrition, and is definitely beneficial, provided it does not exceed a moderate degree. Indeed, absolute rest is apparently unknown to the elements of the nervous system. They are in constant, gentle, unperceived activity. In all parts of the body, on the surface and in the internal organs, impressions are constantly sing, for the most part unperceived, which cause
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for the muscular nutrition. This constant activity entails nutritional changes in the elements, necessary for the maintenance of their normal state. Their constituent atoms are always passing away, and always being renewed; were it not so, it would be impossible for them to pass into the state of energetic action that may be evoked at any moment. These changes seem to be the nutritional counterpart of the gentle action we can discern; and both are essential for the life of the structures. Their increase within moderate degree by work involves increased nutritional change, a greater vital efficiency. A different form of mental work may thus involve the gentle activity that is conducive to better replacement of old constituents by new, and may thus promote the general well-being of the brain.

Moreover we can discern another reason for the beneficial influence of the change of work. By a wonderful mechanism, which we imperfectly comprehend, all functional activity is attended by an increased blood-supply. The minute vessels which convey the blood dilate; and more blood passes to the acting tissue than to one that is quiescent. Hence there is a more abundant supply of the nutritive plasma, which passes from the vessels to the tissues laden with fresh material from which the nerve elements appropriate what they need. But the arrangement of the vessels which convey the blood bears only a very general relation to the functions of the brain. In the same part different layers of the brain may have different functional relations; they may be involved in very different degrees in various forms of brain activity; yet the dilatation of the vessels and the increased blood-supply involve them all alike. The increased flow of the blood, and increased access of the elements essential to replace those which are lost in action, involve an augmented supply to all the tissues in that region, to those which have been only slightly called upon as well as to those which are more or less exhausted. On the other hand, the work of the tissue means an escape of its used-up elements, and a need for their removal, as well as for the fresh supply which the increased flow of blood affords. Thus we can understand that the old belief has a distinct and intelligible foundation. A different form of activity may leave the exhausted

elements almost at rest, and yet aid the renewal of their lost material and promote the removal of the waste products.

The same considerations apply to muscular exercise in even greater degree. Although the region of the brain chiefly employed may not be the same, all parts share such activity; and for all parts the blood supply is augmented, not only as a result of functional activity, but as the effect of the stimulation of the whole circulatory system which physical exercise involves. The heart beats faster; and the respirations, being quickened, augment the supply of oxygen which the muscles demand but which goes also to the whole system. The purer the air inspired, the greater is its beneficial influence; and hence the advantage of exercise in the open air. But, to be useful, exertion must be moderate. In excess, as we have seen, the brain is hindered by the products of its own action, as well as by those of the muscles; for all physical effort involves corresponding activity of the motor centres in the brain.

We are accustomed to talk of 'recreation' without discerning how much the word implies. It means 'making again' that which work has undone, or rather facilitating the marvellous recuperative power of life. Rest and recreation are the antidotes of fatigue; but recreation should be such as to deserve the name. It does not replace rest, but, properly employed, aids its influence. Its value is great in proportion as it involves a thorough change in the character of nerve activity. But it should always be remembered that no recreation is possible if that which is thus designated simply replaces one form of fatigue by another form. Many a holiday is rendered useless by such disregard of the dictates of that rare practical wisdom to which, as if in irony, we apply the designation 'common-sense.'

W. R. GOWERS.

Art. XI.—FRENCH PAINTING IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

1. *Les Primitifs Français au Palais du Louvre et à la Bibliothèque Nationale.* Catalogue rédigé par H. Bouchot, L. Delisle, J.-J. Guiffrey, Frantz-Marcou, H. Martin, P. Vitry. Paris: 1904.
2. *Exposition des Primitifs Français.* Compte rendu par Paul Vitry. Special number of 'Les Arts.' Paris: Manzi, Joyant, 1904.
3. *De quelques travaux récents relatifs à la Peinture Française du XV^e siècle.* Par Paul Vitry. Paris: Rapilly, 1903.
4. *L'Exposition des Primitifs Français au point de vue de l'influence des frères Van Eyck sur la Peinture Française et Provençale.* Par Georges H. de Loo (G. Hulin). Paris: Floury, 1904.
5. *Les Œuvres des Maîtres de l'École Flamand Primitifs.* Par Mgr Dehaisne. Paris, 1891.
6. *Gazette des Beaux Arts.* Articles by le Comte de Durrieu, R. Maulde de la Clavière, B. Prost, Salomon Reinach, A. Champeaux, Benoit, Léopold Delisle.
7. *La Revue de l'Art.* Articles by le Comte de Durrieu and l'Abbé Réquin.

THE exhibition of French Primitives held recently in the Pavillon de Marsan of the Louvre was to some extent a result of the great success which attended the exhibition of the Primitives of the Netherlands held at Bruges in 1902. M. Georges Hulin, whose admirable critical catalogue of that exhibition gave him at once a foremost position among the critics of mediæval painting, pointed to a number of works in that collection which were of French origin, and remarked on the singular indifference shown by so artistic a nation as the French to the study of their own early schools of painting. M. Bouchot took up the challenge; and no one will deny that he and his colleagues have done all in their power to make up for past neglect. In their writings the importance and interest of early French painting have been fully proclaimed. Some will even think that their repentance has been excessive, and that the measure of praise accorded to the French Primitives has been filled to overflow. It may be admitted indeed that, after having in th-

carelessly allowed the works of their own masters to be attributed to van Eyck and Wohlgemuth, and even to be called '*œuvres grecques*,' the French are now inclined to claim as part of their national inheritance a considerable share of the works of Flemish artists.

No harm, but rather much good, has come of this enthusiasm. Without some such feeling, it is doubtful whether even M. Bouchot could have overcome all the difficulties which lay in his way. Moreover, while the French origin of disputed works and the independence of the French tradition has been asserted in very positive language, neither M. Bouchot nor any of those who, like M. Paul Vitry, so ably assisted him, have shown any inclination to force the verdict of foreign critics. On the contrary, every facility was given to students; inquiry and discussion were courteously welcomed; and, if the hope was entertained that the exhibition would prove to the world the existence of a mediæval French school of painting, even this cherished aim was felt to be subordinate to the search for historical truth.

In the main, then, the thesis which the exhibition was intended to illustrate, and if possible prove, was that, alongside of the great fifteenth-century traditions of the Netherlands and Germany, there was another tradition as great, as original, and as national—that of France; and, further, that the tradition of the Netherlands was itself in the nature of an offshoot from the more complete and continuous tradition of still earlier French art. As yet, no final consensus of opinion has been arrived at on these points; but the weight of authority seems to incline to a negative verdict. This statement requires some modification and explanation, which it will be the object of this essay to supply; but we may say at once that, even if we accept the negative verdict, and deny to the French school of painting in the fifteenth century the homogeneity and completeness that we find in that of the Netherlands, we must nevertheless admit that the pictures shown in Paris this year, even if we confine ourselves to those which may properly be called French, were more varied in interest and occasionally rose to a higher range of imaginative feeling than those seen two years ago at Bruges.

The very want of homogeneity in the French tradition

actually contributed to this result. We may compare the styles which thus arose on French soil with our own language, which owes its richness of poetical content to the fusion of the German and Latin tongues. Like that, the French painting of the fifteenth century was, it may be, a hybrid compounded of Latin traditions vivified by a Teutonic directness of vision ; but it was a magnificent hybrid, used by French painters to express essentially French conceptions and to illustrate French manners, and coloured by the French temperament. Still it would be difficult to find any common characteristics which bind together such diverse works as those of, say, Charenton and Fouquet and Froment. In fact the very words France and French, as we employ them, are misnomers for the fifteenth century. At that period a native of Burgundy was more united by political ties with Brussels than with Paris, while a Provençal was even less of a Frenchman than he is to-day.

The organisers of the exhibition have indeed recognised this fact by distributing the pictures among the various provinces of France, creating with lavish ease schools of Lorraine, of Artois, of Picardy, of Auvergne, of Champagne, besides the better-recognised schools of Paris, Touraine, Bourges, Moulins, and Provence. That these schools were created on insufficient grounds may be seen from the fact that an interesting work (No. 94) of the so-called school of Lorraine, one which might have been expected to exemplify the essential characteristics of an important group, contained inscriptions which were unmistakably in Dutch. No less remarkable was the bold but unsuccessful annexation to French art of the *Maître de Flémalle*, under the convenient title of *École d'Artois*.

The difficulty of discussing this question of a French school is largely due to the exceedingly small number of works which have survived. When we look at the Annunciation from Aix, at the *Pietà* from the same town, and at the few works attributable to Fouquet, all of them masterpieces of the most diverse kinds, and certainly on a level with any works produced at the same time in the Netherlands, we can hardly doubt that what we see are but isolated peaks of a once continuous mountain range, since submerged by the oblivious waters of political disturbance. Such great masterpieces could not have been

sporadic and isolated efforts of genius; nor can we be sure that a fortunate chance has even preserved for us the finest products of the school. At all events, each surviving genius implies the unrecorded efforts of many men of talent; and such works as we possess indicate the continuance of a good tradition and the emulation of a school. The labours of archivists, which in France have preceded and outrun the work of critics, have given us, for every name of an artist to whom we can safely attribute even a single work, the names of numerous artists, famous in their day, of whom no certain performance remains. Thus, of the three leading artists in Paris who in 1391 formed a society of arts regulated and approved by the Garde de la Prévôté—Colard de Laon, Jean d'Orléans, Étienne Lannelier—we know nothing. Of Jean de Hasselt, who was court-painter first to Louis de Mâle and then to the first Valois Duke of Burgundy, and who was succeeded by Broederlam, we have no indisputable work, though he clearly must have been a distinguished artist. Of Conrad de Vulcop, painter-in-ordinary to Charles VII, of Jean le Sage, 'peintre très exquis du Roy de France Loys,' of Colin d'Amiens, celebrated for his portraits, and of Jean Poyet, who was praised as highly as Fouquet, we have no knowledge. The Abbé Réquin, to whose industry and learning we owe so much, has unearthed the names of more than a hundred painters working at Avignon during the fifteenth century, of whom only two have certainly survived in their works—Enguerrand Charenton and Nicholas Froment.

Again, if we take fresco and wall decoration, of which we now have scarcely any vestiges for our period, we know that the walls of the Hôtel St Pol, the old Louvre, the Hôtel de Savoisi in Paris, and the châteaux of Bicêtre and Vaudreuil, were covered with paintings, and that the Countess of Artois employed painters in all her castles—at Bapaume, at Rihoult, at Lens, at Hesdin; while at Conflans she caused to be depicted the exploits of her late husband. If we could but see these, and still more the castle at Valenciennes, where the Counts of Hainault had painted a 'Jeu d'échecs' and a 'Pas de Saladin' and a 'Marché aux singes,' we might gain a totally new conception of how the realistic movement of the fifteenth century was prepared in the latter part of the fourteenth,

and of the relative parts played in that development by the French and the Netherlandish peoples. When, therefore, we are inclined to emphasise the want of coherence and continuity in the French as opposed to the Flemish and Dutch schools, we may possibly be misled by the mere accident of this deplorable scarcity of surviving works. Suppose for a moment that we possessed only one or two of Jan van Eyck's portraits, one *Pietà* by Rogier van der Weyden, two or three Madonnas by Memling, one grotesque martyrdom by Dirck Bouts, and a landscape by Gerard of Haarlem, and that to the majority of these paintings we could attach no established names, we should lose almost entirely our sense of the common characteristics of the school of the Netherlands; we should miss the cumulative effect upon the imagination of a number of different subjects treated in a similar manner and from a common point of view. We might recognise, as we do now with the French, the greatness of single works of art, but we should lose the conviction and clearness of appreciation which come from varied comparison and contrast.

In these circumstances, where a quantity even of second-rate works was so much to be desired in order to throw light on the few masterpieces accessible, it is to be regretted that the organisers of the exhibition in Paris did not devote more time and energy to collecting reproductions of every remaining scrap of fresco-painting and of every ruined altarpiece hidden away in the sacristies of village churches. Had a separate committee been formed for making such a photographic census of the remains of mediæval painting in France, many unforeseen connexions might have become plain, many illuminating hints of the development and spread of traditions might have been gathered. That this was not done is, perhaps, the most serious criticism that can be urged against an otherwise admirable example of organisation.

If, for the sake of clearness, we may dramatise the succession of artistic ideas which the exhibition illustrated, we might entitle our play the 'Birth of Modern Painting,' while a subordinate plot would be that of the conflict between 'Latin and Teutonic Culture.' Like most true historical dramas, it is somewhat inconclusive and awkward in construction, for the climax is reached

early stage, and without any adequate preparation. The climax is, of course, the sudden and apparently mysterious outburst of a complete naturalistic art in the second decade of the fifteenth century.

The scene opens for us at the Pavillon de Marsan in the middle of the fourteenth century with the South in possession of the field, for in looking at the portrait of Jean le Bon we can scarcely fail to see the predominance of Italian ideas. Not only is the technique, a tempera on a richly-tooled gold background, distinctively Italian, but the drawing of the eyes follows the tradition founded by Giotto and modified by the Siennese artists. This pre-eminence of Italy might well surprise us, for it was less than a century before this that France was shedding a new vivifying influence upon Italian art, quickening to a new power of expression the pseudo-classic forms of Niccolò Pisano. This fact would seem to suggest that thirteenth-century France, supreme in sculpture and miniature painting, yet looked to Italy as leading the way in painting proper. Some other facts support this view. So early as 1298 we find Philippe le Bel sending Étienne d'Auxerre to Rome, while in 1304 he takes into his service as 'painters to the king' three Italians, Filippo Bizuti (?Rusutti) and his son, and Niccolò de' Marsi. It strikes one as just conceivable that the small picture (not catalogued) in the first room, representing a crucifixion with the Virgin and St John in the upper half and the 'Noli me tangere' in the lower half, may be the result of some such Italian importation. It certainly belongs to the first years of the fourteenth century, and, though in the Italian style of that period, has a certain *mignardise* which suggests French influence. No less remarkable as showing Italian, especially Siennese, influence are the two panels lent by Madame Lippmann (Nos 5, 6), which were actually attributed to the Siennese school when recently sold in London.* They show, too, that however much their Italian masters surpassed the French painters of the fourteenth century in pictorial composition, in technical excellence and fineness of execution the French were their equals if not their superiors.

More purely French than any of these is the great

* Reproduced in the 'Burlington Magazine,' June 1903.

'Parement de Narbonne' (3), a water-colour drawing in Indian ink on white silk. But it is to be noted that, in proportion as it is purely French, showing only the slightest traces of Sienese influence, so is it not a true picture, but merely an enlarged miniature, entirely wanting in that spacial relation of forms which is the essence of pictorial design. The drawing of the individual figures in this remarkable piece shows that at this date (circa 1375) the pure French tradition which descended straight from the great sculptural art of the thirteenth century had hardened into a dull if elegant academicism. Such, too, was almost the fate of Italian painting towards the end of the century. The great movement of the Gothic period, which reached its climax in France in the first half of the thirteenth century, and in Italy at the beginning of the fourteenth, was nearly spent; and the time was ripe for the next great outburst of vital energy, the realistic movement of the fifteenth. And for this France at least was to be indebted not to Italy but to the Teutonic borderland, to Artois, Limbourg, and the countries towards the Rhine. None the less, though that new movement is inseparably connected with artists of Teutonic race, the first steps were undoubtedly made in France; and one cannot doubt that the French surroundings in which these innovators worked, the French patrons whom they strove to please, the French standards of elegance and style which they were forced to maintain, had a profound influence on the character of their work. We may even go further and say that, when the predominance of Netherlandish centres of production was once thoroughly established, something was lost to the art of the fifteenth century.

The names of the artists who prepared the way and consummated the new ideas are alone sufficient to prove the prevalence of Teutonic blood. Jean Bandolf, Melchior Broederlam, Claus Sluter, Jean Maelwael, André Beauneveu, Jacquemart de Hesdin, Hanslein of Haguenuau, Pol de Limbourg, and finally, Hubert and Jan van Eyck—these are the artists who, with many other nameless ones, effected the greatest revolution in the art of pictorial design which European art ever underwent. But, if we are to be quite precise, we must mention first of all one exception to our otherwise constant rule. The

Breviary of Belleville, painted before 1334, shows, in the few remaining representations of the seasons in the calendar, the germ at least of that naturalistic treatment which reaches its highest point in the calendars of Hubert van Eyck and the Limbourgs; and this Breviary was the work of French artists—Jean Pucelle, Ancelet de Ceus, and Jacquet Macé. The influence of the calendars of breviaries and books of hours upon the development of naturalism is noteworthy. The scheme of the Breviary of Belleville was long retained as a type. The 'Grandes' and the 'Petites Heures du Duc de Berri,' by Jacquemart de Hesdin, executed at the beginning of the fifteenth century, follow it precisely. The representation of the seasons in the calendars was a direct stimulus to the artist to render scenes of every-day life, and to master the problem of the relation of figure to landscape. It is not surprising, therefore, that the first completely realistic landscapes occur in such calendars.

But the indications of the new movement are of the slightest kind in the Breviary of Belleville; a much more decided step is apparent in the work of Jean Bandol, or Bandolf, whose portrait of Charles V (of France) in the 'Bible Historiale' at the Hague forms a striking contrast to the portrait of Jean le Bon or that of Charles V in the 'Parement de Narbonne.' This is fortunately one of the most fully 'documented' pieces that we possess, since on the page we have the statement that John of Bruges (Jean Bandol), court-painter to Charles V, painted this picture with his own hand in 1371. This was some years before the execution of the 'Parement de Narbonne'; but, whereas that is a merely academic and traditional performance, there is in Bandol's miniature a quite new realism. The king sits in his chair not in mere profile, but turned towards the spectator, though his head is turned away so as to be in profile. As M. Hulin points out, it is not till the van Eycks appear that we get the three-quarter face portrait; still, the pose of the king, no less than that of his chamberlain, who kneels to offer him an illuminated manuscript, gives us a quite new sense of being an actual study from life, while the heads have a verisimilitude and, to be frank, an ugliness quite new in mediæval art. There is here nothing of the grand Italian style of the 'Jean le Bon,' nor any of the merely

calligraphic dexterity of the Charles V in the 'Parement. There is, on the contrary, an almost crude want of style, a rough directness of rendering of the thing seen, which threatens already to do what this tendency to verisimilitude has at times accomplished—destroy style altogether.

But the tendency to style, that is to say the tendency to compress the forms of nature within the limits of a preconceived harmony, is as inherent in art as the desire to represent those forms; and the new feeling for naturalism was destined also to form a style which was distinctly opposed to the eurhythmic curvilinear convention of the fourteenth century. It was a style of straight lines and sharp angles. It is summarised for us by a comparison of the crumpled papery folds of Rogier van der Weyden's draperies with the undulating and consecutive curves of the drapery in the 'Parement de Narbonne.' This new style of the fifteenth century—the last and in some ways the most marked of all the Gothic styles—was certainly more suited to the temperament of Teutonic than of Latin races. It is seen in an extreme form in English designs, whether of stained glass windows or painted figures, of the fifteenth century; and in England alone it found adequate architectural expression in our Perpendicular buildings.

Jean Bandol's other great remaining work is the series of tapestries of the cathedral at Angers, representing the Apocalypse, of which a few pieces were to be seen at the Pavillon de Marsan. Here, though the compositions were taken from earlier French miniatures, the actual forms have a quite new ruggedness and decision. Not only are the types of faces more individualised, but in the draperies we have a more vivid sense of the weight and substance of the material than heretofore. When he represents kneeling figures, we even get those angular folds of draperies spread out upon the ground which M. Hulin considers to be distinctive of the style introduced by the Van Eycks; and yet this tapestry was executed about 1377. Bandol, then, was the precursor of the new movement in European art; but, though he came from Bruges, he worked, so far as we know, chiefly in Paris and for the French king.

The next series of works which we must consider were

those executed for the great Chartreuse of Champmol, which was built by Philip the Bold in 1383-6. In 1384 Claus Sluter began his work as a sculptor there, and by 1404 had nearly finished Philip's tomb. Here, in the work of Claus Sluter, the new naturalistic ideas received their first complete embodiment; and to Sluter must be given a position almost as great as that assigned to the van Eycks, whom he preceded by about ten years. But the painters who were attracted to Dijon by this great undertaking show no corresponding originality and enterprise.

The most important remaining work which is still at Dijon, the great altarpiece by Broederlam, was not painted there but at Broederlam's home at Ypres, about 1392. Here, then, is the work of a Flemish painter whose only known connexion with the court of France is that on one occasion he was called to Paris to assist in the decorations for a royal pageant. It marks, however, an important stage in the development of pictorial art. In this altarpiece we note a great advance in the pictorial rendering of actual space, a new naturalism in the relations of figures to landscape, although the perspective is still far from correct. But, most of all, we notice an extraordinary advance in the full realisation of individual forms by means of light and shade. The donkey in the 'Flight into Egypt' is already a complete rendering, not of the abstract conception, but of the actual appearance. The *genre* element is no less striking an innovation here; we have in the Joseph a figure of a peasant drinking, taken as straight from contemporary life and treated with the same unreflecting curiosity as in a drinking scene by Brouwer or Teniers. Now this *genre* feeling is the essentially Teutonic contribution to European art; it has never flourished so well in France—where the call to a more elevated and intellectual conception, the Latin conception of art, is never quite forgotten—as it has flourished in Holland and England. Broederlam's altarpiece, then, marks a decided stage in the progress of naturalism, and one which set the key for the art of the miniaturists for some time to come. Jacques Cône and Hanslein of Hagenau, whom M. Durrieu hails as innovators, were working out, during

the first years of the fifteenth century, various aspects of the pictorial ideas expressed in 1392 by Broederlam.*

We must return, however, to the artists who actually worked at Dijon. Of these the chief was Jean Malonel, court-painter to the Duke of Burgundy till 1416, when he was succeeded by Henri Bellechose, who again was superseded in 1425 by Jan van Eyck. Around Malonel we may group the following: *Pietà* (14), the *Trinity* (15), the *Entombment* (4), and the large altarpiece with the martyrdom of St Denis from the Louvre. To Bellechose† may be attributed the gross imitation of this last, in which St George replaces St Denis. In this group of paintings we find great delicacy of workmanship, an almost total want of pictorial composition, and in general a return from the advance already made by Broederlam. It is only in the expression of the faces in the St Denis picture and the vigorous rendering of movement in the executioner that we detect here any effort in the new direction. In the main they approach the art of the miniaturists as to design, and the Italo-French traditions, as seen in the portrait of Jean le Bon, as regards technique.

Of the other Netherlanders working in France at this period André Beauneveu is by far the most famous. A native of Valenciennes, we find him working everywhere and in various arts. As a sculptor he worked from 1361 on the town-hall of his native city, later for the royal tombs of Philippe VI, Jean le Bon, and Charles V, then at Malines, then at Ypres, and in 1390 at Méhun sur Yèvre for the greatest patron of the time, Jean duc de Berri.

* M. Hulin makes the interesting suggestion that the beautiful *Madonna and Child* (13), lent by M. Aynard, is by Broederlam. This seems quite possible; but still more akin to the Dijon panels is the series of small pictures in the Mayer van den Bergh collection at Antwerp.

† It is sometimes objected to this view that the documents published by M. de Champeaux ('*Gazette des Beaux Arts*') compel us to attribute both of these large altarpieces, wrought for the Chartreuse of Champmol, to Bellechose, and therefore to give to the St Denis the date 1416. This is frankly impossible, since the evidence of our senses compels us to deny any collaboration in the exquisitely finished St Denis picture by the clumsy author of the St George. Since that is the later picture we naturally assign it to Bellechose, and the St Denis to his predecessor. A great many altarpieces were executed for the Chartreuse, and it is rash to suppose that the *Life of St Denis* ordered of Bellechose is identical with the *Death of St* in the Louvre.

employed him particularly on illuminated manuscripts, the multiplication of which became an absorbing passion in the later years of his life. Beauneveu belonged to a slightly older generation of artists than those we have just been considering. He was not strikingly novel or realistic in his forms: but he represents, perhaps better than any other artist, this transitional period. His draperies are elegant and unstructural; his figures do not sit or stand with *aplomb*; but his faces show a slight departure from conventionalised ideal types, and his ugly squat proportions and awkward articulations are suggestive rather of the cruder northern style than of the academic elegance of the pure French.

Did this celebrated but, so far as we know him, rather mediocre artist execute for Richard II of England the great diptych now at Wilton House? That is the suggestion made by Mr Weale, whose unrivalled knowledge of the art of this period recommends it to serious consideration. It is impossible to deny the close similarity of design in the left-hand wing of the diptych to that in a miniature by Beauneveu, where the Duc de Berry is presented by his patron saint, while even in the articulations, and in the rather bland expressive faces there is some resemblance. What makes one hesitate is the freshness and charm displayed in the design of the Virgin with her attendant angels, nothing else that we have left of Beauneveu comes up to it. While we might grant him the marvellous perfection of the technique, it is difficult to allow him also the refinement of taste, the gaiety and charm of the invention.* On this side another work comes nearer to the Wilton House picture, namely, the drawing of the Death of the Virgin, from the Louvre (18), which has been ascribed to Beauneveu, but is probably by a closely allied and more sensitive artist. In any case it is in the neighbourhood of Beauneveu that the author of this work, perhaps the most exquisite though by no means

In support of the attribution to Beauneveu comes Froissart's statement, 'il n'y avoit lors meilleur ni le pareil en nulles terres, ni de qui de bons ouvrages feust demoré en France, ou en Haynau et au royaume d'Angleterre.' Also, it must be remembered that the miniatures executed during his long and active life may give us an inadequate idea

the greatest painting of the later Middle Ages, must be found.

We come now to the great revolution in the art of painting, of which we have hitherto traced the tentative beginnings. As M. Hulin says,

'From the moment that the van Eycks had shown the way, whatever the fortunes and vicissitudes of particular schools might be, the predominance of the van Eyck style was assured; modern painting was already born.'

This great change may be defined as due to the rigid acceptance of the laws of appearance as the canon of pictorial expression. When Jan van Eyck painted his 'John Arnolfini and his wife,' that canon was established. The relations of objects therein are those of our actual three-dimensional space; the objects have their full relief in light and shade, their due local colour duly modified by accidents of illumination. Since that day different aspects of natural appearances have been exploited by artists; light and shade have been emphasised at the expense of colour and form, colour at the expense of relief, relief at the expense of colour and chiaroscuro; but it may be doubted if ever again all the elements of appearance have been rendered with such equal intensity, with such perfectly balanced emphasis.

We are now so familiar with the view that painting must follow the laws of natural appearance that it is hard for us to realise how little in the year 1400 that necessity was apparent, how contradictory even it may have appeared to the essential aims of pictorial expression. Let us take two examples of the conceptual and the phenomenal theories of design. One is a diamond-shaped pane of glass in Chartres Cathedral whereon a hunting scene is depicted. The huntsmen, on whom are concentrated our imaginative sympathies, fill the left-hand angle of the diamond and extend across the centre of the pane; up the right-hand lower border run two stags, whose antlered heads fill the space between the horses' fore-legs and noses; while the space between the horses' fore and hind legs is filled with the pack of hounds. Here we have condensed into the smallest possible space the elements of the chase that appeal most to the imagination; and the appeal is made by the sympathetic and keen observation,

the dramatic fitness, of every line. To the artist who drew it and the public which enjoyed it, the criticism that these images do not bear the same relations as they do in three-dimensional space would have appeared impertinent. Our other example shall be a faithful picture of a modern battlefield: a wide undulating stretch of country broken by tufts of bushes and stones, here the almost indistinguishable accent of dark which tells of a soldier half hidden in the scrub, there the puff of dust which tells of a bullet striking the earth. There is absolutely nothing in such a scene whereby the artist can symbolise for us the intensest and wildest passions of the human spirit. Our thirteenth-century artist might complain that we have imposed limitations on our art which, in certain circumstances, reduce it to complete impotence. Limitations they may be called, since there is no reason why the order of appearance values should coincide with the order of imaginative values; most of modern art has been concerned with evading this difficulty by innumerable ingenious devices.

The revolution of the fifteenth century then was one which turned pictorial design from a symbolism of concepts to a symbolism of appearances; but, to be quite clear, we must make one further distinction. The change may in a sense be described as the growth of naturalism; but it is possible to combine accurate observation of natural forms with an unnatural correlation of them. In other words, we may have an art in which the objects are rendered phenomenally and yet related together conceptually; and there was a moment in the development of European art when this method seemed likely to prevail. Pisanello is perhaps the most striking example of this manner. His observation of certain natural forms surpasses that of any other European artist, and yet in the relations of his objects he contradicts the laws of appearance more completely than any even of his predecessors. In general we may say that the art of the late fourteenth century was moving away from the canons of phenomenal composition which were already vaguely present to Giotto's mind.

Three things are noteworthy about the revolution we are discussing—its suddenness, its completeness, and its almost simultaneous occurrence north and south of the

Alps. It is probable that the discovery on which it rests was made in Italy independently of the north, since it was approached from different sides. In Italy it was arrived at scientifically, in the north empirically, and therefore more rapidly and with a greater effect of verisimilitude. But, whether Italy be independent or not, two artists of the north appear to have the precedence by some ten years.* Those two artists were Hubert van Eyck and Pol de Limbourg. Unfortunately neither of the *pièces justificatives* was to be seen in Paris. One, the 'Hours of Turin,' was destroyed in the recent fire, and exists only in poor photographs; the other, the 'Très riches Heures du Duc de Berri,' never leaves Chantilly. It is on these, however, that the student of this momentous change must fix his attention. Of the three brothers from Limbourg who executed it, two stand out as distinct and individual talents of the highest order; the third is more or less derivative. In default of precise knowledge, we may call the two great artists Pol and Hennequin, and attribute to the first, who is also the best known, those works in which we find the nearest approach to complete naturalism. There are drawings like that for the month of June in the Calendar, where the complex mass of buildings of the Palais Royal and the Sainte Chapelle are rendered in true perspective, and the figures of the haymakers in the foreground are not only extraordinarily natural in their movements, but are more or less in their true relations with the landscape, while the

* The following are some works, with dates, in which the rendering of three-dimensional space is attempted.

Circa 1410. 'The Three Maries,' by Hubert van Eyck (collection of St. Frederick Cook).

1411-1416. Miniatures of the 'Très riches Heures,' by Pol de Limbourg (at Chantilly). Miniatures of the 'Hours of Turin,' by Hubert van Eyck.

Circa 1420. 'The Virgin and two Saints,' by Hubert van Eyck (collection of Baron Rothschild). The first picture in which the realisation can be said to be complete.

Circa 1425. Predella of altarpiece at Cortona, by Fra Angelico, in which the figures are more or less correctly placed in a recognisable though schematic landscape.

Circa 1425. The Carmine frescoes, by Masaccio; complete relief in modelling and almost correct relations of figure to architecture and landscape.

Circa 1427. 'The Coronation of the Virgin,' by Fra Angelico (Louvre). Scientifically worked-out perspective and light and shade, but non-naturalistic colour and tone values.

relative tone and colour values of the earth, the buildings, and the luminous summer sky are noted with an exactitude which can scarcely be paralleled except in the art of the modern impressionists.

On the other hand we find in the work which we provisionally attribute to Hennequin extreme examples of that alternative method of design in which the individual figures and objects are rendered with complete naturalism, but related according to quite abstract ideas. Thus, in the story of the Fall, paradise is represented as a garden enclosed by a circular wall, and this wall is drawn as a circle on the vellum, while the barren land into which Adam and Eve are cast out is rendered by a ring of mountains, represented as we find them in old maps, and of the size of mole-hills in relation to the figures. The trees of the garden, drawn individually with surprising naturalism, are yet, relatively to the figures, of the size of cabbages. On the other hand, the figures are drawn with astonishing, though quite unscientific, realism. The life-history of this Hennequin, if ever we come to know it, will probably be as varied and as important as that of Hubert van Eyck. Like him he was a traveller; his miniatures show him to have been familiar with Italy; once he copied Taddeo Gaddi's fresco of the Presentation in Santa Croce, at another time he studied Simone Martini, while there is convincing evidence of his familiarity with Eastern types and costumes. Nevertheless, whereas Hennequin the traveller is still conceptual in many of his compositions, it is Pol, the stay-at-home, who is the great innovator in design; and the fact that we find in the same book, and done at the same time, works in which the spacial relations are so true to appearances as Pol's, and works which contradict them so entirely as Hennequin's, shows how sudden and, in a sense, unexpected the change was.

The de Limbourgs came from the same region as the van Eycks, though at present no direct connexion between them has been established, but they are far more imbued with French ideas. The manners, the costume, the essentials of style, are all French, and the landscape is either that of Paris or of the châteaux of the Duc de Berri. The difference between them and the van Eycks is in this respect very marked. For some reason, however, the

de Limbourgs left no such following as the van Eycks left. It may be that their activity was confined to miniature work; certainly we know of no paintings by them. Had they, and especially Pol, painted pictures, and had political conditions allowed of their forming a school, we might truly have had a genuine French tradition of the fifteenth century on lines parallel to, and distinct from, that of the Netherlands. As it is, there is only one artist who can be considered to have taken up their inheritance, and that is Jean Fouquet. We know that at least in miniature he is the descendant of Pol de Limbourg, and that he carried still further the new canon which Pol established, so that in such a miniature as that of St Martin (50) we find a completeness of verisimilitude which surpasses anything that Pol de Limbourg or any contemporary Italian artist attained.

The absence of oil paintings by the de Limbourgs makes it impossible to deny that the science of light and shade and of the degradation of local colour, which we find in Fouquet's paintings, may be due in part to the influence of the van Eycks. M. Hulin says definitely that it is so.* He even goes further, and derives the whole art of the fifteenth century in France and in Italy from the influence of the van Eycks. It seems, however, far more likely that, like most great discoveries, it was made independently, and almost contemporaneously, in the ripeness of time, at several centres.

The collection of Fouquet's work formed, naturally, one of the most important elements of the exhibition. With regard to a certain number of works no doubt is possible; but three portraits have given rise to discussion. Of these, the portrait of a man with an arrow, from the Antwerp Museum (47), was generally rejected, as purely Flemish work in which the van der Weyden tradition predominates. The other two, Count Wilczek's portrait of a man with a glass of wine, and the Liechtenstein portrait, were supposed by many to be by the same hand. M. Hulin upholds this view, while he gives both to an unknown Flemish imitator of Jan van Eyck, who worked

* 'L'Exposition des Primitifs Français.' His theory of van Eyck's influence on Masaccio depends on the likeness in pose between van Eyck portraits and that of an old man in the Uffizi, which, however, no responsible critics attribute to Masaccio.

in France, either in Burgundy or Provence. He indicates a number of points in which these two portraits agree, and in which both differ from the surviving works of Fouquet. The most important of these are that, in Fouquet's portraits, the faces are turned away from the light, while in the portraits in question they are turned towards it; also that Fouquet paints elaborate backgrounds, while these are of a uniform dark tone. To this it may be answered that Fouquet's portrait of himself in enamel contradicts both generalisations, while the elaborate backgrounds of portraits like the Charles VII and the Étienne Chevalier are explained by their being *portraits d'apparat*. Moreover, in one very important point, the Liechtenstein portrait suggests Fouquet rather than an immediate imitator of van Eyck: it is modelled in mass. It is the plastic relief of this head that is so remarkable; and the same may be said of the magnificent, and as yet underrated, portrait of Charles VII; whereas the characteristic of van Eyck's portraiture is that he convinces us by the addition of one minutely-observed detail to another, rather than by the plastic relief seen as a whole. Again, the psychological imagination displayed in this head finds at least nearer analogues in Fouquet's portraits of himself and Charles VII than in anything we know in contemporary Flemish art. On the other hand, it must be admitted that, if the date on the background of the picture be read 1456—and the best authorities seem now clear that this, and not 1476, is the true reading—it becomes difficult to fit it into the sequence of Fouquet's work. It remains, therefore, for the present, one of the most mysterious, as it is one of the most intensely imaginative, portraits in the world.

Another picture of the highest artistic merit which still remains as a target for critical guesses is the great Annunciation from Aix. M. Bouchot* attributes it to the Burgundian school, M. Vitry† to the school of Provence, while M. Hulin‡ gives us the whole life-history of the unknown artist. He was again a Fleming and a pupil of Jan van Eyck, who came early to France; he went to

* Catalogue of the Exhibition.

† 'Les Arts.' *Compte rendu* of the Exhibition.

‡ 'L'Exposition des Primitifs Français.'

the Council of Basel, where he met and profoundly influenced Conrad Witz; after which he settled at Aix, invited perhaps by René of Anjou. It is impossible not to admire the extraordinary ingenuity and perspicacity which have enabled this distinguished critic to evolve all this from the internal evidence given by the picture. Nothing else so definite has been suggested; and the theory has great plausibility. It may be suggested, however, that M. Hulin underestimates the French elements in the work, while he exaggerates the resemblance with that of Conrad Witz. The types are not Flemish, while the action of the hands, their elegance, and their vivacity of movement, together with a certain fineness of execution and a playful fantasy in the invention, separate this work very clearly from contemporary Flemish art. If the unknown artist be a Fleming, he must have become almost as completely French in feeling as the de Limbourgs, with whose art, as M. Hulin admits, this has at least one remarkable point of contact.

Fouquet's successors as court-painters in Central France were Jean Perréal, Jean Poyet, and Jean Bourdichon. Of these, the last is known by his miniatures to have followed Fouquet's manner, but at a great distance. His art is pretty, superficial, and essentially feeble. It has nevertheless been attempted to attribute to him the important triptych from Loches, representing the Carrying of the Cross, the Crucifixion, and the Entombment (69). This is one of the few large compositions of French origin in which a definitely pictorial design is apparent, and a true sense of relief and depth is obtained, while in certain figures the artist displays a grasp of structure and movement in the figure which is truly remarkable. It is, moreover, in many ways in advance of its period, since it is dated 1485, and yet in the landscape foreshadows the style of the sixteenth century. To attribute this powerful though scarcely pleasing work to an artist who was particularly deficient in the sentiment for form and devoid of all rigour and austerity seems impossible; and, while we have the alternative name of Poyet for this period, there is no necessity to strain a point in Bourdichon's favour. The attribution to Bourdichon of the portrait of the young Orlant (110) seems, however, to be extremely

probable.* Another picture of this period is the little Madonna with the Child trying on sandals (132) in front of a classic arcade, through which is seen a charming landscape. This is entirely in Fouquet's manner, but by a later artist, of whom so far no other work is known.

But by far the greatest artist of this generation is the Maître de Moulins. The wall devoted to his paintings gave an impression of mass and homogeneity which was unfortunately absent from those of all the other painters. The question of what is and what is not to be attributed to this master has been a good deal discussed; and yet his technique is so peculiar, the mastery with which he handles a loaded and liquid brush and obtains an even porcelain paste is so remarkable, that to those familiar with technique the question should not present serious difficulty. The tender beauty of his earliest work, the Nativity, from Autun (103), shows already his main characteristics, which are unmistakable in the Virgin and Child, from Brussels (109), the portrait lent by Mme Yturbe (107), and the Magdalen introducing a Donatress (108), recently acquired by the Louvre. The great triptych of Moulins sums up the character of his art; but in this elaborate and ambitious composition we miss something of the tenderness and wit of his earlier pieces. That the same hand also painted the knight† with St Victor, from Glasgow (106), appears to the present writer as certain as any judgment based solely on internal evidence can be.‡

With the Maître de Moulins we get a new nexus of influences. Hitherto we have been concerned only with the Flemish influence traceable to the van Eycks; but from about 1440 onwards that influence was obliterated in the Netherlands by the more typically Flemish style of van der Weyden. We have many instances in the exhibition of the influx of this current into French art. Of this we may take the Crucifixion of the Palais de Justice as a type. Clearly painted in Paris, and actually

* Mr C. Ricketts has called the attention of the present writer to a remarkable portrait in Vienna (No. 1489), there attributed to Holbein, which is clearly French and of this period. Here, again, Bourdichon's name is not impossible.

† According to M. Durrieu ('La Revue de l'Art,' June 1904), this is Charles III of Anjou.

‡ It is disputed, however, by M. Hullin, and doubted by M. Vitry and others.

influenced in some details by French art, it is nevertheless so completely Flemish in style and technique that we must attribute it to a Fleming working in France. This picture is connected by M. Durrieu with the diptych at Chantilly, representing Jeanne de France kneeling before the Virgin enthroned in the sky. Here the admixture of French feeling is more perceptible, though, again, the methods of van der Weyden predominate so much that it is usually ascribed to Memling. The enthroned Virgin of this picture stands midway between the Virgin in the Aix picture, by the Maître de Flémalle, and the Virgin of the Moulins triptych. Besides the general van der Weyden tradition that thus contributes to the formation of the Maître de Moulins style, there are also such evidences of the style of van der Goes as make it probable that the painter actually studied under that artist. On the other hand, the Moulins triptych shows him, as M. Hulin has pointed out, to have been influenced by the unknown but excellent French artist who executed the angels in Jacques Cœur's house at Bourges before 1453; while, again, a distinct though vague Italianising tendency is plainly discernible in the triptych. The fact that this has been ascribed to Benedetto Ghirlandajo, while the Glasgow picture has been given to van der Goes, indicates briefly the contributory elements to this complex but essentially fused and personal art.

Was this great unknown master, the Maître de Moulins, the same as Jean Perréal, of whom we know so much through contemporary documents, and who lives for us as one of the few historical personages in the history of French painting? M. Maulde de la Clavière* was the first to suggest it; M. Hulin and M. Bouchot agree; while M. Vitry, whose admirable study of Michel Colombe shows his intimate knowledge of the art of this period, pleads for suspension of judgment, and even inclines to a negative verdict.† The main support of the theory lies in the close analogy between the work of the Master of Moulins and that of Michel Colombe; and, in particular, in the surprising likeness between the allegorical figures in Colombe's tomb of Francis II (of Brittany) at Nantes and various figures

* 'Gazette des Beaux Arts,' 1895, pp. 265-273.

† 'Quelques travaux récents relatifs à la Peinture'

in the paintings. On this tomb we know that Perréal collaborated; and a comparison of the two works gives to the theory a high probability. The chief difficulty that M. Vitry suggests is that Perréal was an Italianising artist; but this should rather be in favour of the theory, for, though the Italian influence is much less distinct and much less destructive than it became in the next generation, it is still present. We have in fact in the Moulins work just that nice balance of external influences which enabled the intensely French temperament of the artist who underwent them to express itself freely. As M. Vitry says, in his '*Michel Colombe et la Sculpture Française*':—

'Ce sont même, avec les anges qui dans le triptyque de Moulins entourent la Vierge glorieuse, les spécimens les plus caractéristiques peut-être de cet art spécial que nous avons vu se former pendant toute la fin du xv^e siècle, et qui se compose par moitié d'un adoucissement du style franco-flamand du xiv^e et xv^e siècles et de la réapparition logique d'éléments très profondément nationaux, qui ramènent doucement l'art français vers le caractère qui avait jadis été le sien à la plus belle époque de son histoire.'

Even M. Hulin, whose main thesis is that there were only two really creative centres in the art of the fifteenth century, Central Italy and the Netherlands, yet hesitates to deny the possibility of an independent and self-contained school in the south of France. Of this school two great works survive—the *Pietà* from Aix and the *Coronation of the Virgin* by Enguerrand Charenton. Nothing has been discovered with regard to the author of the *Pietà*, one of the sublimest conceptions which the art of the fifteenth century produced. But it seems highly probable that the *Retable* at Boulbon, to which attention has been called by the interest evinced in the *Pietà*, is by the same hand. It is a noble work, though by no means so felicitous in composition as the *Pietà*. On Enguerrand Charenton as an artist no new light has been thrown*; but a picture known by documents to be by him and Pierre Vilatte, which had remained neglected and unobserved at Chantilly, has been brought to notice. This, however, scarcely adds

*and already been outlined by the researches of the Abbé stave Bayle.

to the reputation which the masterpiece from Villeneuve-les-Avignons has gained.

With regard to one other artist of Provence, Nicholas Froment, evidence is accumulating. Here again we owe much to M. Hulin's discrimination. Herr von Kaufmann lent to the exhibition a picture of the raising of Lazarus (81), which was clearly the prototype of Froment's signed picture of the same subject in the Uffizi. M. Bouchot, following Dr Friedländer, was inclined on that ground to ascribe it to Froment himself, oblivious of the fact of its immense superiority in drawing and its more purely Netherlandish technique. M. Hulin has shown strong reasons for supposing that it was by one of the Netherland artists whom King René invited to his court, perhaps Copin Delf, of whom we have accounts; and that the picture was painted by him in Provence, and became a model to the purely derivative and second-rate native artist Nicholas Froment.

If the French school were composed only of artists like Froment, who merely achieved more or less successful copies of Flemish work, or like the Fontainebleau painters of the sixteenth century, who merely copied the decadent Italians, we should be right in denying any real significance to French medieval art; but, even admitting that it was always a meeting-place of influences from North and South, and acknowledging the pre-eminence of men of Teutonic race in originating the new ideas of the fifteenth century, we yet must recognise the persistence of a strongly marked national temperament, which colours the work produced on French soil. Even if the French tradition of painting did not radiate its influence upon surrounding countries, even if it was rather receptive than creative, it nevertheless maintained a certain national individuality, which makes it worthy of study for all those who are anxious to mark and store up in their minds any distinct mode of the human imagination.

R. E. FRY.

Art. XII.—HIGHER EDUCATION IN WALES.

1. *General Report of the Central Welsh Board of Intermediate Education.* Oxford: Horace Hart, 1903.
2. *Calendar of the University of Wales.* Oswestry: Woodall and Co., 1903.
3. *Report of the Departmental Committee on Intermediate and Higher Education in Wales, with Minutes of Evidence.* London: Spottiswoode, 1881. [C. 3047.]

THE organised resistance of the Welsh local authorities to the Education Act of 1902 has precipitated in the Principality a crisis so acute as to call for the intervention of Parliament. The compact Nonconformist majorities on the Welsh county and borough councils, disdaining the ineffectual methods of the English 'passive resister,' have taken the law into their own hands, and have, for some time past, been administering the Act in a way which has seriously perturbed the Board of Education. Hence the enactment at the close of the last parliamentary session of the measure known as the Education (Local Authority Default) Act. No useful purpose could, in our opinion, be served by any attempt, however well-meant or impartial, to discuss at the present juncture the merits of the unfortunate controversy which so sorely disturbs the educational peace of Wales. The situation, we admit, is not without its grave dangers; and a prolongation of the struggle may seriously imperil the stability of the entire fabric of elementary education in the Principality. But what we do not despair of seeing, even yet, is a settlement by mutual consent which will relieve the Board of Education of the necessity of resorting to the somewhat invidious powers conferred upon it by the Default Act.

Such, at least, is the hope inspired by recent educational developments in the Principality, and by the temper at which the Welsh people have long been in the habit of approaching educational questions. For it is not so much the danger of the present situation that, for the moment, presses the student of Welsh educational movements to irony. That a local authority in Wales, of all places, should be found guilty in administering an Education

Act, of all things, is indeed a strange anomaly. Far from having had to bring pressure upon Welsh public bodies to adopt educational reforms, Parliament has for many years past quite failed to keep pace with the demands of Wales for measures and money to enable her to carry out her educational schemes. In her struggle for higher education, at least, Wales has had to overcome the indifference, if not the hostility, of a long succession of Governments. She owes comparatively little to the Legislature or to the initiative of any department of State. The Welsh Intermediate Education Act of 1889, and the parliamentary grants in aid of the University of Wales and its colleges, were obtained only after years of agitation and importunity. Parliament and the Treasury only came to her assistance after local effort had assumed such proportions as to put the State to shame. For the Welsh educational movement of the last quarter of a century has been pre-eminently a spontaneous and self-dependent national effort. It has proved conclusively that the last charge which can be laid at the doors of the Welsh people is a want of real concern for education; and those who are tempted, in their impatience with the present educational quarrel, to level this accusation against them, will find their sufficient refutation in the secondary schools and the university colleges, which are, in a sense applicable to no other educational institutions in these islands, monuments of the disciplined enthusiasm and self-sacrifice of the common people.

The reality of this popular concern for education in Wales was never more apparent than on the eve of the introduction of the Education Bill of 1902. The rapid progress of the secondary schools, together with the influences of the higher culture brought in with the university colleges, had served to reveal to the Welsh people the grave defects of their elementary schools. So startling, indeed, was the contrast between the condition of higher and that of elementary education in Wales, as to provoke some English educationalists to the criticism that the educational reformers of Wales had 'begun at the wrong end.' These critics, however, were either ignorant of, or had forgotten, the fact that the movement for higher education in the Principality was itself the result of a long and self-sacrificing

behalf of primary education. During the first half of the nineteenth century the condition of primary education in Wales—as the notorious Report of the Commissioners of 1846 sufficiently indicates—was deplorable indeed. The efforts of the late Sir Hugh Owen and other educational reformers, both Churchmen and Nonconformists, led to a very great improvement between the years 1850 and 1870. It is true that the rivalry between Church and Dissent, and divided counsels among the Dissenters themselves, did much to retard progress on ordered and harmonious lines. But underneath the strife of parties and sects there lay a genuine and urgent desire for education, which deeply impressed even those who were most keenly alive to the limitations of the denominational forms which it assumed. The Education Act of 1870 marked the dawn of a new era. The establishment of the school-board system, especially, just suited at the time a people so predominantly Nonconformist as that of Wales. The result was that by the year 1902, Wales had, relatively to its population, a far larger number of school-boards than England.

But, in the meantime, the establishment and the rapid growth of the secondary schools had made the reform of elementary education a matter of even greater urgency in Wales than in England. The Intermediate Education Act of 1889 had, in particular, opened people's eyes in Wales to the advantages of a more comprehensive system of educational administration. Why should the elementary schools—the plain man began to ask—continue to be governed either by an indefinite number of small and independent school-boards, or by denominational committees with little or no sense of public responsibility? Why should they not be placed under the infinitely more competent control of the county and the local governing bodies which, jointly, had charge of secondary education? Why, again, should the elementary schools of Wales have no common economy save that provided by the distant authority of Whitehall, while the secondary schools had a national Board of their own to examine and inspect them, to direct their studies, and to advise on all matters affecting their common interests? In fine, why should not Wales have a uniform system of administration for the two types of school, with a national

Education Board or Council regulating and co-ordinating the entire educational machinery of the Principality?

The defects of the elementary system were, indeed, only too patent. The multiplication of school-boards, which had for a time served a useful purpose, had become a source of melancholy waste and weakness. Some of the Welsh rural districts afforded probably the most flagrant examples in the whole country of petty parochialism in educational administration. Many of the school-board areas, each of which, as a rule, had its separate clerk and separate attendance-officer, were altogether too small to secure efficiency in school management. In spite of the multitude of attendance-officers, the average percentages of school attendance in some of the Welsh counties were among the lowest, if not actually the lowest, in the whole kingdom. The condition of the voluntary schools, again, both in respect of accommodation and of the quality of their teaching, was notoriously bad in many parts of the Principality. Not even in the remotest corners of rural England was there greater need than in some of the Welsh country parishes of putting denominational schools under a public authority determined to make and to keep them structurally and educationally efficient. Lastly, the secondary schools had been long enough at work to bring to light an imperative need for proper co-ordination of secondary and primary education. Complaints of overlapping had become rife; and the lack of due co-operation and sympathy between the primary and the secondary teachers was a cause, not only of constant friction, but of serious detriment to the educational interests of a large class of children.

It will thus be seen that in Wales the paramount need of reform in 1902 was felt in the domain of primary education. In England, on the other hand, the chief, if not, as Matthew Arnold had long since insisted, 'the one thing needful' was to 'organise secondary education.' In Wales, secondary education was organised; and the machinery set up by the Act of 1889 had, by general consent, worked well. Clearly, then, what was wanted in Wales was to invest the county and the local governing bodies created under that Act with the administration of primary as well as of secondary education. And this, indeed, was what the Government, in deference to the

supposed wishes of the Welsh members of Parliament, was at one time prepared to do. The Welsh county governing bodies were to be constituted the statutory education authorities under the Act of 1902. But, as time went on and controversy over the Bill waxed hotter, the Welsh members shifted their ground; and an amendment was carried assimilating in every respect the machinery of administration in Wales to that of England. This innocent-looking amendment has been one of the main causes of the present dislocation in Wales, and would never have been proposed but for the denominational issues raised by the Government's provisions for the maintenance of the voluntary schools. The substitution of the county and borough councils for the county governing bodies as the education authorities was a purely strategical move on the part of those who foresaw that the councils, being directly representative of the ratepayers, were far more likely to combine in an organised movement against the Act than were bodies on which the representatives of the rating authority had only a bare majority.

From a strictly educational point of view, the outlook is, indeed, depressing. Here we have an Act which, on the admission of its severest critics, is capable of remedying all the more glaring defects and abuses of our system of primary education. It abolishes small administrative areas. It brings the primary and the secondary schools under the control of one authority. It enables the local authorities to spend money as liberally as they please to improve the equipment and the efficiency of the elementary schools. It empowers them to make, for the first time, effective local provision for the training of teachers. Yet these advantages are for the moment all but lost to Wales owing to the preoccupation of the local authorities with denominational and party issues. So long as the administrative authorities concentrate so much of their attention upon stratagems for out-manceuvring the Board of Education, it is idle to expect them to make a wise and liberal use of their powers under the Act in directions where they would be free from bureaucratic interference.

It is not elementary education alone that is threatened by the present crisis in the Principality. The welfare of

the intermediate schools is intimately bound up with the issue of the quarrel, and with the constitution and the temper of the local education authorities during the next few years. The future is indeed full of uncertainty for the secondary schools. They have seen the sudden dissolution of the governing bodies under which they had so prospered from their birth, to find in their place new county committees, including, indeed, a considerable proportion of the members of the defunct bodies, but shorn almost altogether of the co-opted and professional element upon which the teachers, in particular, most relied for sympathy and expert advice. They find further that these newly-constituted committees have, for the moment, but little leisure for the consideration of the many difficult problems awaiting solution in what is still but an experimental stage of secondary education. Elementary education, and that almost entirely in its financial and controversial aspects, holds the field. And all this dislocation has been precipitated just at a time when the secondary schools were beginning to get, as it were, into their stride, and when a period had been reached in their development at which it seemed opportune to take stock of their work and to effect several improvements in their organisation and equipment. Even in the present unsettled condition of things it may not perhaps be altogether unprofitable to attempt a brief survey of the secondary education movement, with a view to appraising some of its results and gauging some of its tendencies. Its history is worth recording, were it only to show what the Welsh people are capable of in the way of sustained enthusiasm and united effort in the cause of education.

The turning-point in the history of higher education in Wales was the inquiry conducted in 1880-81 by the Departmental Committee presided over by the late Lord Aberdare. The Report of Lord Aberdare's Committee may justly be called the educational charter of modern Wales, for the Principality owes to it both its secondary schools and its state-endowed colleges. It is, however, but a very inadequate notion of the importance and significance of the inquiry of 1880 that can be derived from the Report alone. To discover at once

and wide-spread interest aroused by the Departmental Committee's progress through the Principality, and the value of the opportunities thus afforded to representatives of every section of the Welsh people of giving, for the first time, full and free expression to their educational wants and ideals, one must turn to the minutes of evidence. No one who takes the trouble to read them can fail to be impressed by the passionate desire for education among the common people, by the heroic, and often pathetically futile, voluntary efforts to provide it, and by the strongly-marked national self-consciousness which led the Welsh people to desire and to work for a system of higher education adapted to their own special and separate needs, which these minutes reveal. If the aggregate effect of the inquiry was to demonstrate, above everything, the imperative need of the guiding hand of the State amid a chaos of conflicting aims and ideals, it served at the same time to produce unmistakable proofs and guarantees of the readiness of the Welsh people to respond to and to supplement whatever assistance the State might give them.

The summary of the evidence which is given in the earlier pages of the Report reveals, first of all, the utterly inadequate and precarious character of the provision for secondary and higher education then existing in the Principality. Secondary or intermediate education, such as it was, was provided by the endowed grammar-schools, by proprietary schools of recent foundation, and by schools conducted by private enterprise. In 1880 Wales and Monmouthshire possessed, in all, twenty-seven grammar-schools; and a detailed account of their condition in that year is given in the Report. During the first half of the century most of these schools had been allowed to lapse into a state of gross inefficiency and decay. The late Sir Thomas Phillips, writing in 1849 in the bulky educational document to which he gave the comprehensive title of 'Wales,' complains of 'the extensive decay' of the grammar-schools, and attributes it 'partly to the influence of social changes and natural causes, and partly to the defective government to which they are subjected, and the imperfect provision made by the State for the correction of abuses to which they are

In 1864-66 the Welsh grammar-schools were

inspected, and reported upon, by the Schools Inquiry Commissioners; and nearly all of them had, by the year 1880, been reorganised and regulated by schemes under the Endowed Schools Acts. At the date of the Departmental Inquiry these schools educated, between them, 1540 boys, 'of whom,' the Report tells us, 'probably 1200 might be set down as natives of the country.' The number of pupils, both boys and girls, attending the proprietary and private schools was, so far as the Committee could ascertain, 4367. Four reasons are given for the comparative failure of the grammar-schools: their remoteness from large centres of population, their inability to adapt their organisation and instruction to the needs of their own districts, the imperfect estimate formed by parents of what constitutes a good education, and the distrust entertained by the Nonconformists of what were, in the common opinion, 'Church institutions.' The Committee conclude their survey of the condition of the secondary schools with a calculation of the approximate extent of the provision which ought to be made for the secondary education of boys in the Principality:—

'In the Report of the Schools Inquiry Commissioners, estimates are given which indicate that about sixteen boys in every thousand of the population should be receiving education higher than elementary. Taking the population of Wales and Monmouthshire to be about 1,570,000, and reducing the estimate, in consideration of the exceptional conditions of Wales, from sixteen to ten per thousand, intermediate school accommodation should be provided for 15,700 boys, and that number ought to be in attendance.'

These are, of course, ideal figures. Tried by the test of a few years' actual experience, they would seem to indicate that the Departmental Committee greatly overestimated the Principality's real needs. According to the last Report of the Central Welsh Board, the total number of pupils, both boys and girls, attending the Welsh county schools in 1902-3 was 8789. This number is distributed among ninety-five schools; and few, if any, Welsh educationalists would to-day be prepared to argue that the supply of schools is inadequate. In some of the more populous districts the existing school accommodation may be found insufficient; but, taking the

pality as a whole, the present provision for intermediate education is likely to prove equal to the demand for some years to come. But whether the estimate formed by the Departmental Committee of the number of those who ought to be receiving intermediate education was extravagant or not, they appear to have altogether underestimated the cost of providing it. Their recommendations on this head seem, indeed, almost ludicrously perfunctory and hesitating, when read in the light of what has happened since. They enumerate four possible sources of revenue, viz., elementary school and other charitable endowments connected with Wales, voluntary subscriptions, a local rate, and a parliamentary grant. The first two are summarily dismissed as being too precarious to be taken into serious account; and the obvious conclusion is 'that recourse must be had to a local rate, or to a parliamentary grant, or to both.'

The legislative sequel to the Departmental Committee's Report was the Intermediate Education Act of 1889. That Act provided both for the levying of a local rate and for an equivalent parliamentary grant. The Committee had endorsed in their Report the opinion of one of their principal witnesses that 'the charge on the rate should in no case be in excess of one halfpenny in the pound.' A halfpenny rate, accordingly, was all that the sponsors of the Act had the courage to propose. The Welsh people generally were more than satisfied. The Welsh members were universally congratulated on having wrung from an unwilling Government a far-reaching and generous measure of educational reform. But there were a few shrewd and experienced educationalists who maintained all along that neither in Wales nor anywhere else could an efficient system of secondary education be built upon a half-penny rate. As it happened, a lucky accident saved the Welsh local authorities from attempting so hazardous an experiment. A year after the passing of the Intermediate Education Act, and before any Welsh council had completed its preparations for administering it, there came the unexpected windfall of the 'whisky money.' With one consent the Welsh authorities decided to apply the whole of the money accruing annually under the Customs and Excise Act to secondary education purposes. Many of them subsequently added to their

resources by raising either the whole or a part of the penny rate allowed by the Technical Instruction Acts. But it was the 'whisky money,' and that alone, that saved the situation.

With all its hesitations and imperfections, however, the Report of Lord Aberdare's Committee gave an immense impetus to educational effort in the Principality. It stirred the Welsh people so profoundly that within three years of its publication they had founded, entirely by voluntary subscriptions, two university colleges in addition to the one they had already, by similar means, both founded and maintained at Aberystwyth. Five years later they secured their Intermediate Education Act, and proceeded to administer it in the resolute and thorough-going manner of which their prompt use of the 'whisky money' affords a characteristic example. So stirring a story is this of popular zeal and enthusiasm in the cause of educational reform that a former secretary of the Charity Commission could only describe it as a 'romance.' Speaking at Keighley in Yorkshire in January 1888, Mr D. R. Fearon, who had followed the whole course of the movement for intermediate education from his official vantage-ground at Whitehall, thus proceeds to justify his use of such a term :—

'The Departmental Committee made its report in 1881. We are familiar in England with that kind of enthusiasm for a cause which exhausts itself in the process of preliminary examination. It not unfrequently happens that the desire for a measure of legislation is sufficiently strong to induce a Government to direct an inquiry by means of a Royal Commission or otherwise, and then evaporates. But this was not the way in which the Welsh people dealt with the report of Lord Aberdare's Committee. They quickly and unanimously resolved what they wanted, and they soon translated their resolutions into energetic and unceasing action. Throughout the years 1886-1888 they repeatedly, persistently, and unanimously, by deputations, by their representatives in Parliament, and by private attempts at legislation, pressed the question on the attention alike of Liberal and Conservative Governments, until, in the summer of 1889, they obtained the Welsh Intermediate Education Act. By an early date in 1890 an Education Committee had been duly formed in every county and county-borough to which the Act applied; and before

the close of the year these Committees began to make to the Charity Commissioners their statutory proposals for schemes, the county of Carnarvon leading the way. In an incredibly short period of time the county school system was completely established and in active operation throughout Wales and Monmouthshire. In May 1896 the scheme for the Central Welsh Board, which brings and keeps together the whole system, received the approval of the Crown.'

No such educational reform as this, Mr Fearon declared, had been accomplished within the same space of time in any European country.

Although, as we have seen, the numbers in attendance at the schools fall far short of the estimate formed by Lord Aberdare's Committee, the growth and the success of the Welsh secondary system during the short time it has been in operation have been remarkable. The extent and character of the results achieved may in some measure be inferred from the statistics given in the Report of the Central Welsh Board for 1903. Of the 95 schools, either reorganised or newly-founded by schemes under the Act of 1889, 18 are boys' and 21 are girls' schools, while 47 are returned as 'dual,' and 9 as 'mixed' schools. The number of scholars on the rolls in 1902-3 was 8789, of whom 4475 were boys and 4314 girls. The staffs of the schools comprise 204 assistant masters and 215 assistant mistresses, who, with the head-masters and mistresses, make up a total roll of 503 teachers. The average salary paid to assistant masters is returned at 127*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.*, and that to assistant mistresses as 105*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.* The average salary of the head teachers is not stated. The aggregate sum paid in scholarships and bursaries derived from all sources, including 'school district funds,' 'scholarship district funds,' and sundry charitable endowments amounted in 1902-3 to 14,307*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.*

Turning from the statistical part of the Report to the comments which the Chief Inspector has made upon the present condition and prospects of the schools, we discover that, admirably organised though the Welsh intermediate system is, it has not yet passed the stage of experiment. Its development, as the Chief Inspector states, is being closely watched by educationalists all over the country; and, now that the organisation of secondary education is proceeding apace in England, English educa-

tional authorities may learn much and will be saved from some blunders by consulting the experience of Wales. Wales, as we have seen, has neglected no available source of revenue to make the Intermediate Education Act a success; the local authorities have virtually used up every penny within their reach for purposes of secondary and technical education. The result is that at the present moment the Principality spends on education out of local rates almost twice as much money, in proportion to its population, as England (excluding London), and considerably more than Scotland.* Notwithstanding, however, the apparently liberal provision made in Wales for intermediate education, the first thing to which the Chief Inspector calls 'the serious attention of the Local Education Authorities' is the financial position.

'If the schools,' he declares, 'are to accomplish all that is expected of them, it is essential that the maintenance funds in the aggregate should be increased by a sum of not less than 40,000*l*.'

The Inspector does not specify the purposes for which this additional income is required; but it is easy to surmise what they are. The complaints that have been made for a considerable time past by the governing bodies and by head teachers have revealed that many of the schools are deficient in accommodation and apparatus, that several are understaffed, and that the salaries paid are in general too low to attract and to retain the services of the best class of teachers. Fortunately, the Education Act of 1902 provides means of meeting the financial difficulty; and it is to this source of relief that the Chief Inspector turns. An addition of another half-penny to the existing county rate for intermediate education will, in his opinion, enable the schools to tide over immediate difficulties. 'It is possible,' he continues, 'that in a few counties in which the rateable value is low, a 1½*d*., or even a 1¼*d*. rate, will be required.' Heavily rated for educational purposes though they are already, we have no doubt that the Welsh people will cheerfully submit to this additional impost.

* The amount per head of the population, according to the latest returns, stands at 3*s*. in England, 4*s*. 10½*d*. in Scotland, and 5*s*. 8½*d*. in Wales.

But an increased rate will not by any means solve all the present and prospective difficulties of the schools. The Chief Inspector calls attention to two problems in particular which the local authorities have now to face, and for the solution of which much expert knowledge is required. They are the co-ordination of secondary and primary instruction, and the 'differentiation' of the secondary schools themselves. Dealing, first of all, with the differentiation of schools, the Inspector, while reminding local governing bodies of the freedom of initiative which they possess in determining school curricula, gives no specific examples of the kind and extent of the differentiation that might be attempted. What the public want to know is how far it is possible, without sacrificing anything that is essential to a sound and liberal school education, to modify the curriculum of a particular school to suit the circumstances and the needs of its locality. Is it possible, without detriment to the general educational interests of the districts affected, to have in certain areas schools predominantly classical or literary, and in others schools in which prominence is given to scientific, technical, or commercial subjects? Can a school at Cardiff or Bangor, for example, safely assume a strongly-marked literary or commercial character, while a school in the Rhondda Valley or in the Snowdonian quarry district develops on equally specialised technical or scientific lines? It seems to us that schools cannot be safely and effectually differentiated in this way unless some scheme can be devised for an interchange of pupils. By a more liberal and, at the same time, more discriminating system of awarding bursaries and exhibitions much might be done, in districts where the schools are fairly near each other, to enable the more promising pupils in each school to proceed, after reaching a certain stage, to the type of school best suited for their special requirements and aptitudes. Some such arrangement is advocated by one of the Central Board's examiners. Professor R. S. Conway concludes his report by

'urging again upon the serious attention of all friends of higher education in Wales the suggestion made last year, that the different counties should arrange that some number of their exhibitions should be interchangeable, so that if clever pupils are interested in a particular subject which is not

taught at an advanced stage in the school they have first attended, and if, as is often the case, they have opportunity of attending school in some other place where the subject is especially well taught, and where they happen to have friends at whose house they could live, the counties should encourage them to do so. Since last year I have found that an arrangement of this kind is in force between some of the English counties; and, in my opinion, a change of this kind is urgently needed in Wales, if the higher stages of teaching in any subject are to be preserved, and if the best teachers in all subjects whom Wales possesses are to be relieved of the depressing conditions under which at present their highest work is done.'

By differentiation, it is hardly necessary to say, we mean differentiation only in the advanced classes of the schools. Nothing could be more fatal to the interests of sound education in the Principality than premature specialisation in the secondary schools. The Board of Education, according to their last Annual Report, already notice in English secondary schools a dangerous tendency to substitute a too exclusively scientific for a truly liberal education. In Wales the cry for 'bread and butter studies' has not, as yet, become loud enough to tempt the governing bodies of the schools to take any very hazardous liberties with their curricula; but, as time goes on, the demand for the teaching of scientific and technical subjects is bound to become more and more insistent. It will be the duty of the local education authorities to see that their concessions to this legitimate demand shall not involve the ejection from the curriculum of any school of studies which are the foundation of a really liberal education.

Even more immediately important than the question of the differentiation of the secondary schools is that of their proper co-ordination with the primary schools. A constant complaint of the Welsh secondary school teachers, and one which finds an echo in the Chief Inspector's report, is that their pupils are prematurely withdrawn from the schools. It is an equally common complaint that a large number of their pupils come to them too late. The primary school teacher has considerably fewer temptations now than heretofore to keep under his tuition children who, under any properly co-ordinated

system, ought long since to have been drafted into the secondary school; but they are still sufficiently strong to induce an unscrupulous teacher to exploit, for various purposes, clever children in the higher standards of his school. The belated arrival and the premature withdrawal of secondary school pupils are, however, both mainly due to an inadequate conception of the respective functions of primary and secondary education. In Wales, as elsewhere, there is a too prevalent tendency to regard them as 'the lower and upper storeys of a single tenement' rather than as 'two adjacent tenements with an easy passage from near the top of the lower to the mezzanine floor of the higher of the two houses.'*

The quarrel about 'overlapping' too often arises out of a complete misapprehension of the nature of the problem. For a certain class of pupils the primary school must provide instruction in many subjects approximately of the same type and of the same grade as that provided in the secondary schools for another class. It is only a comparatively small proportion, after all, of the children in the elementary schools who can, under present conditions, hope to enter a secondary school at all. The great majority will necessarily remain in the primary school until they attain the age of thirteen or fourteen, and pass, if they can, the seventh standard. But those who are to proceed to the secondary school should leave the primary school at a much earlier age. The 'overlapping,' which gives legitimate cause of complaint, and is productive of serious educational mischief, is that which occurs when children who have reached an age, and are sufficiently advanced, to begin a profitable course of secondary instruction are deliberately detained in the primary school at the caprice, or in order to serve the self-interest, of the primary teacher. It is here that co-ordination is most urgently required; and it has become possible now that the two grades of schools are under the control of a single authority.

These and other kindred educational problems, which now press for the consideration of the Welsh education authorities, are, however, of slight moment in comparison with the paramount need of stimulating and informing

* 'What is Secondary Education?' Essays edited by R. P. Scott, p. 168.

popular interest in the work of the schools. The ultimate success of the Welsh secondary system will depend, after all, upon the faithfulness of the Welsh people themselves to a high ideal of educational aim and accomplishment. Neither perfect organisation nor abundance of revenue will, of themselves, assure the sound growth of the schools in educational stature and efficiency. They will always need the vitalising impulse and sustenance of the popular enthusiasm to which they owe their being. The pioneers of Welsh educational reform in the sixties and the seventies had, perhaps, no very precise conception of what secondary education ought to be, or how secondary schools were to be provided, governed and financed. But they were inspired, above everything, by a profound conviction of the value of education, and by an unwavering determination to place within the reach of every child in Wales the best education which the country could supply. It is this faith in education, and this ardour in the pursuit of the best that can be got, that the Welsh people have need to cherish more than ever, now that they have entered into possession of an educational fabric so spacious in design and so attractive, in many ways, in its external appliances and appointments. The men who put into practice the recommendations of Lord Aberdare's Committee 'built better than they knew.' They have laid upon the present generation in Wales obligations and responsibilities which will tax to the utmost the resolution and the sagacity of the stoutest hearts and wisest heads. Hence the necessity of enlisting in the work of educational administration the best men the Principality can produce. It is but a too obvious truism that the schools will be just what the teachers make them; but it is not so generally realised that the quality of the teaching will inevitably correspond in large measure to the quality of the administration. Good teachers will always be found, and will always do their duty, so long as the education authorities remain faithful to a high and liberal conception of their trust.

Even more remarkable in some respects than the history of the foundation of the secondary schools is that of the movement for the establishment of the three state-endowed colleges of Wales and their federation under

common university charter. Long before the Departmental Inquiry of 1880 took place, a number of patriotic Welshmen had combined in a strenuous effort to establish and maintain, without state assistance of any kind, a national college which they hoped would ultimately make good its claim to the full privileges of a university. This bold enterprise first assumed a definite and an organised form at a small meeting held in London in December, 1863. That meeting pledged itself

‘to seek the immediate establishment of a University, whose course of education shall be comprehensive and complete, and whose degrees and distinctions shall be of standard value among educated men.’ . . . ‘The University’ (it went on to declare) ‘should be a truly national institution, located in the country, presenting accessible means of liberal culture at a moderate cost, and commanding, by reason of its national character, the fullest confidence of the people.’

While recognising that an undertaking of such magnitude could not be carried to a successful issue without government aid, the meeting appealed to the Welsh people to ‘show an adequate interest in the question’ by raising ‘a national fund to meet in part the necessary outlay.’ One of the first steps taken by the committee charged with the execution of this ambitious project was to approach the authorities of St David’s College, Lampeter, with a view to the inclusion of that foundation in the proposed university.

St David’s College, opened in 1827 ‘for the reception and education of persons destined for Holy Orders,’ had obtained in 1852 a charter empowering it to confer the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, and had thus some small claim to consider itself as of university rank. At a conference held in 1864 between representatives of the University Committee and of the governing body of St David’s College, it was resolved that ‘a new college of an entirely open and unsectarian character’ should, together with St David’s College, which was to retain ‘its distinctive character as a Church of England College,’ ‘constitute one university having its chancellor, vice-chancellor, senate, etc., who shall have the right of conferring degrees in arts and science.’ It will thus be seen that the university builders of 1864 started with the idea,

which their successors eventually carried out, of establishing a federal university. For some mysterious reason, however, the negotiations with St David's College were abruptly broken off. The Lampeter authorities appear to have been seized by a sudden distrust of the new movement, and to have decided upon a course of action more immediately profitable to themselves as an independent academic body. At any rate, we find that in 1865 St David's College obtained an enlargement of its charter empowering it to confer the additional degree of B.A.

The failure to secure the co-operation of St David's College did not discourage the University Committee; but they soon discovered that their original design had been conceived on too ambitious a scale. As time went on, they were obliged to confine their efforts to the establishment at Aberystwyth of an institution which, though it eventually bore the name of the University College of Wales, fell very far short of the national university of their dreams. It was by an accident that the college came to be located at Aberystwyth. In 1867 the committee were offered the option of purchasing, at a comparatively small cost, a large building in that town originally meant for a hotel. They closed with the offer; and, after a long and trying public canvass for funds, the University College of Wales opened its doors in 1872 to twenty-six students. At the time of the Departmental Inquiry the number of students was only fifty-seven; and the committee were obliged to report that 'the college had disappointed the hopes of its supporters.'

'The college is maintained,' the Report continues, 'at a cost to its supporters of at least 2500*l.*; and increasing difficulty is felt in obtaining the necessary subscriptions; and it was stated that without Government assistance the institution must collapse.'

Yet it may be questioned whether, but for the popular interest in and support of the Aberystwyth College during the critical period from 1872 to 1880, the Departmental inquiry would ever have been held. It was to the character and the extent of the subscriptions and popular collections in aid of the college during those years that the parliamentary and other advocates of Welsh educational reform constantly pointed as the para-

mount proof of the Welsh people's desire for higher education and of their self-sacrifice in the effort to provide it.

In spite of the apparent failure of the Aberystwyth College, Lord Aberdare's Committee attacked the problem of providing university education in the Principality with courage and firm faith in the future. They recommended the establishment of an additional university college to be located in the more populous districts of South Wales, while the Aberystwyth College, whether retained in that town or removed to Bangor or Carnarvon, was to be accepted as the university college for North Wales. Each of the two colleges was to receive an annual parliamentary grant of, at least, 4000*l*. The desirability of establishing a degree-giving university for Wales is discussed in the Report at some length; and, after referring to the fact that there already existed in Wales 'not indeed a university in the true meaning of the term, but an institution with the power of conferring degrees'—viz., St David's College, Lampeter—the Committee recommended the withdrawal of the St David's College charter, and the substitution for it of a new charter, 'whereby the power of conferring degrees should be given to a syndicate or board, consisting of representatives in equal numbers of the governing bodies of St David's College, the university college at Aberystwyth, and any other college, being a place of advanced secular instruction, which may be affiliated for the purpose.'

The University of Wales was founded by royal charter some twelve years after the publication of the Departmental Committee's Report; but St David's College was not included among its constituent colleges. Its exclusion was due partly to denominational causes and partly to the fact that the establishment and the unexpectedly rapid growth of three university colleges had, in the interval, entirely changed the academic situation. For the proposals of Lord Aberdare's Committee for the foundation of state-endowed colleges had met with a response which astonished, and for a time even alarmed, the educational statesmen of the Principality. In 1882 the University College of Wales received, in accordance with the Committee's recommendation, its first annual grant from the Treasury of 4000*l*. But it soon became apparent that North Wales was not prepared to accept as its own a university college situated

in a South Welsh county. Strong pressure was brought upon the authorities of the Aberystwyth College to induce them to consent to the removal of that institution further north, but without avail. Early in 1883 an influential committee was formed for the establishment of a separate university college for North Wales; and over 30,000*l.* was subscribed for the purpose within the short space of twelve months, the total number of subscribers being nearly eight thousand. In October 1884 the new college was opened at Bangor. In the meantime, in pursuance of the second recommendation of the Departmental Committee, a university college for South Wales had, by a similar popular effort, been founded and opened at Cardiff and endowed with an annual parliamentary grant of 4000*l.* Some ill-feeling was aroused by the transference in 1884 to the Bangor College of the grant which, two years previously, had been voted to Aberystwyth. The Government endeavoured to pacify the friends of Aberystwyth by voting to the college a separate grant of 2500*l.* for the year 1884; but this only led to a loud popular outcry for equality of treatment for all three colleges, and in the following year the Government was forced to raise the grant to 4000*l.* Educational zeal and local feeling had thus altogether outrun the Departmental Committee's recommendations; and grave apprehensions were for a time generally entertained as to the ability of the Principality to maintain three institutions of so ambitious a type. How groundless were those fears is shown by the fact that to-day the three university colleges, between them, educate over thirteen hundred students.

Even by the year 1889 the colleges had become strong enough and had sufficient faith in their own future, to combine in a movement for their incorporation as a university. After a long series of conferences, a charter was drafted and received the royal sanction on November 30, 1892. In its constitution and government the University of Wales is undoubtedly the most democratic institution of its kind in the United Kingdom. The strength of the popular movement for the establishment of the Welsh colleges, and a provision that the University for many years to come would be compelled to look to the municipal and other public authorities of the Principality for the management of its revenues and its privileges, led the

founders of the University to enlist in its government a wide variety of interests. The University Court consists of a hundred members, of whom thirteen are appointed by the Crown, twenty-six by the county and borough councils of Wales, thirty-six by the governors, councils, and senates respectively of the three constituent colleges, thirteen by the Guild of Graduates, six by the masters and mistresses of secondary and primary schools, and six by the Central Welsh Board of Intermediate Education.

The Senate of the University consists of those teachers who, for the time being, are heads of the departments of study recognised by the University in the three constituent colleges. The executive head of the Senate is the vice-chancellor; and the office must, according to the charter, be held by the principals of the university colleges in rotation. The Senate has no direct representation on the University Court, such members of the Senate as have a seat on the Court being elected either by their colleges or by the Guild of Graduates. The Guild is composed of the graduates of the University and the entire teaching staffs of the constituent colleges, and corresponds to the Convocation of other universities. Although no act of the Senate is valid until it has received the formal sanction of the University Court, in all strictly academic matters the authority of the Senate is virtually supreme. The right of initiative in proposing courses of study is possessed by the constituent colleges; but every such proposal must be submitted to the full University Senate before being presented to the Court for acceptance. The Court cannot promulgate, alter, or abrogate any statute, regulation, or bylaw affecting schemes of study or examinations except either on the recommendation of the Senate, or after the Senate has had 'a reasonable opportunity of considering and reporting' upon the matter.

In one department of study, however—and this will seem to many to be an anomaly—the Senate possesses no authority. By their constitution all the three university colleges are prohibited from teaching theological subjects. But, as the University is empowered by its charter to give degrees in the faculty of theology, it has been found necessary to create a special Board of Theological Studies, the members of which are appointed partly by the Court, the Senate, and the Guild of the University, and partly by

a number of 'associated' theological colleges. At the present moment only three of the Welsh theological colleges are so 'associated'; and the members of their teaching staffs together constitute the Theological Senata.

Such, in brief outline, is the constitution of the University. Its nearest analogue in the polity of British universities was that of the defunct Victoria University. Like Victoria, the University of Wales represented, on its academic side, a revolt against the old examinational system of the University of London, and is, like the older universities of England and Scotland, at once a teaching and an examining body. It requires a fixed period of residence previous to graduation, and allows a greater choice of subjects in its degree examinations than did the London University before its reconstitution. The government of the University, however, is founded upon a much more democratic basis than was that of Victoria; and its character was largely determined by the unique history and constitution of the three Welsh colleges. The colleges, owing their foundation as they did almost entirely to a remarkable outburst of popular enthusiasm, were obliged to make their governing bodies thoroughly representative both of their subscribers and of the public bodies with which, under the stress of growing needs and responsibilities, they were bound to come more and more in contact.

It thus became inevitable that the government of the University should, in its main features, follow that of the constituent colleges; and the constitution of the University Court will be found to be modelled very largely upon that of the collegiate courts of governors. But, over and above the precedents afforded by the colleges, the founders of the University had an incentive to make its government as popular as they could in the long-cherished ideal of a university 'commanding,' in the words of the pioneers of 1863, 'by reason of its national character, the fullest confidence of the people.' The active sympathy and support of a whole people were, they felt, sources of educational power which even the most pragmatic and punctilious academic mind could not afford to ignore.

It is, at least, in the popular and national character of its polity that the University of Wales finds its chief *raison d'être* as a federal university. For, now that the Victoria University has been dissolved, Wales remains

the last asylum of the federal system in Great Britain; and the question which is to-day being forced upon many minds is—will Wales always be able to maintain this type of university, and, even if she is able, is it desirable that she should? Ten years' experience of university administration has served to reveal practical difficulties which were never anticipated by the framers of the charter. It was obvious from the first that, with the constituent colleges situated so far apart and the facilities of communication between them so poor and intermittent, the federal experiment in Wales would be conducted under much more difficult conditions than those which prevailed in the north of England. It was foreseen, at any rate, that it would be an expensive experiment; and the Welsh colleges had formed an estimate of its cost which justified them in applying, in their petition to the Treasury in 1894, for a grant for university purposes double that which they ultimately received.

Administrative difficulties, however capable they may be of temporary adjustment, will always be found to threaten the cohesion and the stability of the Welsh federal system. Will the bond of national sentiment which now unites the Welsh colleges prove strong enough permanently to bear the strain? The limited financial resources and academic equipment of the colleges oblige them, for the moment, to keep up their alliance at whatever cost and inconvenience. But one of them may, even sooner than is generally expected, find itself able to weigh, from a position of comparative security, the advantages and disadvantages of federation. Chafing under the vexatious bondage of association with two smaller and distantly situated colleges, and emulous of the example of some of the great industrial centres of England in founding universities of their own, Cardiff may at no distant date be tempted to break away. The comparative losses and gains of such a dissolution of partnership open up a wide field of discussion; we cannot here do more than indicate how the problem strikes an eminent educational authority who describes himself as 'a spectator uninterested in the fortunes of the University.'*

* 'Some Aspects of Modern University Education,' by Sir Richard
' delivered at the University College of North

'One of your three colleges is seated in a great commercial town. Suppose, for the sake of argument merely—I have no reason whatever to believe that the thing is probable—suppose that this great town should some day decide to have a university of its own. Then, I presume, one of two things would happen: Bangor and Aberystwyth would go on in federal union; or else Bangor would become the University of North Wales, and Aberystwyth would be left in a position analogous to that in which Leeds found itself when the dissolution was decreed. In view of such possible contingencies, one question before all others would seem to require an answer. Are the drawbacks to the federal system outweighed by the fact that the existing university stands for all Wales, and has the undivided support of Welsh sentiment behind it? An onlooker who thinks as I do would reply unhesitatingly, Yes: the advantage outweighs the drawbacks. To represent Wales is not merely to represent a geographical area and a distinct nationality: it is to represent also a well-marked type of national genius, characterised by certain intellectual bent, by certain literary aptitudes, by certain gifts of imagination and sympathy, specially manifested in the love of poetry and of music; a type of genius which is peculiarly susceptible to the influence of humane studies. A university which is the one academic expression of such a national genius holds a position of unique interest and of peculiar strength. It would be a great pity to break it up into two or three universities, no one of which could have the same prestige. If there were but two universities, one for North Wales and the other for South, the national sentiment would be divided, the strength which it gives would be impaired, and the unavoidable competition, however generous, might possibly be prejudicial to the interests of Welsh education at large.'

The main disability, however, of the University of Wales and of its colleges at the present time arises not so much from the federal system as from their common poverty. It is idle to expect the University to become a school of learning, in a sense in which the German and the older English universities are, without a very large addition to its endowments. In the appendix to his British Association address 'On the Influence of Brain-Power in History,' Sir Norman Lockyer gives a tabulated estimate of 'the sums which, in the opinion of responsible persons at each college, would suffice to place

them in a position to discharge their work with real efficiency.' Since their foundation, over 200,000*l.* has been contributed from voluntary sources of all kinds in aid of the Welsh university colleges; but the expenditure upon buildings and apparatus has been so heavy that the entire present income of the three colleges from private endowments only amounts to the beggarly sum of 2350*l.* From government grants the colleges derive, between them, an annual income of 17,250*l.*, while the University receives a separate grant of 4000*l.* The colleges also receive grants of a considerable amount from county councils; but, as Sir Norman Lockyer points out, these should 'in fairness be counted as fees, not endowments, since they are given in return for teaching a definite class of students, and a change of policy in the local authorities might at any time modify or even divert their contributions.' In order to place the Welsh University on a footing of equal efficiency with the best universities of Germany and America, Sir Norman Lockyer calculates its requirements at the capital sum of four millions sterling. The colleges need 'for buildings and equipment' an aggregate sum of 438,300*l.*, and for endowment a sum of 3,208,300*l.*, while the University needs an additional endowment of 288,400*l.*

'These will not be thought an extravagant figure,' Sir Norman continues, 'when it is remembered that the need of the Birmingham University was estimated at five millions, and that the Welsh colleges minister to the needs of a far more diverse population. The agriculture, the manufactures, the mining, and the over-sea commerce of Wales all demand the enlightenment and intelligence which can only be developed in universities efficiently equipped for their work.'

It is clear that Wales herself cannot raise a tithe of this large sum. For the Principality, as Sir Norman Lockyer admits, 'happily or unhappily, possesses comparatively few men whose individual possessions enable them to take part in endowing her colleges in any way commensurate with the need.' It is to the State that Wales must look for the bulk of the money needed; and, if it be held that the State should in such matters follow the healthy principle of only helping those who proved their ability to help themselves, then Wales

can point with some confidence to her educational record. The Chancellor of the Exchequer not long since told a deputation from the English provincial colleges that assistance from the Treasury would, in future, be doled out to them in strict proportion to the extent of the local contributions, whether public or private, to their funds. Wales has no need to fear the application of such a test, provided due account be taken of the relative value of her contributions to the number and the means of her population. For Wales cannot hope to compete with Liverpool or Manchester or Birmingham in respect of the actual amount of money subscribed or voted from local sources in aid of her colleges. But in any comparative test, in which regard is had to the number of subscribers and to the proportional value of their contributions, Wales more than holds her own against any other part of the kingdom. Wales, as we have already seen, in proportion to her population, spends on elementary and secondary education all but twice as much money as England; let one instance suffice of how the Welsh people are prepared to tax themselves for university education.

The University College of North Wales is at present engaged in the arduous enterprise of raising a fund of 175,000*l.* for new buildings. The site of the buildings has been provided by the corporation of Bangor at a cost to the ratepayers of 15,000*l.*, representing a contribution of close upon 30*s.* per head of the entire population of the city. A municipal grant on a similar scale in Liverpool would amount to over a million and a half of money. Here, at any rate, is a case not for a Treasury grant equivalent merely to the actual local contribution, but for a grant in some degree proportionate to the magnitude of the individual effort entailed. We trust, however, that when the State comes seriously to face its obligations to university education in this country, the claims of Wales will be considered in no niggling or captious spirit, but with a generous sympathy reciprocal of the zeal and self-sacrifice which her people have so long shown in the cause of education.

But the real welfare of the University, no less than of the secondary schools, depends upon higher considerations *than* those of finance, of organisation, or of administrative

efficiency. The University, like the schools, will need the constant stimulus of popular interest and of contact with national and civic life. But a university is, in a sense in which no system of schools, however well organised and closely united by common aims and motives, can be, the guardian of its own traditions and the shaper of its own destiny. For it is at once its highest prerogative and its prime duty, while deriving from national and popular sources both power and inspiration, to constitute itself the nursery and the inviolable home of exalted ideals of learning and of life. In the pursuit of its own proper activities it should be independent and fearless alike of the State and of municipalities, of private benefactors and of the populace. A young and, as the University of Wales justly boasts itself to be, a 'popular' university is under the constant temptation to yield to the pressure of external forces. It cannot, like the older universities, provide without fear or concern an asylum for 'lost causes,' or 'unpopular names,' or 'impossible loyalties.' It has its 'constituency' to reckon with. Here, in our opinion, lies the greatest source of danger to the future prosperity and repute of the University of Wales. The desire to be considered 'national,' in the narrow sense of being *en rapport* with the prevalent popular feeling or movement of the moment, may but too often divert it from the path of disinterested intellectual effort and of the dauntless pursuit of knowledge. There are, indeed, many special ways in which the University can serve the Welsh nation without any danger of becoming provincial in its aims; the creation of a really great school of Celtic learning, in which the Welsh language shall retain an honoured place, is but one of these. But the greatest of all national services which the University can render the Welsh people is to keep before them a high and incorruptible standard of work, of culture, of life, and to turn the stream of national feeling which runs so strongly in the Wales of to-day into intellectual channels which will compel the attention and the respect of the best minds of the age.

Art. XIII.—THE CASE OF THE SCOTTISH CHURCHES.

The Free Church of Scotland Appeals, 1903-4. Edited by Robert Low Orr, Advocate. Authorised Report. Edinburgh: Macniven and Wallace. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1904.

It is hardly possible to exaggerate the gravity of the issues involved in the recent decision upon the case of the Free Church. Another crisis has been reached in the old controversy between Church and State, a crisis of unusual moment both to the particular Churches implicated and to the interests of religious liberty in general. Whether regard be had to the amount of the property at stake and the numbers of the population affected, or to the gravity of the differences of opinion among the judges, or to the feeling aroused in the country, or to the religious and political questions involved, it may be safely asserted that few cases before the House of Lords have equalled this one in its singular combination of material and spiritual importance. A large and flourishing Church, comprising nearly a quarter of the population of Scotland, with a national influence even greater than her numbers represent, and prosecuting extensive missions in Europe, Asia, and Africa, has been suddenly decreed to have lost her identity, through her union with another Church and certain changes in her formulæ which this union required; and to have forfeited in consequence all her invested funds and the bulk of her real estate.

The Free Church of Scotland, which in 1900 combined with the United Presbyterians to form the United Free Church of Scotland, consisted at that time of over 1100 congregations, distributed throughout the country in pursuance of her claim to be a National Church. Her communicants were nearly 300,000; her Sunday classes contained over 200,000 scholars; and, if to these be added her children outside her Sunday schools and her adult adherents not in full communion, it will be seen that she included in her care about a million of the Scottish people. Abroad she had 200 missionaries, 1350 native agents, and nearly 12,000 communicants. But it is not only this multitude who are concerned. The property they brought into the union has for four years been combined with

that of their partners in a fashion which makes the loss of it scarcely less serious to the latter than it is to themselves. To ascertain the full numbers affected, we must take the membership of the United Free Church when the judgment was delivered. In a report to her General Assembly in May last this is given as 501,535, exclusive of adult adherents not in full communion.

The property involved is of two classes. There is, first, that formerly held by the General Trustees for the Free Church as a whole, consisting of invested funds to the amount of about 1,200,000*l.* and real estate in Scotland and abroad. The value of the latter is doubtful, for only part of it is specified in the case. But the Church's three theological colleges are insured for more than 70,000*l.*; her offices and assembly hall cannot be worth less than 50,000*l.*; and the other heritable subjects in Scotland alone must be worth at least 30,000*l.* more. Secondly, there is the congregational property of over 1100 churches, most of them with manses and halls. It is hardly possible to calculate the money value of the latter. But the most moderate estimates of the whole property, including that vested in the General Trustees, reach four or five millions sterling; and the real amount may be much more. The money value, however, is not everything. The property at stake represents the habitation, machinery, and equipment of an organisation whose work at home and abroad is to a great extent dependent on the right to use it, and whose energies, if not paralysed, are embarrassed beyond reckoning by its loss.

All this estate and means of beneficent labour have been taken, then, from a Church of some 300,000 communicants, with over 1100 ministers, besides general officials (to speak only of the Free Church's forces at home), and assigned to what was at the date of the judgment a mere fraction of the Free Church—some thirty ministers with 4000 or 5000 communicants, almost all of whom live in the Highlands and islands. It is, to use Burke's phrase, as 'terrible a revolution in property' as was ever effected by law; and the way in which it has roused public feeling is not surprising. In Scotland the controversy is even greater than that stirred by Mr Gladstone's Home Rule policy. The nation is bitterly divided. A leading journal, which two years ago, when

the Scottish Courts had decided in favour of the United Free Church, declared that a contrary decision would be 'little short of a national calamity,'* now, when the Court of Appeal has given a contrary decision, applauds it with fervour; while other journals of equal standing describe it as 'an error,' 'unjust' and 'monstrous.' The division among the judges and the probability that, but for the death of Lord Shand after the first hearing of the appeal, the decision would have gone the other way, have provoked debate, among not only laymen but lawyers, as to whether the judgment, if sound in law, is correct in fact. Other facts—that most of the property taken from the United Free Church was conferred by men who approved of the union or actually entered it, and that the remnant is apparently too small to administer the trust assigned to it—have raised the question of equity. Nor are lighter causes of excitement wanting. For years the leaders of the Free Church have aimed at the disestablishment of the Church of Scotland; and the irony of the situation, in which, partly because of that policy, they now find their own Church disendowed, is obvious. To multitudes who take no interest in religion, the large financial stakes at issue, as well as the oscillating fortunes of the case, have brought all the exhilaration of a colossal hazard.

There are, of course, problems involved of greater moment than so large a transference of property—the conflicting claims of Church and State, the dangers to religious liberty and theological growth in general. To these we shall return. But our first duty is to review the facts, as well as the processes of law by which such amazing results have been reached, in order to understand not only the points at issue, but the serious differences existing among the judges.

The Free Church of Scotland was formed in 1843 by disruption from the Established Church. For some years the majority of this Church—evangelical in doctrine but 'high' in their conception of the Church's authority—had been asserting her 'spiritual independence' of the courts of the realm. They admitted the jurisdiction of the latter

* The 'Scotsman,' July 5, 1902.

over the civil rights of the Church and the emoluments conferred on her by the State. But they claimed for herself freedom to determine in spiritual and ecclesiastical matters, defined as 'the preaching of the Word, administration of sacraments, admission and suspension of office-bearers, infliction of censures, and generally the whole "power of the keys."' The last phrase is wide, and might be held to include powers to legislate on doctrine; but this is not expressly claimed. The conflicts between the Church and the courts of law were confined to the appointment and discipline of her ministers. The Church claimed the right to veto any presentation to a parish by the patrons, if a majority of heads of families objected to it, and the right to admit to her courts, on an equal footing with the parish ministers, ministers of chapels of ease. Both these claims the courts declared contrary to law. To change the law the Church appealed to the great political parties, to the Crown, and to the House of Commons, all of which repulsed her. Sir Robert Peel said it could not be otherwise while she remained established, since only Roman Catholics and Dissenters were entitled to decide with reference to their own affairs.* The majority took the Premier at his word. They withdrew from the Establishment and formed the Free Church.

While renouncing the status and emoluments of the Establishment, they did not feel they were founding a new Church. They adhered 'to the constitution and standards of the Church of Scotland.' They maintained the Presbyterian discipline, the Confession of Faith, and the Acts by which before 1843 the Church had regulated her constitution. It is this sense of their continuity as a Church which explains the omission of the Disruption fathers to draw up any definite form of constitution. Had such existed, there would not have been room for so serious a difference among the judicial opinions in the recent case. In its absence, the judges have had to infer the Church's rules of association from more or less formal documents, in which she protested her independence of the State, demitted the emoluments which the latter had conferred, invited pecuniary support, and defined what

* Speech in the House of Commons, March 8, 1843.

she required of her office-bearers. Among these documents were the following: two Protests before and after the Disruption; an address by Dr Chalmers as Moderator of the first Free Church Assembly in 1843; an Act of Assembly in 1846 fixing the formulæ for office-bearers; the Model Trust Deed of 1847 for the congregational properties; Acts of 1851 and 1853 upon the standards of the Church; the form of mandate by presbyteries to their representatives in the General Assembly; and speeches by the leaders of the Church in 1843 or soon after. On these documents the questions raised by the case were two. Do they, along with the Confession of Faith, imply that the 'doctrine of Church Establishment' is an essential part of the Free Church creed? And do they contain the assertion or implication of her power to alter that creed by the processes of her constitution?

As to the first question, there can be no doubt about the profession of the Establishment doctrine by the founders of the Free Church. They had quitted the Establishment only after long struggles to realise their ideals within it. In the Westminster Confession they had carried with them an extreme statement of the duties of the State towards religion; and, though they repudiated 'the intolerant and persecuting principles' which that statement enforces, they continued to assert, at least down to 1851, that their Church 'holds and through God's grace will ever hold that it is the duty of civil rulers to... promote and support the Kingdom of Christ.*' They declined to unite with those Voluntary Presbyterians with whom they agreed on every other point of doctrine; and nowhere more strongly than in Dr Chalmers' address as Moderator in 1843—which some of the judges have read as a kind of 'prospectus' of the Free Church in her appeal for funds—did they insist on the distinction between the Voluntaries and themselves. But it has been argued that the documents in question nowhere define the Establishment doctrine as fundamental to the Church. Her difference from the Establishment, her distinctive and essential note as a separate Church, lay not in such a doctrine, but in her assertion of spiritual independence. Dr Chalmers immediately modified the distinction he

* Authorised Report, 95.

had drawn between his Church and the Voluntaries, and six weeks later asserted that 'there was no insuperable barrier in the way of an eventual, and he hoped a speedy, incorporation.' Other leaders declared the Establishment doctrine not only a mere theory, but destined to remain so.* Moreover, it has been argued that, as the whole Church, Established and Free, no longer pressed the doctrine to the extremes of the Confession of Faith, so it was open to the Free Church, as she proved her ability to support herself, to reduce her application of the theory still farther, and limit it to those general duties of the State to religion which fall short of Establishment and endowment. In other words, were not the possible applications of the Establishment doctrine so many, and so dependent on political circumstances beyond the Church's control, as to make it impossible to consider that doctrine, however strongly she professed it, essential to her constitution?

The second question on which the documents were used as evidence has a wider scope. Doctrinal change did not enter into the official outlook of the early Free Church. Its members had been the evangelical majority in the Establishment; and much of their hostility to their 'Moderate' opponents was inspired by the doctrinal breadth or alleged laxity of the latter. Such a tone developed in the Free Church. She came to be regarded, and regarded herself, as a Church of superlative orthodoxy. Although Chalmers himself and one or two others might remember the possibility of doctrinal changes, to the consciousness of the Church as a whole this was not yet a question of practical politics. Hence the absence of any defined claim to the power of making such changes. Yet there was the phrase 'the whole "power of the keys."' There was the Westminster Confession, which was not only regarded as 'a subordinate standard,' but itself contained the admission that 'all synods and councils,' therefore its own authors, 'may err, and many of them have erred; therefore they are not to be made the rule of faith or practice, but to be used as a help in both.'† There was the question, how far the Church of

* Quoted by Lord Macnaghten, *Authorised Report*, 577.

† Chap. xxxi; Clause iv.

o with this restlessness, for in the Robertson Smith the Free Church bore the first brunt of the critical roversy. But as the supporters of the new views of Bible did not demand the alteration of the Confession, se articles on Scripture are wide and were not drawn with reference to modern criticism, the results of the cal debate have not entered into the case before us; igh, as we shall see, they have much inflamed the roversy between the parties to the case. The doc- e on which the mind of the Church required some f from the uncompromising logic of the Confession that of predestination. And it is the modifications ch the Free Church has ventured upon in regard to , as well as in regard to the doctrine of the establish- it of religion, that have cast doubts upon her legal ity, and brought her before the courts of law.

For the Free Church, in changing her official mind on se doctrines, was not able to carry all her people with

After the opening in 1863 of negotiations for union h the Voluntaries, a division arose as to whether the rch could enter such a union consistently with her ories of Church and State. Large majorities in suc- ive Assemblies voted for the union, but were con- ated by the threat of an influential minority, fortified the opinion of counsel, to carry the matter to law. e project of union was, for the time, abandoned. Yet abandoning it, the Church restated her attitude to

Establishment doctrine so as to indicate the change duced on her mind by her experience of practical antaryism. While including among the duties of the te 'the furthering of the interests of Christ's religion,' did not mention, as in 1851, either the establishment ndowment of the latter.* By 1873 there was obviously rowing majority of the Free Church which regarded Establishment doctrine as an open question.

The next modification of her creed by the Free rch was made in 1892, when she passed an Act claratory' of the Westminster Confession. Here are e of the clauses of the Confession, touching predes- tion, which the Act affected:—

God, from all Eternity, did, by the most Wise and Holy

* Act of Mutual Eligibility, 1873.

Counsel of His own Will, freely and unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass, yet so as thereby neither is God the Author of Sin, nor is Violence offered to the Will of the Creatures, nor is the Liberty or Contingency of Second Causes taken away, but rather established.

‘Although God knows whatsoever may or can come to pass upon all supposed Conditions, yet hath He not decreed anything because He foresaw it as future, or as that which would come to pass upon such conditions.

‘By the Decree of God, for the Manifestation of his Glory, some men and angels are predestinated unto everlasting life, and others fore-ordained to everlasting death.’ (Westminster Confession, Chap. iii, Clauses i-iii.)

Certain phrases of the Declaratory Act are said to have fundamentally modified the Confession.

The Act emphasises, ‘as standing in the forefront of the revelation of Grace, the love of God . . . to sinners of mankind,’ and declares that ‘all who hear the Gospel are warranted to believe to the saving of their souls,’ and that, if any reject God’s call, the sin is their own. The Confession is not to be regarded as ‘teaching the fore-ordination of men to death irrespective of their own sin’; nor as teaching that any who die in infancy are lost, or that God may not extend His mercy to those who are beyond the means of grace.

With regard to the Establishment doctrine, the Act disclaims ‘intolerant and persecuting principles’; and more generally declares that the Church

‘does not consider her office-bearers in subscribing the Confession of Faith committed to any principles inconsistent with liberty of conscience and the right of private judgment’; and that ‘while diversity of opinion is recognised on such points in the Confession as do not enter the substance of the Reformed Faith therein set forth, the Church retains full authority to determine, in any case which may arise, what points fall within this description, and thus to guard against any abuse of this liberty, to the detriment of sound doctrine, or to the injury of her unity and peace.’

The questions raised by the case on this are the following: Does the Act’s interpretation of the Confession’s doctrine of predestination modify or contradict the latter? And are the general powers which the Act

assumes for the Church, to determine what is and what is not 'of the substance of the Reformed Faith,' not really beyond the Church's constitution? If so, did she not, by passing the Act, lose her identity with the Church of 1843? A few of her members in 1892 said that she did, and, withdrawing themselves, founded 'The Free Presbyterian Church of 1843.' That Church still exists, but its members were not the appellants in the recent action. In 1892 these appellants dissented from the Declaratory Act; but, as it did not involve questions of property, and as its provisions were made permissive, they remained in the Free Church.

In 1896 the Free Church again raised proposals for union with the United Presbyterians; and, after three years of negotiations, a plan of union was prepared. The standards of the two Churches were the same; but, as the United Presbyterians had in 1879 passed a Declaratory Act, not only permissive like that of the Free Church, but compulsory, and as they had, to put it broadly, departed from the Establishment doctrine farther than the Free Church had done, provision was made in the plan 'that members of both Churches shall have full right to assert and maintain the views of truth and duty which they had liberty to maintain in the said Churches.' There can be no doubt that these words reserved the right to such members of the Free Church as held the 'Establishment doctrine' to continue to hold it after their Church's union with Voluntaries. But such a provision exposed the Free Church to a double attack. For either she retained her doctrines, and her opponents could plead that the union with Voluntaries was not a real union, or she abandoned some of her doctrines. The second of these alternatives became their chief charge against her. The Plan of Union was passed in 1899, and, under the Barrier Act, remitted to the local presbyteries. Seventy out of seventy-four having approved, it was passed as a Uniting Act in the Assembly of May 1900, by 593 to 29. The same Assembly transmitted to presbyteries the 'overture' that the union now take place. Seventy-one presbyteries approved; and this was passed as an Act in the Assembly of October 1900, by 643 to 27. The same Assembly decreed that the property held by General Trustees should be conveyed to new trustees

to be appointed by the United Free Church. On the following day the union was completed.

The minority, who asserted that they were the only part of the Free Church faithful to her principles, continued to sit as her General Assembly, and appealed to the law to restore to them her property. The case was first heard in 1901 by Lord Low, sitting in the Outer House of Session, who decreed in favour of the United Free Church; in 1902, by the Lord Justice-Clerk and Lords Young and Trayner, sitting in the Inner House, who confirmed the judgment of Lord Low; in 1903, by the House of Lords, before six judges, and again in 1904, in consequence of Lord Shand's death, before seven judges—the Lord Chancellor, Lords Macnaghten, Davey, James of Hereford, Robertson, Lindley, and Alverstone; who, by five to two, reversed the decision of the Scottish Courts, and assigned the property to the Free Church minority.

Lord Low found that the Barrier Act assumed the right of the General Assembly to decide on non-essentials, and, more generally, that some such power was necessary to the Assembly, because the Confession of Faith was capable of various interpretations. The Establishment doctrine, though so strongly held by the early Free Church as to prevent her union with Voluntaries, was nowhere defined in her documents as essential or unalterable; and, being in itself a doctrine capable of many interpretations, had come to be regarded by the Free Church, under her experience of practical voluntarism, as an open question. This was all that was required to bring her into line with the United Presbyterians; her union with whom did not, therefore, imply the surrender of her essential doctrines. The Lord Justice Clerk was prepared to decide the case on this ground alone—that the existence at intervals of the Church of Scotland, even before 1843, in separation from the Establishment, and the Free Church's experience of practical voluntarism after that date, proved that the Establishment doctrine was 'not vital to the existence of the Church.' Moreover, the Barrier Act assumed the right of the Church to regard such a doctrine as an open question. Lord Young took wider ground. In his view, since there is no rule of law to prevent a dissenting Church from changing her creed, the only legal question which can arise about

her property is whether this is held under a limited title—that is, whether it is expressly attached to specified doctrines. But no such title has been referred to in the case. The property is vested in General Trustees, who were appointed to hold and use it as directed by the Assembly. Lord Trayner decided that the Free Church had by the Declaratory Act made no change in the essentials of the Confession; and that, though she had altered her attitude to the doctrine of the civil Establishment of religion, this was neither essential to her constitution, nor so defined in her documents. As for the doctrine,

‘it appears to me difficult’ (he said) ‘to hold that a mere opinion as to what some third person was bound to do, which he might neglect or refuse to do, and which the Church could not compel him to do, could in any way be an essential part of the constitution of the Church.’

As a matter of fact, the Free Church’s practical voluntarism had led her to treat the Establishment doctrine as ‘a dead letter.’ If, however, it had ever been regarded by the Church as fundamental, she from the first, by her Deed of Demission and the Barrier Act, had powers to change her doctrines.

The Scottish judges did not define how far these powers extended. Lord Low held that the General Assembly could not repudiate either the Confession or Presbyterianism; while Lord Trayner was not prepared to say that Presbyterianism, and even the doctrine of Christ’s divinity, might not be covered by the Barrier Act. But at least they recognised powers inherent in the Church’s constitution to change her opinions as to Establishment, and admitted further that it was natural and even necessary for her Assembly to possess such powers, because both the Confession and in particular the Establishment doctrine were capable of various interpretations. And it is to be noticed—the point will recur—that all these Scottish judges emphasised the Free Church’s experience of practical voluntarism as ‘naturally’ modifying her theories of Church and State.

We may take next, for the sake of clearness, the opinions of the two Lords of Appeal who agreed with the Scottish judges. Lord Macnaghten complained that the Establishment doctrine had bulked too large in the

argument, and defined the main question as that of the character of the Free Church as a whole. Had she come out in 1843 'with peculiar tenets cut and dried and defined in the precise language of a conveyancer,' or as retaining all the powers of a National Church? She was the latter, gaining, through her independence of the State, liberty to alter her formulæ of subscription. Though the doctrine of Establishment is embedded in her Confession, her powers as a National Church to change her doctrines covered this also. She exhibited a diversity of opinion about it immediately after the Disruption. Dr Candlish and other leaders called it purely theoretical; and, as her practical voluntarism developed, the 'natural tendency' must have been to believe that the Church of Scotland could exist not only without an Establishment, but without a profession of the Establishment principle. Lord Lindley, from the Confession of Faith, the Barrier Act, and the early documents of the Free Church, concluded that she had powers (within limits and only to be used *bona fide*) to alter or replace her Confession, which powers were as fundamental to her constitution as any of the Confession's doctrines; and since then she has not only fulfilled her spiritual functions without state aid, but seen the failure of her attempt to obtain this while repudiating state control. The Model Trust Deed affirms the whole 'power of the keys,' which includes control over doctrine, contemplates union with other bodies, and subjects the trustees to the direction of the General Assembly of the Free Church, or of any united body which she may enter.

Lords Macnaghten and Lindley were thus at one with the Scottish judges on the legislative powers of the Free Church, on the absence from her trust-deeds of specified titles, and on the 'naturalness' of her modification of the Establishment doctrine. Lord Macnaghten indeed pitches the argument more loftily. To him the 'real and only question is':

'Was the Free Church, by the very condition of her existence, forced to cling to her Subordinate Standards with so desperate a grip that she has lost hold and touch of the Supreme Standard of her faith? Was she from birth incapable of all growth and development? Was she, in a word, a dead branch and not a living Church?'

These arguments, rising to so lofty an issue, were met by the majority of the House of Lords with, in the first instance, an appeal to the legal authority of that Court. In 1813, in another Scottish Church case, *Craigdallie versus Aikman*,* Lord Eldon had laid it down that, if there was no provision for a schism in the title-deeds by which a congregation for religious worship held their property, the law would not execute the trust, 'at the expense of a forfeiture of their property by the *cestui-que-trust*, for adhering to the opinions and principles in which the congregation had originally united.' In another case† the same authority had decreed that it is not in the power of individuals having the management of a religious institution at any time to alter the purposes for which it was founded.

'In such a case . . . when a congregation become dissentient among themselves, the nature of the original institution must alone be looked to as the guide for the decision of the Court; and to refer to any other criterion, as to the sense of the existing majority, would be to make a new institution, which is altogether beyond the reach and inconsistent with the duties and character of this Court.' (A.R. p. 579.)

Accepting this as law, the five judges found in fact that the majority of the Free Church had abandoned tenets once professed by her as fundamental; that her documents nowhere conferred on them the power to do so; that they had broken trust in conveying her property to another body. In reaching these conclusions, it was only Lords Halsbury, Davey, and Robertson who decided that the Declaratory Act was an illegitimate modification of the Church's Confession. The judgment of the Court must therefore be considered as based solely upon the change in the attitude of the Free Church towards the Establishment doctrine. All five judges agreed that this was enough to disinherit her; for they held the doctrine to be essential to her constitution, and interpreted neither her claim to spiritual independence nor any of her formal Acts as covering the right to alter it. They read the Barrier Act as one only of procedure, and thought it not

* Authorised Report, pp. 87, 195, 365, etc.

† *Attorney-General v. Pearson*, quoted by Lord Davey, Authorised Report, p. 579.

plausible to suppose that at the date of the Act the Church intended either to change her faith or to permit it to be changed. But, above all, we must notice that the five judges laid stress on the fact that the majority of the Church, by conveying her property to a body, many of whose members denied the Establishment doctrine, thereby dispossessed of it a remnant of her own members, 'whose only fault' had been to adhere to the doctrine.

The gravity of the differences which these opinions exhibit must arouse in all intelligent persons a desire to understand how, with equal profession of adherence to the law of trusts, and with the same facts before them, these able judges should have reached such opposite conclusions. Such a desire is not to be confounded with that discontent which would seek to reverse the recent decision. The Supreme Court has spoken: there is no appeal. Nor would we encourage the complaint, which has risen in Scotland, as to the constitution of the Court. Five out of the seven judges of appeal heard the pleadings twice, and the opinions of the majority give evidence that they paid full attention to the judgments of the Scottish Courts, and felt they could differ from these only after a more than usually elaborate explanation of their own views. Nor is the examination of the judgments that we have in view one of mere academic curiosity. The elements of the case on which the judges differed affect all the Churches, as well as the general liberties of our organised religious life, so closely that we must attempt to analyse them.

The judges all agree that a religious association is bound with regard to its property by its principles of union, and subject to the law of trusts. They agree as to what documents supply the evidence in the case of the Free Church. They agree further that these show the Free Church to have at first held strongly to the Establishment doctrine, and afterwards to have come to regard it as an open question. But there they diverge, and mainly upon three questions. The first is that of the interpretation of the evidence and the estimate of the relative value of its several parts, on all points except the two facts we have just mentioned. With regard to the rank held by the Establishment doctrine in the constitution of the Free Church, and the degr

the profession of it by her founders led donors to bestow funds upon her, the majority laid particular emphasis upon Dr Chalmers' address as her first Moderator, and its incisive distinction between the Free Church and the Voluntaries. The minority paid respect to other addresses in which Dr Chalmers qualified that distinction, and those in which his colleagues emphasised the merely theoretical character of the Free Church's doctrine of Establishment. On the doctrine itself the difference among the judges was similar. The majority held it to have been a definite doctrine and of equal rank in the Church's view with that of spiritual independence; the minority held that it was vague, and dependent for its possible applications on circumstances beyond the control of the Church herself. Similarly again with the power of the Free Church to change her doctrines. The majority did not find this power either in the adoption by the Church of Scotland of her successive Confessions, nor in the Barrier Act, nor in the whole 'power of the keys'; while the minority deemed that those Acts did assume the Church's right to legislate on doctrine. All these differences are differences in reading and assessing evidence. It may be held that the majority were wrong in emphasising Dr Chalmers' address, wrong in not paying equal respect to the other documents which qualify it, wrong in their interpretation of the Establishment doctrine, and wrong in their reading of the Barrier Act. But these are points upon which individual minds will always differ; and in the absence of a definite instrument of constitution by the founders of the Free Church, and in face of the long and careful arguments of the judges, there is no use in further contesting the conclusions of the majority.

But these differences in the judicial interpretations of the evidence were enhanced by two others. The Scottish judges and the minority of the Court of Appeal emphasised the influence of the history of the Free Church upon her original tenets. They said that her experience of practical voluntaryism 'naturally' modified her doctrine of religious establishment, and legitimately brought her into line with the theoretical Voluntaries. The major-
 "or ignored this influence, or, like Lord
 "Robb out of court as not bearing on the

question of what doctrines the Church started with; for by these alone could her identity be determined. But, thirdly, the difference as to the legitimate influence of the Church's history was only one aspect of a deeper and more fundamental opposition of opinion. This lay in the judges' conception of a Church. The Lord Chancellor said that 'the identity of a religious community described as a Church must consist in the unity of its doctrines.' The others did not so absolutely express the opinion, confining themselves to the argument that the Free Church in particular had no power to change. Yet all of the majority, by tying the legal rights of the Free Church for ever to her early views, in the absence of any definite legal title to her property which reserved to her the power to change, and Lord Robertson, in particular, by refusing to allow her experiences as a living Church any valid influence in affecting these views, were governed by virtually the same conception of a Church as the Lord Chancellor.

!On the other side are Lord Macnaghten's opinion that the absence from the Free Church documents of a legal instrument empowering her to change her doctrines is no proof of her disability to do so; and his affirmation that the sole question to be decided is, Was the Church 'from birth incapable of all growth and development? Was she a dead branch and not a living Church?' Lord Macnaghten answered these questions thus:—

'I cannot form a conception of a National Church, untrammelled and unfettered by connexion with the State, which does not at least possess the powers of revising and amending the formula of subscription required of its own office-bearers, and the power of pronouncing authoritatively that some latitude of opinion is permissible to its members in regard to matters which, according to the common apprehension of mankind, are not matters of faith.'

That is to put the one conception of the Church as absolutely as the Lord Chancellor put the other.

The two conceptions lie at the root of, though they by no means exhaust, the differences of judicial opinion on the case. The Scottish Courts were guided by the wider view; but in face of Lord Macnaghten's agreement with them, and Lord Robertson's adherence to the narrower,

it is erroneous to confine these conceptions respectively to Scotland and England. No doubt the idea of spiritual independence is more familiar to Scotsmen than to Englishmen, whether lawyers or churchmen. It has been a high and constant note in the testimony of the Scottish Church, whether within or without the Establishment, rising so clear above the local and temporal issues of her controversies as to form the distinctive and recognised contribution of Scotland to the Catholic Confession of Christendom. Nor do we think that the majority did justice to it, so far as they entered, like Lord Robertson, on an examination of the general feelings of Scottish theologians as of value in interpreting those Acts which may be held to be ambiguous in their expression of the powers of the Church. No one familiar with the history of Scotland from the Reformation onwards can doubt that, although her theologians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were as adverse to theological change as the Lord Chancellor and Lord Robertson have described them to be, they nevertheless would have disclaimed the conception of the Church entertained by these judges and sympathised with that so boldly expressed by Lord Macnaghten.

Apart from this, we desire to point out that this wider conception of the Church is not merely Scottish. It is asserted and acted upon by most of the parties in the Church of England, and by all the vital and progressive Nonconformist Churches. Not for denying such fundamental matters as the authority of Scripture or the divinity of Christ, but for qualifying her views on the duties of the State towards religion, and (so far as the Lord Chancellor's judgment goes) for restating her doctrine of predestination with the single purpose of making more clear and open God's offer of salvation to all mankind, and for reserving to herself the right to say what constitutes the sum and substance of her Confession, a Church whose distinctive note has ever been that of spiritual independence, and which had no special doctrines attached to her trust deeds, has been arraigned by the law and mulcted of its property. A theologian so personally unaffected by the result as the Bishop of Worcester, and so satisfied with the formulæ of his own Church as an expression of the truth, has emphasised the danger

involved in such a decision to all spiritual liberty and religious thinking. We do not think he is alarmed without cause. It is not merely the liberty of a Church's theology to grow under the general intellectual progress of the age which is threatened by the judgment of the House of Lords. It is also the freedom of a Church to profit by her own practical experience of the working of such theories as that of Church and State, in which no essential doctrines of Christianity are involved. The Lord Chancellor disclaimed the intention of the Court to interfere with a Church's doctrinal freedom; Lord Davey expressed his sympathy with the endeavours of men of 'great intelligence and sound learning to escape from the fetters forged by an earlier generation'; and all the five judges asserted that their judgment touched only the Church's property. But when that property is the means of a Church's work, her clothing, and her tools, the distinction drawn by their lordships may be logically sound, but disappears in practice. They may not have interfered with the Church's spiritual independence *in vacuo*; but it is not *in vacuo* that a Church can grow or avail herself of the profits of her experience.

The gravity of the question concerns even more than the Churches, as, indeed, appears from the conversations of their lordships with Mr Haldane. The modern State recognises the right of the individual to modify his beliefs without danger to his life, his civic rights, or the property he has gathered and holds in his own name. But it seems that this is a liberty still denied by the law to associations of individuals. They may not have tied their property by limited titles to this or that belief. They may hold it simply and generally in their own name. But if they have not achieved the impossible by anticipating their mental growth, and defining what powers to change their opinions they reserve to themselves, the law, in questions of their property, will treat them only as commercial companies, or financial trustees under 'the dead hand.' The law will allow an association to think and to grow; it will even allow its members individually to proclaim to the world the mental changes involved in such growth; but, as soon as it makes an official declaration, if but a single member, because he has not grown, claims the whole

property on that ground, the law, no matter how much the property is bound up with the usefulness of the association, will take it from the latter, and, no matter how little the solitary member is capable of administering it, will assign it to him.

This theory, by which the majority considered themselves bound, denies practical reality to every kind of voluntary association except the State itself. And yet such associations, religious and other, actually do exist, and grow only upon the precisely opposite conception of their rights. They perform works beneficent to the community and necessary to the State itself; but, on the theory of the judges that they are not real personalities, and in possession of the rights which each of their individual members enjoys, they may at any time be deprived of their legal identity. It is many years since prescient minds, holding no brief for the Churches, or even, like Renan, sworn foes to Ultramontanism, have foretold that the greatest practical problem of future politics would be some method by which the State might recognise the reality of societies within itself and yet independent of it. Such a recognition already prevails in philosophy, and is, as we have said, everywhere acted on in practical life. Yet, so long as it fails to penetrate the august fastnesses of the law, every voluntary association of citizens, however nearly unanimous it may be in the desire to profit by the intellectual advance of mankind or its own practical experience, is exposed to the same arrest and confiscation of its property as has happened to the Free Church of Scotland.

That this danger has been widely recognised appears from the many proposals for its removal which have been made throughout the country even in the few weeks since the decision of the Lords revealed it. But each one of these proposals is encumbered with difficulties. The hope has been expressed of a change in the attitude and temper of the law itself, and has been based on the ground that two judges so eminent as Lords Macnaghten and Lindley have equally with the majority accepted the law of trusts, and yet found nothing to conflict with it in their wider conception of a Church. Yet such a hope has to face the opinion expressed by one of the majority—and it is an opinion not likely to grow less among

lawyers—that it would not be safe, with respect either to the sanctity of the law of trusts or to the security of religious associations themselves, to allow to the latter the freedom which the Free Church has claimed. Then there is the proposal to ask Parliament to modify the law of trusts in the case of Churches. But this would have to encounter not only the opposition of many of the legal lords, but not a few nor slight religious prejudices on the part of other members of Parliament, either with strong views on the unchangeableness of the doctrines of their own denomination, or with equally strong jealousy of the freedom of others. Another way out of the difficulty is for religious bodies to alter their existing titles by introducing into them terms allowing powers to a majority of the members to change their doctrines. But this could not be done by Churches already in existence unless their members were unanimous and could induce Parliament to sanction an alteration of their present titles; while new provisions, even when most carefully drawn, would still be subject, if the present theory of the law prevails, to the most rigid interpretation by the courts.

From such problems of religious liberty and growth in general we turn to the questions of equity which the case before us has raised in reference to the Free Church of Scotland. So pressing are these that one of the majority of the judges, Lord Davey, has lately taken the unusual course of allowing his opinion about it to reach the public through the press.* The judges were agreed that about 1870 the Free Church had modified her early views on the Establishment doctrine, and that from this time onwards not only was that doctrine regarded by her as an open question, but an increasing majority of her members had set their faces towards union with the Voluntaries. Now, of the invested funds of the Church which have been affected by the judgment of the Court a very large proportion was contributed after 1870. The judges treated the property of the Church as indivisible, and altogether tied to her early views of the Establishment doctrine. Lord Robertson said:—

‘Regarding the whole of the property now in dispute, I

* ‘Times,’ September 26, 1904.

cannot see how, in law or in fairness, a majority of the men who acquired it on the representations made in the "Affectionate Representation" [Dr. Chalmers' address in 1843], could have been allowed, say in 1850, to carry off the property to the Voluntaries. . . . And after all the argument we have heard, I have discovered no reason which makes that fair and lawful in 1900 which would not have been so fifty years earlier.' (Authorised Report, p. 603.)

The answer to this is that 'the whole of the property' was not 'acquired on the representations made' in 1843 either in Dr Chalmers' address or those of others. Of the million and a quarter sterling of invested funds, which came into the present case, only some 18,000*l.* had been given to the Church by 1850. In 1863, when negotiations for union began, this capital was still only 92,000*l.*: in 1872 it was 249,000*l.* Then, after the Establishment doctrine had become an open question in the Free Church, it rose in ten years to 593,000*l.*, and by 1900 to the 1,220,000*l.* now in dispute. Many of the donors of the three quarters of a million gifted since 1873 were persons who either favoured the union with the United Presbyterian Church or lived to enter it in 1900.

What is thus true of the funds vested in the General Trustees is also true of the congregational property. For instance, in the Presbytery of Glasgow, a few years before the union, the sum of 137,000*l.* was raised for the building of churches chiefly in the new industrial suburbs; but of that sum only fifteen guineas were subscribed by members of the minority of the Church, to whom the House of Lords has assigned both the general and the congregational property. The Lord Chancellor said it was the duty of the Court to bear in mind 'what the donors of the trust fund thought about it, or what we are constrained to infer would be their view if it were possible to consult them.' If the pleadings in the case, rightly or wrongly, did not argue for an equitable division of the funds, but were confined to questions of the identity and powers of the Church, and if the law, as laid down by Lord Eldon, obliged the judges to attach the whole property in question to the early views of the Church, nothing remains to be said as to the legal justice of the decision; but it is clear, from the fact that the donors of so large a part of the property favoured the

union, that in equity their intentions should be consulted. Lord James may have been moved by this consideration when he expressed 'the sincere hope that some way will be found to avoid the capture by either litigants of any spoils of war.' And Lord Davey, in his letter to the 'Times,' stated that, while he still regards the recent decision as inevitable in law, he 'would have heartily welcomed any proposal which might have been accepted by both parties' to arrange for each congregation

'to retain its own property, and by vote of the members to join either one party or the other; and that then commissioners be appointed . . . to divide the general property, having regard to number of members, number of congregations, and any other considerations affecting the question.'

The judges have thus laid the responsibility of relieving the obvious inequitableness of the effects of the law upon the litigants themselves. More than two months have passed in which these have been eagerly studying the situation. The commissions of both General Assemblies have met; their advisory committees have been in frequent session; public and congregational meetings have been held up and down the country; and the newspapers have been full of criticism and advice. As was to be expected, the difficulties both of principle and detail have increased the more they have been studied. There has been some impolitic speaking on both sides, and still more provocation in the uncharitable criticisms of outsiders. Yet on the whole the temper of the two Churches has been good, considering the exciting nature of the situation; and both appear anxious to let the religious interests in each other's keeping suffer as little as possible. It is equally clear, however, that, were all the good will in the world available, it cannot remove certain difficulties created alike by the facts, the law, and the religious convictions of both Churches. If, for any reason, the small body adjudged to be the legal owners of the Free Church property were willing to resign to the United Free Church as much of it as they cannot profitably use, it is clear that they feel themselves debarred, not only by the fact that the conveyance of the property to that Church has already been pronounced a breach of trust by the Courts, but by the conviction (of at least some of them) that they might

reby betray the doctrinal interests for which they believe it was originally given. On the other hand, they are plainly incapable of carrying on the religious work bound up with so enormous a trust. For that work depends only in small part on the trust funds, and requires the labour and annual liberality of a very much larger membership than the small Free Church can ever hope to attract. Therefore the resolution of the United Free Church to cling to as much of the property as possible is as deserving of respect, to say the least, as the convictions of her opponents that she is theologically unworthy to hold it.

It is not mere money that was in question before the Courts, or that the United Free Church is now unwilling to give up, but the means of doing the religious work entrusted to her, and so successfully carried on. It would have been simple enough for her to resign the million and a quarter sterling in the hands of her General Trustees, and not difficult to replace it from the liberality of her members; although, as that property includes three theological colleges, three institutions for the training of day-school teachers, and a number of mission institutes in eight different countries, we do not see how the Free Church, with one theological professor, three or four students, no trainers of teachers, and not one missionary, could possibly discharge even this portion of the trust. But when it comes to resigning about eleven hundred churches and manse, and leaving them for the most part to stand empty (for the Free Church, with some thirty ministers, could not possibly fill them) while she herself built new churches and manse for the congregations that have already with almost complete unanimity decided to adhere to the union—all that would not only mean a task beyond the resources of the United Free Church for many years, but would imply a multiplication and a waste of ecclesiastical buildings at which the sense of the nation would revolt.

It is for these reasons that Lord Davey's suggestions of arbitration between the parties are to be welcomed. Indeed the United Free Church, at the first conference between her representatives and those of the Free Church, produced proposals for this, moderately conceived, and recognising the full legal rights of the victors in the case. Unhappily the Free Church, for the reasons we have given above, has declared itself unable to accept arbitration at

present. Its representatives claim time. They say they cannot prove their strength till the property is in their hands; and they hope that in the new situation created by the judgment many who entered the United Free Church may return to them. As yet, they have failed to withdraw a single minister from that Church. To appoint, as they have done, theological lecturers from three other churches is only to betray their own inability to fulfil the trust. Seventy of their ministerial charges are still vacant. Even if they succeed in attracting a few thousand more members, how are they to minister to them, and how, even with such an addition, can they support the Church's work at home or abroad, which depends on annual subscriptions? It is therefore as much in their own interest as in that of religion at large that the arbitration, which must surely come at last, should be made possible at once. If a few just men, outside both Churches but in sympathy with religion, were appointed, on the understanding that they were to take into consideration (1) the legal rights of the Free Church, (2) the inequitableness of the situation arising from the fact of so much of the property assigned to her having been bestowed by donors who approved of or entered the union, and (3) the needs of the work to be carried on and the respective fitness of the two parties to do this, a scheme of division, we feel sure, could be arranged which, having received the consent of the two Churches, could hardly fail to be sanctioned by Parliament. It would be hazardous to go to Parliament without the consent of both the interested parties. But such a direct appeal will be necessary if the Free Church, while its inability to fulfil the trust becomes more and more manifest, persists in declining arbitration in spite both of public opinion and the advice of two of the judges who were favourable to her. Such a result, with the litigation which it would necessitate, would indeed be deplorable.

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TWO HUNDREDTH VOLUME OF THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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